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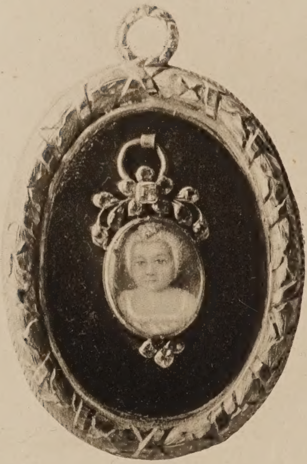
SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

VOLUME XXVII

MURRAY OF BROUGHTON'S MEMORIALS

May 1898



Walker & Boutall ph. sc.

PRINCE CHARLES in infancy.

From a miniature, formerly the property of John Murray of Broughton, now in the possession of Her Majesty the Queen.

Scottish History Society
Publications. 27

MEMORIALS OF
JOHN MURRAY
OF BROUGHTON

SOMETIME SECRETARY TO
PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD

1740-1747

Edited, with an Introduction, Notes and
an Appendix of Original Documents, by
ROBERT FITZROY BELL

EDINBURGH
Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable
for the Scottish History Society
1898

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION, ... ix

MEMORIALS:—

Part I.—Negotiations with the Adherents of the House of Stuart, 1740-1745, . . . 1

Part II.—The Expedition from the Prince's Landing to his Arrival at Derby, ... 151

Part III.—Murray's Movements after Culloden, . 251

Part IV.—Two Letters regarding the Earl of Traquair, 317

APPENDIX

I. LETTERS FROM THE STUART PAPERS AT WINDSOR:—

PAGE

1. From 'Ramsay,' Sept. 10, 1740, ... 359
2. Anonymous Letter, undated, ... 360
3. James Edgar to John Murray, April 27, 1741, . . 361
4. Enclosure to the above, ... 364
5. James Edgar to John Murray, June 7, 1741, . . . 364
6. James Edgar to John Murray, June 29, 1741, . . 366
7. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, April 3, 1744, . . 366
8. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, Paris, May 11, 1744, . 367
9. The Chevalier to Prince Charles, Rome, July 3, 1744, . 369
10. The Chevalier to Prince Charles, Rome, Aug. 14, 1744, . 371
11. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, 'Francfort,' Sept. 7, 1744, . 373
12. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, Paris, Sept. 14, 1744, . 374
13. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, Sept. 18, 1744, . . 375
14. John Murray to Prince Charles, Senlis, Sept. 21, 1744, . 376
    enclosing Memorial for Sir James Campbell of Auchenbreck: to Mr. James Edgar, ... 377

PAGE
15. John Murray to Prince Charles, Senlis, Sept. 21, 1744, . 379
16. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, ‘Francfort,’ Sept. 31, 1744, . 385
17. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, ‘Francfort,’ Oct. 12, 1744, . 387
18. The Chevalier to Prince Charles, Rome, Oct. 23, 1744, . 388
19. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, Paris, Jan. 3, 1745, . . 389
20. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, Fitzjames, Jan. 25, 1745, . 389
21. The Chevalier to Prince Charles, Jan. 26, 1745, . . 390
22. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, Paris, March 7, 1745, . 390
23. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, Paris, March 14, 1745, . 392
24. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, Paris, April 9, 1745, . 394
25. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, Fitzjames, April 12, 1745, . 395
26. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, Fitzjames, April 26, 1745, . 396
27. Lord Sempill to the Chevalier, June 28, 1745, . . 396
28. Lord John Drummond to the Chevalier, Dunkirk, Nov. 13, 1745, ... 398
29. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, Paris, April 10, 1747, . 398
30. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, Paris, April 17, 1747, . 399
31. The Chevalier to Prince Charles, Rome, April 17, 1747, . 400
32. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, Paris, April 24, 1747, . 404
33. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, Paris, April 28, 1747, . 404
34. Prince Charles to the Chevalier, Paris, May 1, 1747, . . 404

II. PAPERS FROM THE RECORD OFFICE AND THE BRITISH MUSEUM :—

1. List of Letters and Papers taken at Colonel Cecil's, . . 406
2. Examination of Colonel William Cecil, Feb. 26, 1744, . 408
3. The Lord Justice-Clerk to the Duke of Newcastle, Edinburgh, June 29, 1746, ... 411
4. Lord Elcho to the Lord Justice-Clerk, Paris, June 27, 1746, . 414
5. Sir Everard Fawkener to the Duke of Newcastle, Fort Augustus, July 2, 1746, ... 414
6. The Duke of Newcastle to the Lord Justice-Clerk, Whitehall, July 3, 1746, ... 415
7. The Lord Justice-Clerk to the Duke of Newcastle, Edinburgh, July 10, 1746, ... 416
8. Examination of Charles, Earl of Traquair, Aug. 8, 1746, . 420
9. Examination of John Murray of Broughton, Aug. 13, 1746, . 422
10. John Murray's Examination relating to Sir John Douglas, Aug. 13, 1746, ... 436

PAGE
11. Further Examination of John Murray of Broughton, Aug. 13, 437
12. Account of the Highland Clans by John Murray of Broughton, Aug. 22, 1746, ... 439
13. John Murray to ——, Aug. 27, ... 445
14. John Murray to ——, Oct. 8, ... 446
15. John Murray to ——, Oct. 16, ... 447
16. Æneas Macdonald to the Duke of Newcastle, Oct. 26, . 447
17. Further Examination of John Murray of Broughton, Nov. 11, 448
18. John Murray to Andrew Stone, Nov. 17, . . . 455
19. Enclosure to above, ... 455
20. The Duke of Newcastle to the Lord Justice-Clerk, Whitehall, Dec. 9, 1746, ... 462
21. Lord Traquair: Mr. Murray's Examination, . . . 464
22. Extract of Mr. Murray's Examination, . . . 467
23. Further Examination of John Murray of Broughton, . . 467
24. Dr. Barry: Mr. Murray's Examination, . . . 469
25. Murray's Examination relating to Lord Traquair, Sir J. Douglas, and Dr. Barry, ... 470
26. Jno. Sharpe to Thomas Ramsden, Whitehall, Feb. 10, 1746/7, 472
27. Sir D. Ryder to the Duke of Newcastle, Feb. 10, 1746/7, . 473
28. Jno. Sharpe to Thomas Ramsden, Feb. 10, . . . 473
29. Examination of John Murray of Broughton, Feb. 14, 1746/7, 474
30. Further Examination of John Murray of Broughton, Feb. 8, 1746/7, ... 483
31. John Murray to the Duke of Newcastle, Oct. 13, 1747, . 484
32. Lord Traquair to the Duke of Newcastle, Oct. 13, 1747, . 484
33. John Murray to ——, Nov. 17, 1747, ... 485
34. John Murray to ——, London, Jan. 20, 1747/8, . . 486
35. The Examination of Æneas Macdonald, Jan. 12, 1747/8, . 487
36. Earl of Traquair to the Duke of Newcastle, Jan. 21, 1747/8, . 491
37. John Murray to ——, March 25, 1748, . . . 491
38. John Murray to ——, Jan. 6, 1748/9, ... 492

III. LETTERS AND MINUTES FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE FRENCH FOREIGN OFFICE:—

1. The Chevalier to Amelot, Rome, 23 Dec. 1743, . . 493
2. The Chevalier to the King of France, Rome, 23 Dec. 1743, . 493
3. Villeneuve to Amelot, Antibes, 23 Jan. 1744, . . . 495
4. Foreign Office Minute, 29 Jan. 1744, ... 496

PAGE
5. Villeneuve to Amelot, 1 Feb. 1744, ... 497
6. Villeneuve to Amelot, 5 Feb. 1744, ... 497
7. Note by Lord Sempill, 15 Feb. 1744, ... 498
8. Marshal Saxe to Amelot, Calais, 26 Feb. 1744, . . 498
9. Earl Marischal to D'Argenson, Dunkirk, 7 March 1744, . 499
10. D'Argenson to Marshal Saxe, Versailles, 15 March 1744, . 500
11. Foreign Office Minute, 25 March 1744, . . . 501
12. Foreign Office Minute, April 1744, ... 501
13. Prince Charles to the King of France, Paris, 24 July 1744, . 501
14. The Chevalier to D'Argenson, Rome, 11 Aug. 1744, . . 503
15. Foreign Office Minute, Dec. 1744, ... 504
16. Prince Charles to D'Argenson, Paris, 17 Dec. 1744, . . 504
17. Foreign Office Minute, 30 Dec. 1744, ... 505
18. Prince Charles to D'Argenson, Navarre, 12 June 1745, . 505
19. Prince Charles to O'Bryen, 12 June 1745, . . . 506
20. Prince Charles to the King of France, Navarre, 12 June 1745, 507
21. Prince Charles to the King of France, 6 Aug. 1745, . . 507
22. The Chevalier to King Louis xv., Rome, 11 Aug 1745, . 508
23. Memoire by the Earl Marischal, 20 Aug. 1745, . . 510
24. D'Eguilles to D'Argenson, Dunkirk, 1 Oct. 1745, . . 511
26. Memoire by Maurepas, 13 Oct. 1745, ... 511
26. Prince Charles to the King of France, Edinburgh, 15 Oct. 1745, ... 513
27. Earl Marischal to D'Argenson, Paris, 23 Oct. 1745, . . 513
28. Sheridan to ——, Edinburgh, 25 Oct. 1745, . . . 514
29. Prince Charles to the King of France, Stirling, 21 Jan. 1746, 515
30. O'Heguerty to D'Argenson, Paris, 13 June 1746, . . 516
31. Foreign Office Minute, 18 May 1746, ... 516
32. Projet de Lettre, Versailles, 30 Sept. 1746, . . . 516
33. D'Argenson to his Brother, Fontainebleau, 6 Nov. 1746, . 517
34. Memorial to D'Argenson, 9 Oct. 1746, . . . 518
35. Prince Charles to D'Argenson, Clichy, 4 Nov. 1746, . . 518
36. O'Bryen to ——, Paris, 14 Nov. 1746, ... 518
37. D'Argenson to O'Bryen, Versailles, 20 Nov. 1746, . . 520
38. Foreign Office Minute, 1746, ... 520
39. Foreign Office Minute, 1746, ... 521
40. O'Heguerty to D'Argenson, Paris, 13 March 1747, . . 521

IV.—ADDITIONAL NOTES.

PAGE
1. Macgregor of Balhaldie, ... 522
2. The Earl of Traquair, ... 524

GENEALOGY OF THE MURRAYS OF STANHOPE, . 526

INDEX, ... 529

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PRINCE CHARLES in Infancy, . . . *Frontispiece.*

From a miniature, formerly the property of John Murray of Broughton, now in the possession of Her Majesty the Queen.

PRINCE CHARLES in Boyhood, . . . *at page* 1

From a miniature, formerly the property of John Murray of Broughton, now in the possession of Mr. Andrew Lang.

PRINCE CHARLES, Æt. 24, ... „ 151

From a miniature painted in Paris for James Edgar, secretary to the Chevalier de St. George, now in the possession of the Hon. J. D. Edgar, Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons.

FACSIMILE OF MINUTE OF LODGE CANONGATE KILWINNING, No. 2, ... „ xii

Showing the erasures of Murray's name.

N.B.—The Notes printed in the larger type belong to the original Manuscripts, and are indicated with the signs *, †, ‡, etc.

The present Editor's Notes are in the smaller type, and are indicated by figures, [1], [2], [3], etc.

CORRIGENDA

Page 182, delete first note beginning 'The Ord.'
,, 207, Note [1], *for* Purton House *read* Preston House.
,, 377, heading to Memorial, *for* Mr. Edgar Douglas *read* Mr. James Edgar.
,, 380, last line, *for* Temple *read* Semple.
,, 373, 385, 387, in headings to letters Nos. 11, 16, 17, after the word 'Francfort' *insert* [*i.e.* Paris].

INTRODUCTION

John Murray, the writer of the Memorials here printed for the first time, was a member of a family of respectable antiquity even in Scotland. In the reign of James iv., William, the second son of Murray of Philiphaugh, married the heiress of the ancient house of Romanno of that Ilk. Their great-grandson acquired the lands of Stanhope, and was knighted by Charles i. He was also proprietor of the lands and barony of Broughton in Peeblesshire (charter dated 21st December 1635). His son William, a staunch loyalist, was fined £2000 by Cromwell, and was rewarded with a baronetcy by Charles ii. The estate of Broughton was sold by him, possibly to meet Cromwell's exactions. His son Sir David married first the Lady Anne Bruce, daughter of the second Earl of Kincardine, who died leaving five sons and three daughters; second, Margaret, daughter of Sir John Scott of Ancrum and widow of Thomas Scott of Whitside. John Murray was the second of seven children by this marriage, and was born in 1715.[1] Murray's father is described by Lockhart of Carnwath as 'a person of great worth and honour.' In 1726 he had acquired from Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell the estate of Ardnamurchan, with the lead mines of Strontian, which he was intent on developing, and for this purpose travelled frequently from Peeblesshire through the Highlands to the West Coast. Lockhart thought this peripatetic life marked him as most suitable for a Jacobite agent, and broached the subject to him. Murray of Stanhope, however, while professing continued affection and loyalty to the Stuarts, and promising to draw his sword whenever there was to be 'a general effort for restoring the king and kingdom of Scotland,' demurred to undertaking any plotting. He would think upon and undertake no other business save the improvement of his estate, and he adds, 'Besides, when I got my life after the last affair [the Fifteen] I entered into engagements that will not allow me to be active in contriving or carrying on measures against the Government, tho' when there's a push to be made I'll venture all with the first.' He was not, however, tempted to break his engagements in this way, as he died before the Forty-Five. The writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* seems to have confounded this prudent landlord with his grandson, Sir David, who, though only a youth of twenty in 1745, did take his part with his uncle of Broughton.

---

[1] The *Genuine Memoirs*, followed by the writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, state that Murray was born in 1718, but his own statement in the register of the University of Leyden, that he was twenty in 1735, seems conclusive evidence that the *Genuine Memoirs* are wrong. It is also improbable that he was initiated into the Roman Lodge before he was twenty-one: in fact it is almost certain that he was 'of full age' before August 1737. I have therefore accepted the Leyden statement, and accordingly placed his birth in the year of the Fifteen.

A genealogy of the family given in the appendix to this volume shows the extensive connections of the Murrays with well-known Scots families.

John Murray was educated at the University of Edinburgh, where, in March 1732, he entered the class of Professor Adam Watt, and in the following year he again attended Professor Watt's lectures and also those of Professor John Stevenson. Watt was Professor of Humanity from 1728 to 1734, and Stevenson of Logic and Metaphysics from 1730 to 1774. On 1st October 1735, Joannes Murray, Scoto-Britannicus, matriculated at Leyden as studiosus juris: his age is given as twenty. He spent about two years at Leyden, and then, full of the principles of his father, who had been 'out in the Fifteen,' he went to Rome. On August 20th, 1737, he was initiated into the mysteries of Freemasonry in the Roman Lodge. This Lodge was instituted in 1735, and when Murray joined it the Earl of Winton was Master ('Great Master,' as he signs himself in the minute-book, now in possession of the Grand Lodge of Scotland); while among the members present were Allan Ramsay the painter, and John Stuart, Lord Traquair's brother. Murray's initiation took place at the last meeting of the Lodge, which had its room first at 'Joseppie's in the Corso,' and latterly at 'The Three Kings, Strada Paolina.' Clement XII. was, like his successors, opposed to Freemasonry. He suppressed the Lodge, and sent the Tyler to the prison of the Inquisition for a brief period 'as a warning to others.'

A pamphlet entitled *The Genuine Memoirs of John Murray, late Secretary to the Young Pretender*, published in 1747, and accepted by many later writers, is not trustworthy.[1] It states, for example, that Murray was not in Rome till 1741, and then proceeds to give an account of his introduction to the royal exiles, which may or may not be true. Murray himself gives us little information as to this part of his life. In his examination (p. 480) he states that in 1738 he was frequently with Prince Charles in Rome, but was never introduced to the Chevalier. From the fact he records, that when he saw Prince Charles in Paris in 1744, the Prince did not know him by name, but remembered having previously seen him at Rome, two things may be inferred, that Prince Charles had the royal gift of remembering faces, and that Murray's relations with the little Court at Rome could not have been intimate.

On leaving Rome, Murray 'returned through Germany to Holland,' and then to Scotland *via* Rotterdam and Sunderland. In December 1738 Murray was back in Edinburgh, for then we find that he was affiliated to the Masonic Lodge, Canongate Kilwinning No. 2, the Earl of Kilmarnock being then Grand

---

[1] *The Genuine Memoirs* are inaccurate in several matters. They state that Prince Henry went to France with his brother in 1745. We know that Charles went alone in 1744. Mr. Hunter is called 'Huntley,' and Polmood Primoude. An apocryphal story is given of how Murray, after the Prince's landing, rode from Inverlochy to within eight miles of Edinburgh, bearing a letter from the Prince to 'a certain nobleman, whom, indeed, to gain was gaining everything.' Murray is said to have been present at Culloden, etc. etc.

Master. He does not seem to have attended the Lodge with regularity: he was present in December 1742, and on St. Andrew's Day, 1743, took office in Grand Lodge as Junior Grand Warden. It is interesting to note that wherever his name or signature appears in the transactions of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning they have been erased.[1]

After Murray's return to Scotland in 1738, his relations with the adherents of the house of Stuart became closer, though he says little of the period between 1738 and 1740. He seems to have been selected by that loyal servant of the Stuarts, James Edgar, as a suitable correspondent in Scotland, and when age and illness rendered Colonel Urquhart unable to conduct the official correspondence between Scotland and Rome, Murray was chosen by him as his successor. Colonel Urquhart's post cannot well be defined: suffice to say that he was the recognised channel by which the Scottish Jacobites communicated with their king at Rome. Murray's appointment as official correspondent was ratified by James, provided the Duke of Hamilton, who was considered head of the party, approved. This duke seems to have played a cautious part. He was sought by Jacobites and Whigs. James sent him the Thistle and the Garter: George II. decorated him with the Thistle. He managed his cards well, however, and at his death in 1743 none could have said what part he would have played had a rising taken place in his lifetime: in 1715 and 1718 he was but a boy. He, however, gave the required consent to Murray's appointment, and was regarded as the hope of the party, till his conduct with regard to Murray's request that he should join in the raising of a war fund in 1741 caused doubts as to his sincerity, in Murray's mind at any rate. His son, who was only twenty-one in 1745, gave £1500 to the cause, but, so far as I know, that fact has been concealed till now. Suspicious of him the government

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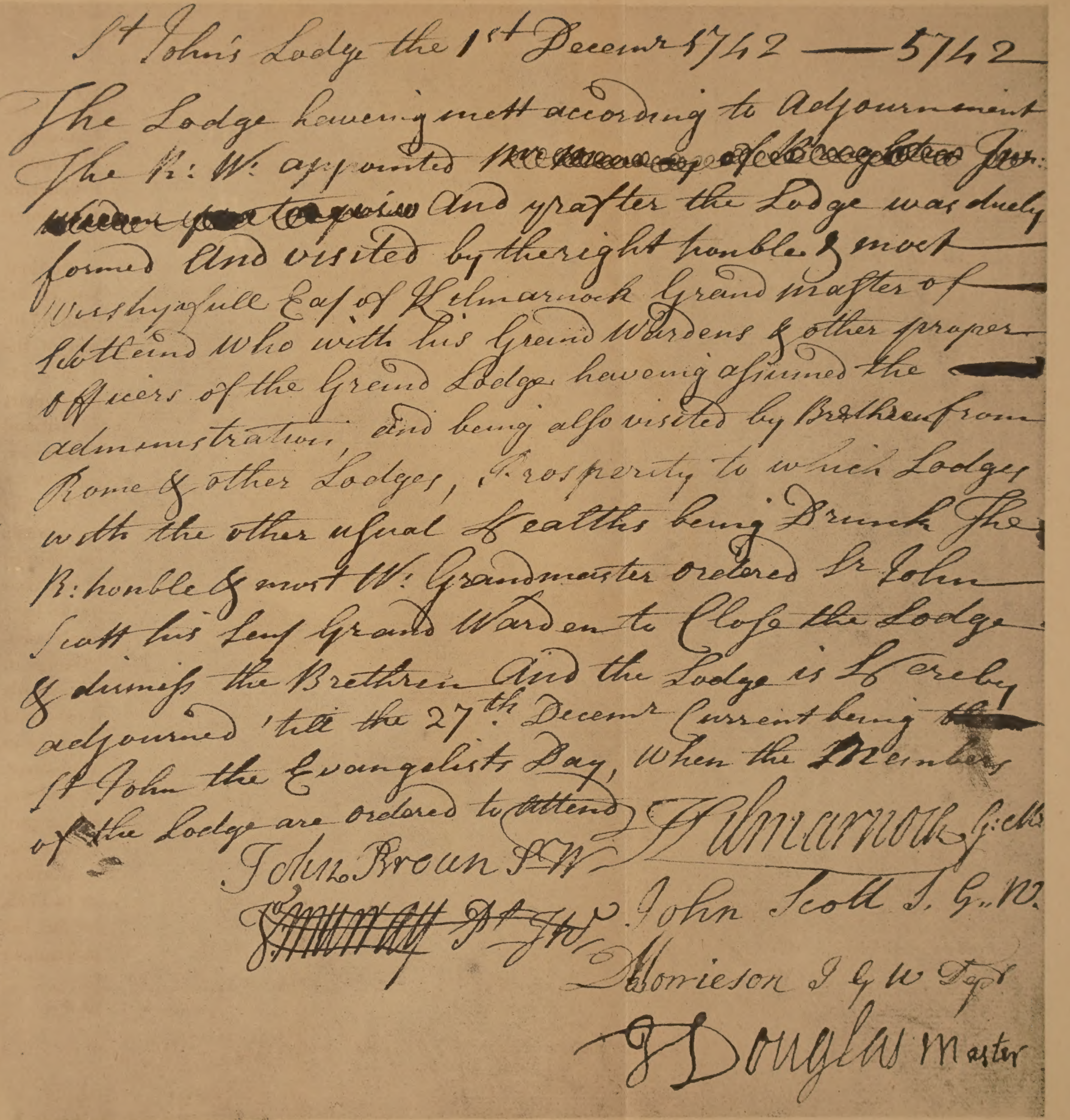
[1] A facsimile of the first minute in which his name appears and has been subsequently erased is here given, by the courtesy of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning No. 2.



St John's Lodge the 1st Decemr 1742 —— 5742

The Lodge haveing mett according to Adjournment
The R: W: appointed [redacted]
And yrafter the Lodge was duely
formed And visited by the right honble & most
Worshipfull Earl of Kilmarnock Grand master of
Scotland Who with his Grand Wardens & other proper
officers of the Grand Lodge haveing aſſumed the
administration, and being alſo visited by Brethren from
Rome & other Lodges, Prosperity to which Lodges
with the other uſual Healths being Drunk The
R: honble & most W: Grandmaster ordered Br John
Scott his Senr Grand Warden to Cloſe the Lodge
& dismiſs the Brethren And the Lodge is Hereby
adjourned 'till the 27th: Decemr Current being the
St John the Evangelists Day, When the Members
of the Lodge are ordered to attend

Kilmarnock G: M
John Brown S:W
[redacted] ~~St JW~~
John Scott S. G. W.
A Morieson J G W Depr
J Douglas Master

FACSIMILE (slightly reduced) of MINUTE of LODGE CANONGATE KILWINNING No. 2, showing the erasures of JOHN MURRAY's name.

may have been, but Dukes of Hamilton had often been suspected of more personal treasons to reigning sovereigns. His high position, and the fact that his overt acts during Prince Charles's expedition, were all that the government could desire, prevented any investigation of his views. There is no doubt that like many others he would gladly have seen the Stuarts at St. James's on his own terms, but the Forty-Five was not an adventure to his liking.

Murray's appointment, which, as he is careful to point out, brought him no salary, led naturally to his acquaintance with all the leading Jacobites in Scotland, Highland and Lowland, while Traquair seems to have acted as emissary between the Scots and English leaders of the party.

Soon after 1738 Murray married Margaret, daughter of Colonel Robert Ferguson, brother of William Ferguson of Cailloch, in Nithsdale. He also, about the same time, bought back the ancestral estate of Broughton. There are Murrays of Broughton in Galloway, and some confusion has resulted. Hill Burton, in *The Scot Abroad*, indeed goes out of his way to throw a stone at the author of these Memorials when he accuses him of calling his 'cottage and paddock' by the name of the seat of a respectable family, in order that he might be mistaken for a Wigtonshire Murray, a charge which has no foundation save in that estimable author's imagination. Broughton, in Peeblesshire, was a barony long before John Murray was born, and so far from his estate being a cottage and a paddock, it cost him £6000, and he sold it for £16,000, while in 1769 it was valued at £22,000.[1]

The first portion of the Memorials deals in detail with the arrangements for a descent under Prince Charles. The eldest son of the Chevalier was then twenty-four years of age. He had seen some service in Italy under his relative, the Duke of

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[1] Mr. George Murray has in his possession the missives of sale of Broughton, of date 24th May 1764. It was purchased by Mr. Dickson of Havannah, whose agent was Mr. Walter Scott, W.S. (father of Sir Walter), Murray's agent being Mr. Thomas Tod, W.S. Murray's historic visit to George Square, when the teacup was broken, had to do with this transaction.

Berwick, and burned to retrieve the fortunes of his house. In the Appendix to this volume (p. 508) is printed a letter from the Chevalier to the King of France, which must dispose for ever of one of the most foolish charges made against the hero of the Forty-Five. It has been stated by many, who ought to have known better, that Prince Charles came to Scotland against his father's will, and that his intention was to grasp the Crown and throw his father over. It is of little consequence to speculate what arrangement might have been come to had George II. retired to Hanover. The fact remains that James was anxious that Charles should make an attempt to regain his inheritance, but that he himself was determined to end his days in Rome. Charles, in a letter of 12th June 1745, published by Lord Mahon, protests energetically against any declaration of this intention. 'Sovereigns upon the throne can do such things; and even then it is not advisable; but a private man ruins himself and his family in doing on't.' No character in history has been so little understood as the Prince who was proclaimed at Perth as eighth of his name. In 1744 he was fifty-six years of age, a widower, in bad health, his spirit broken by the persistent bad luck of his whole life, like his father and his son Henry, a devout and consistent Catholic. For him the day of adventure was over, and with that calm wisdom, which shows itself constantly in his charming letters to his sons, he recognised that he would be miserable in London, while he might be more than contented at Rome. Here he would have been surrounded by heretics, and his religion would have been a perpetual stumbling-block; there he would be the Pope's best friend, and could exercise a delightful influence in the way of making cardinals and bishops. He chose his part, and as he said to Louis XV., it only remained to select the time when his determination should be made known. This, then, was the true position of affairs when Prince Charles set forth from Rome.

In the previous year preparations had been begun for a rising. Murray tells us what was doing in Scotland and in England, and he gives an account of a visit he paid to France in the beginning of 1743. He arrived in that country just after the death of Cardinal Fleury, in whom the Stuarts lost a powerful friend. Europe was still in the throes of the war. Dettingen was a blow to France, Broglie had been driven out of Germany; and, in short, the time had come for France to retrieve her position, as the prospects of a satisfactory peace were illusory. It is impossible and unnecessary to enter into detail as to the grounds of the hope of the Jacobites, that France would at once attempt an invasion of England. That hope was nearly realised the following year, and indeed, but for the friendly elements which again saved England, it seems almost certain that Saxe would have landed in 1744. When Murray arrived in France in January 1743, he, after some weeks of waiting, was presented to Amelot du Chaillu, Minister for Foreign Affairs, by the Jacobite agent Sempill, whose acquaintance also he now made for the first time. Nothing came of these negotiations save friendly compliments, and Murray's appointment as captain à la suite in Rothe's Irish Regiment.[1] In March Murray returned to London, visiting the Duke of Perth at York on his way home to Broughton. Little or nothing seems to have been done for some months. In January 1744, Macgregor (often called Drummond) of Bohaldy went to Rome, and it seems probable that he accompanied Prince Charles during part, at least, of his journey to Paris, where he arrived in February of that year. Bohaldy sent home from Rome accounts of a projected invasion in which Prince Charles or the Earl Marischal were to take part; and after his return to Paris he again roused the excitement of the Scots Jacobites by writing that Prince Charles and Marshal Saxe might land in England at any moment. These messages, though apparently definite, seem somehow to have proved quite unconvincing, and the leaders of the party in Scotland determined to send some one to Paris to represent their views to the Prince, and at the same time give him trustworthy information. Murray was chosen for this mission. He ostensibly went over to visit friends in the army in Flanders. There he met Bohaldy and went with him privately to Paris. The French Foreign Office was aware of Murray's visit to the Low Countries and of his meeting Bohaldy there, but this captain of the Macgregors seems, for no very ostensible reason, to have kept Murray's further progress concealed. All that the French Government was told was, that Murray had come to report on the state of Scotland, and that in consequence of his report Bohaldy found that fewer arms were necessary than had been anticipated, as the chiefs had armed their clans. Bohaldy's whole behaviour about the proposed purchase of arms at this time is mysterious. Murray's statements on this matter are probably true, and are corroborated to some extent by the minute of the French Foreign Office (*v.* p. 504).

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[1] This French Commission is extant and in possession of Mr. George Murray. By it 'Le Sieur Jean Murray' is appointed 'Capitaine Reformé à la suite du Regiment Irlandois de Rothe.' It is given at Versailles on 20th February 1743, and is signed 'Louis' and Marc Pierre Devoyer D'Argenson. Marc Pierre, Minister of War, was brother of Renée Louis, Marquis d'Argenson, Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1744-47, and author of the *Mémoires*.

Murray saw Prince Charles for the first time since 1738 in Paris in July or August 1744. He exposed Bohaldy's deception in the matter of his purchase of arms to the Prince and presented a Memorial (p. 376) setting forth his grievances against Drummond-Macgregor. In his evidence at Lovat's trial (p. 80 of the Official Report) Murray insists almost vehemently that he endeavoured both by argument with the Prince and by stronger remonstrances addressed to Sir Thomas Sheridan to dissuade Prince Charles from coming to Scotland without French aid. There is every reason to believe that Murray was telling the truth. The charges that he incited the Prince to come under any circumstances are not supported by any evidence that I have seen. They remain the bare assertions of disappointed and ruined men whose loyalty led them to shift the blame of the disastrous enterprise on to the shoulders of the dog who had the worst name. Prince Charles himself always accepted full responsibility for the step, and never sought to screen himself at the expense of any of his followers—ready as he was to charge Lord George Murray with treason for his conduct during the campaign.

Prince Charles's letter to his father, written on 12th June 1745,[1] proves that he was misinformed as to the state of feeling in Britain. He says: 'In fine our friends without saying it directly have spoke in such a manner that I plainly saw, iff the Winter and Spring passed over without some attempt, they wou'd rise of themselves in spite of all I could say or do to prevent it, not doubting but they wou'd succeed iff in the least seconded, and that the worst that could happen them was to dye in ye field, which was preferable to living any longer in misery and oppression.'

If these were the Prince's views as to the position of affairs in Scotland, and were not merely stated as an excuse for the enterprise on which he had then determined, a grave responsibility attaches to some. 'Our friends' may include Murray, but these words prove that he alone had not misled the Prince. The evidence of the Prince's letters, apart from Murray's own statements in his Memorials, seems rather to show that Murray, while practical and energetic (Sempill and Macgregor showed neither quality), was full of enthusiasm or, probably, inspired by the presence of the Prince, had expressed his hopes in language which led them to appear better founded than in his cooler moments he knew them to be. That he urged the Prince to come without French aid is improbable. That he accepted the Prince's statement that he would do so, and that his arguments against such a course were feeble and easily overborne, is almost certain. In recalling the circumstances of the interviews between the Prince and Murray, it must be remembered that both were young men—

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[1] Printed by Lord Mahon, *History of England*, vol. iii., Appendix.

the one twenty-four, the other not quite thirty years of age —and also that the Prince, ambitious, enthusiastic, and persuaded of the justice of his cause, was ready to listen rather to what he wanted to believe than to plain unvarnished fact. He had had enough of cautious inactivity from Sempill and Bohaldy. His letter of the 12th June, however, shows pretty conclusively that he alone was responsible for his expedition, and that though Murray might have done nothing to cool his ardour, the position of affairs in Europe and the British defeat at Fontenoy were the determining causes. George II. was in Hanover, a large number of troops were shut up in Flanders, the people were sick of a war in which England apart from Hanover had no clear interest. Jealous of Hanover and disgusted at the favour shown to the Electorate and its troops, taxed to provide subsidies to half Europe, shocked at the corruption of public life, the intelligent classes in England were patently discontented. France was at war with England—what more natural than that Prince Charles should persuade himself that if he carried the war across the Channel France would follow, that the people would rise and welcome him, not merely because he was their rightful Prince of Wales, but also because he came as a deliverer. In Scotland added causes of discontent arose from the still smouldering grievances of the Union. The sons of those who had been exiled after the Fifteen were burning to return and regain their position and estates—some, of course, had been leniently dealt with and were already in possession, and the more unwilling to risk anything again. Still the Court at Rome had many correspondents who were clamant in their calls to action and prodigal of the proffers of support and prophecies of success. It needed, therefore, no Murray to urge the Prince to go to Scotland, or persuade him that the time was propitious for a restoration.

Murray returned to Scotland in the autumn of 1744, and saw most of the leading members of the Jacobite party soon after. With the exception of the chivalrous and devoted Duke of Perth, every one of them was strongly opposed to the Prince's coming. In January 1745 Murray wrote a journal of his transactions with the leading members of the party, transcribed letters which had passed between him and Lord Traquair, Lochiel, and Sir James Stewart of Auchinbreck, and set forth in a letter to the Prince the 'situation and inclination of the party.' These documents were given to Lord Traquair for transmission to Paris. In the end of April this packet was returned to Murray, Lord Traquair having been unable to find 'any proper person to send it by to the Prince.' Murray and his friends had before this become anxious about the fate of their documents, and had sent another letter to the Prince to be forwarded by Mr. Charles Smith, merchant in Boulogne. This second attempted communication is not explicitly mentioned by Murray in his evidence at Lovat's trial. Another attempt, however, was made by Murray to forward the packet intrusted to Lord Traquair. In May, the younger Glengarry received it from Murray and set out at once for France. The Prince, however, never received the documents, and Murray thus has some justification for accusing Traquair's inaction of being the cause of the Forty-Five. In June Murray received a letter from the Prince informing him that he was determined at once to start for Scotland. Murray communicated the news to the Duke of Perth and went himself to Lochiel. Dr. Archibald Cameron was sent to Lovat, who sent him back immediately with a message protesting against the folly of the undertaking. The other Highland chiefs, with whom Lochiel communicated, were of the same opinion; and Murray wrote, on their behalf, a letter to the Prince, which he received on his landing as Eriska, in which an immediate return to France was urged as the only prudent conduct. Murray presumably knew his Prince better than to expect that his letter would have the effect ostensibly desired. He says, indeed, that he wrote to prevent any one saying that he had 'neglected to acquaint him with the sentiments of his friends.' For himself he was 'far from thinking that it would be consistent with the Prince's dignity to return.' Murray then returned south, but broke his journey to have an interview with Cluny on the way. With this his account of the negotiations breaks off. How far Cluny committed himself at this interview is not revealed, and we must still conjecture what that chief's real sentiments were when later he was brought before Prince Charles as a prisoner of war.

In the beginning of August, Murray, then in Peeblesshire, learned by an anonymous letter that the Prince had landed in Moidart, and at once set out to join him, with two boxes full of proclamations and manifestoes which he had had printed in Edinburgh, and a parcel of arms. Murray had asked young Glengarry to obtain his nomination as aide-de-camp, but he seems already to have assumed his duties of secretary. He travelled north, visiting Lord John Drummond the elder and Buchanan of Arnprior. From Leny[1] he sent James More Macgregor or Drummond, son of Rob Roy, but more pleasantly known as the father of R. L. Stevenson's Catriona, to Edinburgh to play a congenial part and deceive the Government with false intelligence. Murray joined the Prince at Kinloch-Moidart on August 18th, and from that day till shortly before Culloden he never left him. On August 25th Murray was named secretary, while his military ambition was to some extent satisfied later when he was made a colonel of hussars. There is no record that he ever led his regiment into action. The real commander was Baggot,[2] a French-Irish officer, and their highest force seems to have been about eighty rank and file. The regiment was formed after Prestonpans, marched to Derby, but is not heard of after the return to Scotland. Murray had coveted the post of aide-de-camp to the Prince, and his appointment to the more onerous post of secretary was evidently a disappointment. As secretary, however, he seems to have been the right man in the right place. His appointment, to begin with, raised no jealousies. He was not a soldier by profession, and his training had been purely literary. Amongst a company of country gentlemen, most of whom considered arms the only career for persons of their birth, few in any way fitted would have been willing to accept the post. Murray was a man of education—not that the Highland chiefs were illiterate—and he had been the recognised correspondent of the party for some years. In any case the appointment was justified. No complaints of his conduct as secretary were made during the whole campaign, and there is ample proof that throughout he was the embodiment of order, energy, and devotion.[1] The only charge made against him by any of the Prince's followers was inevitable: he is said to have had too much influence with his master, but it is nowhere proved that this influence was ever used to evil purpose, though Maxwell of Kirkconnel for one asserts the contrary. On the other hand, we have Lord George Murray's statement that he had been always extremely active in whatever concerned the providing for the army. In his Memorials Murray deals with the whole course of the expedition up to the arrival at Derby. He enters into no great detail, and adds but little of importance to our knowledge of the campaign. His Memorials were not written at the time, but some years after, and thus have not the interest and value of a diary. That he had kept something of a diary, however, appears probable, but he states that after Culloden all his papers were destroyed. He tells of the gathering of the Prince's army and of the march to Edinburgh, of the surrender of the capital and of the battle of Prestonpans, and, with regard to all these matters, supplements our knowledge. His official position gives weight to his information as to the accessions to the army, while on the few occasions where he tells of the troubles the Prince had with the many leaders under him, his statements have an irresistible authority. One of these refers to the quarrel between Lord George Murray and the Duke of Perth at Carlisle. Maxwell of Kirkconnel gives a garbled account of the matter, which has too frequently been received as authoritative. He, for no very logical reason, puts the whole blame of this and also of subsequent misunderstandings on the secretary. John Murray's own account is that Lord George conducted the preparations for the siege to the admiration of all, but that when the town surrendered, the Prince ordered him 'to go to the Duke of Perth's quarters, and together with him to treat with the deputies from the town.' This was resented by Lord George, who, on the ground that the Duke was a Roman Catholic, argued that it was bad policy to put his Grace forward as head of the army at the first English town of which the Prince got possession, while the secretary's employment in the matter seemed simply a slight to himself. Lord George resigned his post as lieutenant-general, and informed the Prince that in future he would serve as a volunteer—a show of temper which Charles never forgave, and which was but one of many misunderstandings. John Murray does not tell us of this resignation, but there is ample authority for the fact. His account is that Lord George's complaints were chiefly directed against him, and that in consequence he magnanimously resigned his place on the Prince's council. The Prince demurred, but on the secretary pointing out that it was only with a view to the Prince's interest, and that it would be 'still in his power to advise in a private manner,' he agreed. The Duke of Perth, not to be behind, resigned the chief command to Lord George, who thereafter was commander-in-chief of the army. Lord George's position, however, was never satisfactory in his own eyes, for the Prince continued to direct the movements of the army himself; and the private advice of the Duke of Perth, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and Mr. Secretary was more frequently sought than that of the responsible officers.

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[1] Mr. Blaikie informs me that he has fallen into an error in stating in the *Itinerary* that Murray visited Arnprior House. Buchanan of Arnprior was then residing at his house of Leny near Callander, and it was at Leny that Murray met him and James More Macgregor.—*Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward*, by W. B. Blaikie, Scot. Hist. Soc., 1897, p. 7, n. 2.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 93.

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[1] See *Itinerary*, p. 41, n. 4.

After the arrival of the army at Derby, Murray's narrative stops, and there is a blank until after Culloden. In his examination, taken in the Tower in August 1746, he lifts the curtain but once or twice on this intervening period. For instance, he tells us that when he learned that Lord George Murray, Lord Elcho, and, indeed, every member of the Prince's council, except the Duke of Perth, had at Derby declared their opinion for marching back to Scotland, he advised the Prince to yield. Of the serious quarrel between the Prince and Lord George Murray in January 1746 Murray says not a word. Though the letters and remonstrances[1] began by Lord George on January 6th and continued till the end of the month, which resulted, in spite of the Prince's strenuous opposition, in the withdrawal of the force beyond the Forth, require little elucidation, it would have been of interest to know Murray's part in the dispute. Charles yielded, but he ends his letter consenting to the retreat thus: 'After this, I know that I have an army that I cannot command any further than the chief officers please, and therefore, if you are all resolved upon it, I must yield; but I take God to witness that it is with the greatest reluctance, and that I wash my hands of the fatal consequences which I foresee, but cannot help.' Lord George Murray's part in this interference with the royal authority destroyed all friendship between him and the Prince. Charles regarded him henceforth as little better than a traitor. In April 1747, hearing that he had gone to Rome, he writes to the Chevalier: 'It wou'd be of the most Dangerous Consequences iff such a Divill was not secured immediately in sum Castle where he might be at his ease but without being able to escape, or have ye Liberty of Pen or Paper.'[2] Again (p. 398), he says that he has 'good reason to suspect by circumstances together that Murray was in a click with Lord George, tho' he pretended and appeared to be otherwise.' To these communications James replied with his usual sense, urging the Prince to forgive Lord George, as there was no question of his loyalty and affection. This appeal was in vain; Charles refused to see Lord George, and they never met again. Charles's ingenious theory that the two Murrays were 'in a click together' may have arisen from the secretary counselling consent first to the retreat from Derby and then, possibly, to the retreat from Falkirk. These at least were both regarded by Charles as the result of 'disobedience, insolency, and creating dissension' by Lord George, and were the chief grievances against him.

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[1] See *Itinerary*, pp. 73-78.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 81.

When the Prince was at Elgin in March 1746, John Murray became seriously ill. The Prince's troops left Inverness before Culloden, and Murray was carried in a litter to Foyers. The day of the battle he was carried across Loch Ness to Mrs. Grant's of Glenmoriston, where Dr. Cameron 'acquainted him with the disaster of the preceding day.' He was able next day to go to meet the Duke of Perth at Invergarry. Getting little comfort from his Grace, who, 'quite wore out with fatigue,' had evidently at last lost faith in the ultimate success of the expedition, Murray went on to Loch Eil, where he met the Cameron chief and Stewart of Ardsheal. These determined to attempt to rally a force who should 'keep the hills' till it was discovered whether help was coming from France or not. From Loch Eil, Murray went with his host to Callich, and thence to a wood, where some huts had been hurriedly erected for their shelter and concealment. Here they heard some news of the Prince, and despatched Dr. Cameron to urge him not to leave the country. Hay of Restalrig, who had undertaken Murray's duties (and by all accounts performed them badly [1]) met Cameron and told him the Prince had sailed. This statement was doubted, and another messenger was sent next day. Then it was made certain that the Prince had left for the Hebrides. The arrival of two ships from France was announced with arms, money, and ammunition. Murray went to the ships to receive this contribution. He found them off the coast in action with three British men-of-war,[1] and was told that they had landed thirty-five thousand Louis-d'ors in six casks, but that in the hurry one of the casks had gone amissing. This cask was found by a boy: seven or eight hundred pounds had been abstracted. Murray took possession of the money. Here begins the story of the hidden treasure, which was essential to round off the romance of the Forty-Five.

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[1] *Itinerary*, p. 41, n. 4.

Next day the British ships having retired, after 'meeting with a severe drubbing,' the French commodore set sail with the Duke of Perth, who survived but a few days, Lord John Drummond, Lord Elcho, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Lockhart of Carnwath, Hay of Restalrig, and some others. Murray and Lochiel remained: Murray because, he says, he would not desert his Prince; Lochiel because he would not then desert his clan. Murray had also the responsibility of disposing of the French treasure; there is no evidence that he failed in that trust. His refusal to escape with his dying friend Perth must be set to the credit side of Murray's strangely involved account with honour.

Murray explains his transactions with the money more fully than is done in the statement of charge and discharge printed by Chambers in the Appendix to his *History of the Rebellion*. He tells us that Barrisdale, Clanranald, and some others on the spot, thought the money should be at once divided amongst them by way of an equivalent for their losses. He opposed this rough-and-ready manner of settlement, promised to pay all arrears, to allow half a Louis-d'or for each wounded man and a small allowance for widows, and sent the money in charge of Dr. Cameron to Lochiel.

Murray followed by way of Loch Morar, and in a few days a conference was held in Lochiel's country,[2] when plans for rally-ing the army were discussed. A rendezvous was appointed, Lovat promising to send four hundred men under his son, and the other chiefs guaranteeing various reinforcements. Before the date fixed for the assembling of this little army of resistance Murray buried in 'three several parcels in the wood,' beside Loch Arkaig, fifteen thousand Louis-d'or. The army—alas for promises—amounted when at last assembled to some four hundred, of whom two hundred were Camerons: thirteen hundred had been promised. The Master of Lovat was 'never so much as heard of' with his four hundred men. Murray gives a detailed account of the subsequent proceedings of this little body till its voluntary dispersion a few days later in face of an overwhelming force of Government troops. During these days six casks were carried about by the clans, three filled with French gold, three filled with stones, to replace the three already buried in Cameron ground. Murray tells us he adopted this deception 'to give no jealousy to the other clans of his having more confidence in the Camerons than' in them. He buried twelve thousand Louis-d'or near to the foot of Loch Arkaig, 'about a mile from Lochiel's house,' retaining five thousand Louis 'for necessary expenses.' Thus the total buried treasure is shown to have been twenty-seven thousand Louis-d'or.

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[1] Murray says opposite 'Keppoch' (p. 273), apparently a mistake for 'Borradale.'

[2] Murray says at 'Mortleg' (p. 274), evidently a confusion of names: the conference took place at Muirlaggan on Loch Arkaig.

When the clans finally dispersed, Murray, having received intelligence that the Prince was in Uist, set out for the coast with the intention of joining his master. He fell ill again, however, and was dissuaded from going, on the further ground that his ignorance of Gaelic would mark him, and make him rather a danger than a help to his fugitive Prince. He attempted, however, to communicate with him, and waited for instructions in Lochiel's country for some days. He met his wife and his nephew, Sir David Murray, near Strontian, and again forgathered with Lochiel. It was agreed, says Murray, that he should go to Leith and charter a ship to convey himself and Lochiel from Scotland to Holland. A port in Fife was agreed upon as the rendezvous. Murray's account of his journey to Glen Lyon, to Breadalbane, and thence to Balquidder, south to Carnwath, and on to Kilbucho[1] and Polmood, is full of interest, and recalls Waverley's journey through part of the same country. At Polmood, his sister's house in Peeblesshire, he went to bed at two in the morning, 'overcome with fatigue, and before five[2] was waked, the dragoons at the gate.' So ended Murray's part in the Forty-Five, and had his life ended here he would have been handed down to posterity as one of the paladins of that last romance of Scottish history. Unfortunately for Murray's reputation, the scenes that were still to be played have made more impression on the chroniclers than those of the earlier acts of the drama before the dragoons came to Polmood. Even after his capture, however, he informs us that he was careful of his friends, and sent an Edinburgh physician, Dr. Cochran, who visited him in the castle, to Leith to engage the ship for Lochiel.

Murray's wife got back to Edinburgh with some difficulty, and soon after her arrival gave birth to a son, who did not long survive. His nephew Sir David was taken, and imprisoned for some time at York. His release was brought about by the influence of his relatives, amongst whom Lord Hopetoun may be mentioned. He afterwards went to France. He was in Paris in 1747, and at the time of Prince Charles's arrest and imprisonment at Vincennes, Sir David Murray, it is recorded, was one of his friends who was arrested and imprisoned in the Bastille. In a list in the French Foreign Office of the Prince's friends in Paris in 1746-47, Sir David Murray is described as an impetuous and brave youth of twenty-two, who had been condemned to death, but had had his sentence changed to exile, with the confiscation of his estates. He died in 1770, and was succeeded as titular baronet by his uncle Charles, who was collector of customs at Borrowstoneness; he died, however, within a few months, was succeeded by his son, another Sir David, who also died soon after his succession, and John Murray of Broughton then assumed the title, in spite of the attainder.

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[1] Dickson of Kilbucho married Margaret, the eldest daughter of Sir William Murray of Stanhope. Their son, the laird at this time, was John Murray's cousin.

[2] The Lord Justice-Clerk says 'at three in the morning.'

Prince Charles as soon as he heard of Murray's capture attempted to get him, Glengarry, and Sir Hector Maclean brought under the protection of the French King so that they might, as French officers, be exchanged as prisoners of war: English officers captured during the recent campaign in Flanders,[1] as well as prisoners sent by Charles from Scotland, were to be offered in exchange. The French ministers were ready to help, though they appear to have had no great hopes of success.

Then comes the report that Murray has turned king's evidence, and we hear nothing more of the matter, so far at any rate as he is concerned. Prince Charles's letters, his insistance, his assertion that Murray was worth a thousand men to the standard prove that his secretary had retained his confidence to the end. Then comes his letter to his father bewailing Lovat's fate and Murray's 'rascality.'[2]

Murray's capture was considered of great importance by the government, and correspondence with regard to him at once began between the Lord Justice-Clerk and the Secretary of State. The assertion that he was drunk when the Lord Justice-Clerk first interviewed him is unworthy of belief. The poor man was wretchedly ill; he had ridden over half Scotland with scarcely a rest, and the dragoons probably found him in a somewhat dazed condition at three o'clock in the morning. The Justice-Clerk himself gives fatigue as a more charitable reason for his condition. In fact his lordship admits his bad state of health when it was certified by the king's apothecary.

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[1] Appendix, pp. 518, 520.

[2] Appendix, p. 404.

The Duke of Newcastle seems from the first to have expected Murray to give information, and authorised the Justice-Clerk to sound him, without, however, promising a pardon. Murray was sent off to London on July 7th in a coach with a guard of dragoons. Fletcher, not having received the duke's instructions in time, followed, and we have a full account (pp. 417, 418) of his interview with the prisoner at Dunbar. Murray stated that 'if he had any hopes given him he would discover all he knew.' What mental reservation the prisoner made, he would have us discover from his Memorials. The date of his capture became a matter of importance, as an Act of Parliament attainted him by name, if by July 12 he did not surrender to justice. His capture on June 27th was somewhat disingenuously interpreted as sufficient. He was examined on August 13th, 22d, 27th, and in October he writes offering more information. On November 11th, a further examination was taken before the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Chesterfield, and Mr. Pelham. Then on the 17th of the same month, he sends a lengthy statement (p. 455) in supplement of the information given at the examinations. In December we find the Duke of Newcastle sending an extract from Murray's examination to the Lord Justice-Clerk with the view of preparing a case against Sir John Douglas. So far, Murray's revelations seem to have been mainly about the English Jacobites who had failed to rise. He mentions all the leading men in the Prince's army, but Drummond-Macgregor and Traquair are almost the only Scots names mentioned of those who merely plotted. In February 1747 the evidence was being prepared for the trial of Lord Lovat, and the committee charged with the management of the trial decided that 'it would be proper to make use of Mr. Murray as a witness.' Accordingly in February new examinations take place, and on March 9th the trial of the aged chief of the clan Fraser began. It caused prodigious sensation, and occupied seven days. Lovat whined and blustered alternately. Murray came up to his precognitions, but even without him it seems probable that the evidence of sundry Frasers would have sufficed to bring Lovat to the block. The trial is well known, though it would appear that many who have ransacked the English language to find epithets vile enough for Murray had never read his evidence. His position was not heroic, and all that can be said for him seems to be that he might have told a great deal more about other people.

After Lovat's execution Murray was released from the Tower. He did not receive a pardon till June 7th, 1748, when one was granted jointly to him and to Hugh Fraser, also a witness at the trial, and he had thus the nominal threat of a trial hanging over him for more than a year.[1] After that Murray seems to have attempted to prefer a claim for an indemnity for losses sustained during his detention in London, with what success I have been unable to discover.

Of Murray's subsequent life little is known. It cannot have been happy. Every Jacobite shunned 'Mr. Evidence Murray.' For years, the Prince who had treated him with affection, who had 'looked on him as one of the honestest, firmest men in the whole world,' regarded him as a rascal and a villain. At last, after nearly twenty years, a strange incident occurs. Charles made one of those mysterious visits to England, described once for all in *Redgauntlet*. In 1763 he was in London and he visited John Murray. No record, alas, remains of that interview, full of strange memories to both. All we know of it is from the recollection of a little boy of nine years old who was present, and upon whose mind the visit of the stately red-faced gentleman was impressed by his father. 'Charles, you have seen your king,' said the old secretary to the boy who was afterwards to make some name behind the footlights, and whose son again was to be the ally of Sir Walter, the dramatist of *Rob Roy* and *Guy Mannering*. As Mr. Lang has pointed out, about this very time[1] Sir Walter's father threw out of the window the teacup that had touched the lips of Murray of Broughton. Was the Prince more forgiving than the Edinburgh lawyer? Or was some information wanted that Murray alone could give? Or had Murray rehabilitated himself in the eyes of his master?

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[1] In the Record Office is the following communication from the Attorney-General:—

'*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.*

May it please your Majesty,—

'In obedience to your Majesty's commands, signified to me by his Grace the Duke of Bedford, referring to me the enclosed memorial of John Murray of Broughton, Esq., and directing me to report my opinion what may be properly done therein.

'I have considered the same, and supposing what is therein stated to be true, I am humbly of opinion it may be proper that a *Noli prosequi* should be granted to the information mentioned in the memorial.

'All which is most humbly submitted to your Majesty's Royal Wisdom.

'D. Ryder.

19 *Jun.* 1749.'

Of Murray's later days no record remains. After the sale of Broughton in 1764 he would appear to have resided mainly in London. It is stated in *Notes and Queries* (4th series, xi. 414, 419), that he died at Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, on 6th Dec. 1777. In Collet's *Relics of Literature* there is an account from a newspaper (name and date not given) of Sir John Murray's arrest and confinement in a mad-house, with a letter from his son Robert, explaining the circumstances. From these it would appear that Murray's reason had given way, that 'the meanest mechanics of different denominations' (so says Mr. Robert Murray) 'gratified their curiosity and boasted of interviews with mad Secretary Murray,' and that in consequence 'his two sons, two servants, and a peace officer removed him from his lodgings in 'Denmark Street, near St. Giles, with every mark of tenderness and respect, and placed him under the care of Dr. Battie.' When this happened, whether it happened at all, or whether it is as apocryphal as the letter from Frederick the Great to Prince Charles, given in the same volume, must remain among the unanswered questions which might be asked at many points in Murray's career. It may not be true, but it seems at least a not improbable conclusion to a career begun with high ideals and carried on for a time with unswerving devotion.

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[1] The incident probably occurred in the following year. Mr. Lang has confounded Charles Murray the actor with his son Mr. W. H. Murray, of the Edinburgh Theatre.—*Bibliographica*, vol. iii. p. 417.

It is difficult to overcome the prejudice of a century and a half: it is hard to dissociate the secretary from the king's evidence, the loyal servant from the betrayer of Lovat. The history of the preparations for the Forty-Five as told by Murray, and as corroborated by every authority, shows his capacity, energy, and tact. Those qualities were displayed by him during the whole progress of the expedition, and his own story leaves the impression that he was one of the most capable of Prince Charles's supporters.

Murray's wife, the beautiful Miss Ferguson, left him and went to the Continent while he was in the Tower. She never returned, and it is alleged was unfaithful to him.[1] By her he had three sons, David, a naval officer, Robert, of whom little is known, and Thomas who entered the army and became a lieutenant-general. His second wife was 'a young quaker lady named Webb.' She is elsewhere stated to have been a Moravian, and is reported to have been a lady of great personal charms. She was recognised and lived in Scotland for some years as Lady Murray, though the date of the death of Murray's first wife has never been ascertained. Murray eloped with Miss Webb from a boarding-school. By her he had six children, the eldest of whom was Charles Murray the comedian, whose eldest son was Mr. W. H. Murray of the Edinburgh theatre, the friend of Sir Walter Scott. His eldest surviving son, the great-grandson of Murray of Broughton, is Mr. George Siddons Murray, the possessor of the manuscripts which are here printed, and the present representative of the house of Stanhope.[2]

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[1] There is a tradition in the Murray family that she became the Prince's mistress. There is not only not a particle of evidence for this, but the story is inherently improbable.

[2] Charles Campbell (see Colonel Allardyce's *Historical Papers relating to the Jacobite Period*, p. 352) describes Murray thus: 'The last time I saw him he was in a scarlet dress and a white cockade. He is a well-looking little man of a fair complexion.'

These Memorials seem to have been written about 1757 and later, and to have been intended as a vindication as well as a history. They were possibly not completed when the author died in 1777; at any rate the missing portions have not come down to us. The existing portions have been carefully preserved by his descendants. Sir Walter may have seen them; Chambers certainly read them, made one or two notes on the margin, which remain, and was in correspondence with Mr. W. H. Murray with regard to them. If the story of Murray's ultimate insanity is true, then the fact that neither Part I. nor Part II. is finished is easily explained. It were not wonderful that in the end the public obloquy from which he could not free himself should have preyed upon his mind and destroyed his intellect. The manuscripts are not in Murray's own hand, but have all been revised by him, as is shown by notes, corrections, and additions in his writing.

Apart from the historical interest of the Memorials, some literary value may be claimed for them. Murray's university education resulted in such scholarship as befitted a gentleman of his position and no more. He gives us a few Latin tags of the most familiar sort, while references to Scipio, Hannibal, Dion of Syracuse, and Gustavus of Sweden show an acquaintance with ancient and modern history which, if not deep, appears at least to have been fairly wide. He was evidently a man of some culture and literary instinct. His style is that rather of the public speaker than of the man of letters. It seldom lacks vigour, but it is occasionally cumbrous. The Memorials abound in trenchant phrases, and an apt illustration from time to time lightens the page. Through all, however, is seen the gloomy figure of an unhappy man, sometimes indignant, sometimes querulous, now with a sneer and again with something approaching a whine. He strives to say nothing against the dynasty to whom he owed his life, but even he cannot be silent about Cumberland's brutality. He compares the two princes, and his hero suffers no derogation.

Murray's loyalty to the House of Stuart was traditional and more. Whatever his views may have been before he went to Rome, he returned captivated by that charm which won Prince Charles so many devoted servants. The interview at the back of the Tuileries stables in 1744 completed the Prince's influence, and from that day till the end, in spite of all, there can be no doubt that Murray was instinct with a personal loyalty and devotion to his Prince.

It is no part of my duty in editing these Memorials to attempt any special pleading on behalf of their author. He speaks here in his own defence. It is right, however, not only that the facts of his life should be briefly set down, but that the actual results of his 'rascality,' as the Prince himself calls it, should be noted. Murray's evidence was used by the Government only against Lord Lovat. Without it that aged intriguer might have escaped the glory of Tower Hill. Take it that Murray brought him to the scaffold, nobody ever was more worthy of such a fate. His private crimes, even in these more humane days, would have sent him to penal servitude: his political offences may be summarised as treachery both to the King in London and to the King at Rome. In Murray's eyes Lovat's double-dealing was ample justification for any revenge he could compass. Lovat had failed at the beginning to join the Prince's standard, when his example would have been worth thousands of men; when he did send his son, it was too late to influence the wavering chiefs. His vacillation had done much to ruin the expedition, and he therefore deserved no mercy. Lovat's death was the price of Murray's life. The cynic may ask whether King George or the laird of Broughton made the better bargain.

Murray's evidence at Lord Lovat's trial and his private examinations before members of the Privy Council show that he did nothing to bring into jeopardy any single individual who had borne arms with Prince Charles. He tells practically nothing that the Government did not already know.

The Duke of Perth, Lochiel, and in fact nearly all the leaders, had already escaped to France: nothing he might say about them could do harm. Cluny he barely mentions; Lockhart of Carnwath he screens; Lord Traquair had skulked in London; the English Jacobites had caused, in Murray's eyes, the ruin of the whole campaign. Their failure to rise and join the Prince had, day after day, from Carlisle to Derby, caused the bitterest disappointment, and at last resulted in the disaster of the retreat: and this after all the plottings and promises of years. Again, Murray argued, his country, through them, was the scene of cruelties unexampled in civilised warfare, his Prince was a fugitive, his friends dead or exiled, and nothing was left but revenge on the false friends, for the open enemies were unassailable. He was young, just over thirty; life had surely something more in store, though his dearest hopes were ruined. His evidence did little harm to anybody save Lovat, for of the others only Lord Traquair suffered imprisonment: he made his own arrangements with the Government, and was released without the annoyance of any judicial proceedings. At the least, therefore, Murray must be distinguished from the common informer, and the view that his 'infamy' is his only claim on the memory of posterity must be modified by a knowledge of the man and his surroundings.

The documents which form the text of this volume have been continuously in the possession of John Murray's descendants, and are now printed by the courtesy of his great-grandson, Mr. George Siddons Murray. They are well-preserved, having been bound in four volumes. There is a fifth volume, which is not printed here: it contains a detailed examination of the Report of the inquiry into General Cope's conduct, which took place in 1749. The writer has given no title to his manuscripts: they do not form a diary, and were not written till many years after the events they record. I have therefore ventured to call them 'Memorials.'

In the Appendix will be found, now printed also for the first time—(1.) A series of letters from the Stuart Papers in possession of Her Majesty, which illustrate Murray's text; (2.) Murray's private examinations before the Privy Council, and other papers and letters from the Record Office and the British Museum; (3.) Forty letters and minutes from the French Foreign Office. These last cover the period from the arrival of Prince Charles in France in 1744 to the date on which Murray's resolution to give evidence against Lord Lovat was made known. They do not exhaust the materials for students of this period at the Quai D'Orsay, as only those bearing directly on Murray's text have been selected for publication here.

To Her Majesty the Queen I beg leave to record my humble gratitude for permission to consult and print portions of the Stuart correspondence in the Royal Library at Windsor, and also for permission to reproduce the miniature of Prince Charles, which formerly belonged to the writer of these Memorials.

My thanks are due to M. Hanotaux, to the officials of the French Foreign Office, and to Her Majesty's Ambassador and Mr. Thornhill of the British Embassy in Paris, for obtaining and granting permission to consult the French Archives.

I have to thank the Hon. J. D. Edgar, Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons, for permission to reproduce the miniature of Prince Charles, which he has inherited from his great-granduncle, James Edgar, Secretary to the Chevalier. This miniature was painted in Paris in 1744 or 1745, and has never before been engraved. To Mr. Andrew Lang my thanks are also due for permission to reproduce the miniature of the Prince formerly in the possession of John Murray. This portrait was one of seven painted in Rome some years before Charles left for France.

My thanks are also due to the officials of the Record Office and the British Museum; to Mr. R. R. Holmes of the Royal Library, Windsor, for courteous assistance in my examination of the papers in their charge; to Mr. Law, the Secretary of the Scottish History Society, for his unfailing help, informed criticism and advice; and to my friend Mr. W. B. Blaikie, author of the *Itinerary of Prince Charles*, whose stores of knowledge of the period have been constantly at my disposal.

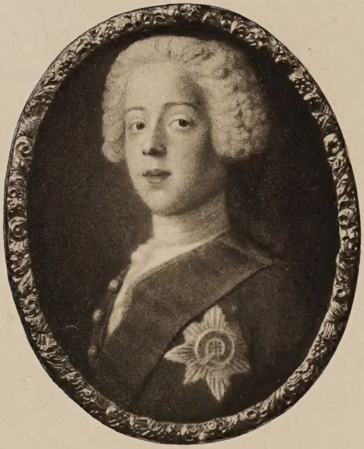
R. F. B.

April 30, 1898.

PART I

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ADHERENTS OF THE HOUSE OF STUART

1740-1745



Walker & Boutall ph. sc.

PRINCE CHARLES in boyhood.

From a miniature, formerly the property of John Murray of Broughton, now in the possession of Mr. Andrew Lang.

PART I

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ADHERENTS OF THE HOUSE OF STUART, 1740-1745.

It is well known, that, from my most tender Years, I upon every occasion declared my attachment to the interest of the Family of Stuart, and as soon as I left the University of Leyden, went to Rome;[1] not led thither, like most people, who profess the same way of thinking, with a desire to satisfy my curiosity by staring in the face of the Person I looked upon as my Prince, but from a principle of Conviction founded upon Study and mature Reflection, and with a view to offer my service, either at home or abroad.

Whether I followed out that Scheme, and performed the services I proposed, will plainly appear from what follows. Though no particular Branch of Business was allotted to me at that time, yet it would seem his Majesty was of opinion that I might be of service to him, having ordered his Secretary * to engage me to correspond with him after my return home, and to inform him of whatever I should think material.

After some months' stay at Rome, I returned through Germany to Holland, where I had not been long before Captain Hay (Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to his Majesty) arrived at Rotterdam on his way to Scotland, charged with some Commissions of importance. This Gentleman sent for me, and, after informing me of his intended voyage, begged I would

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* This Mr. Edgar told me; and desired me to write to him.

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[1] The *Genuine Memoirs*, followed by the writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, state that Murray was not in Rome till 1741. Joannes Murray, Scoto-Britannus, matriculated at Leyden 1st October 1735 as a student of law. He was in Rome in 1737. See Introduction.

accompany him. Imagining at first that his request proceeded more from a view to his own Convenience than any service I could do the Royal Family, I refused to comply; telling him (what was really true) that my baggage was then packed up to set out for France, where I proposed to stay some time. Mr. Hay upon this told me that Gordon of Glenbucket[1] had been lately at Rome with a Scheme to rise in arms for the King; but his Majesty, not thinking Glenbucket properly authorised, had despatched him with Instructions to converse with the Heads of the Loyal Party, and had given him Orders to take me with him to assist him in Scotland. Upon this I immediately laid aside all thoughts of my intended Journey to France, and in a few days sailed for Sunderland (a Sea-port in the Bishoprick of Durham), from whence we went to Mr. Hay of Drumelzier's (whose brother was then at Rome), and the day following to Edinburgh. During Captain Hay's stay I gave him all the assistance in my power, and went to Kenmure, where I acquainted the late Lord[2] with Captain Hay's desire to see him, who immediately came to Town, and cheerfully declared his readiness to appear upon the first occasion. Amongst others Captain Hay conversed with the late Mr. James Graham of Airth[3] (then Judge of the Admiralty) and the honourable Basil Hamilton[4] (Grand-uncle to the present Duke of Hamilton), who were both of opinion that it was not then a proper time to make an attempt.

At this time I became acquainted with the late Colonel Urquhart, then charged with the King's affairs in Scotland, who some few months after took occasion to tell me, that as he was growing old, and much afflicted with a Cancer in his face (which had deprived him of the use of one of his Eyes), he thought it absolutely necessary that a person should be nominated to succeed him, whom he might be able to make acquainted with the business, and to whom he might consign his papers before his death: that he had both considered himself, and consulted with many of the King's Friends, upon the choice of a Successor; who upon mature deliberation had all agreed that I was the properest person to be employed in that Capacity, not only for my attachment to the Royal Family, but my knowledge of the Party and the Confidence they would repose in me; and the favourable light I stood in at Rome. To this I made answer that I was infinitely obliged to him, and the rest of the King's Friends, for esteeming me capable and worthy of a Trust of that delicate nature, but I must be excused for thinking they were to blame, and that they had not sufficiently reflected upon the importance of the Trust, and the many Qualifications requisite to execute it to purpose: that I was young, but lately entered into the world, and much a stranger to the accomplishments essential to a man of business: that I had gone early abroad, known but to few of my Countrymen, and such as I had become acquainted with in foreign parts generally of a different way of thinking, and the time I had been at home had been too short to contract intimacies with any number of the Party: that young people were often changeable and unstable, new thoughts, new principles, like new teeth, frequently pushed out the old; and Proselites in politicks, as in Religion, were always the most violent, especially where Interest had any share in the Conversion; that there were many worthy honest men, who had attained to years of Stability, and a *fixed way of thinking*, which put all fears of *their change* out of doubt; men who had long served the Party with Constancy, and who had *proved* their Fidelity by *severe sufferings*: that such might think it strange that when an employment of this kind came to be disposed of, it should be bestowed upon a *Novice*, who had never had an opportunity of showing his Principles but by professions: that they would naturally be chagrined and displeased, esteeming themselves slighted and neglected upon an occasion where their *services entitled* them to be employed; from whence might possibly flow two very bad effects, by making them more remiss and negligent to promote the interest of the Cause, and think themselves warranted to refuse to do business with, or confide in, a person so little known to them: this again would be a means to keep me ignorant of the strength of the Party, prevent me from giving proper intelligence; and, above all, put it out of my power to write and strengthen them, which could not be effected without a thorough knowledge of what those, who were already engaged, were willing to undertake: thus being kept in the dark, I might promise too much or too little, according to my Ideas of the Power and Abilities of Individuals: and, finally, if naming me should be found fault with, it might hurt his Majesty's Interest in the most tender part, as nothing is generally more detrimental to a Prince, than to employ a person in his affairs disagreeable to his Friends, or who is esteemed uncapable of the Trust reposed in him. For these and other reasons, needless to mention, I begged he would have no further thoughts of me: but offered, as far as was in my power, to relieve him in the fatiguing part, and if necessary to be his Amanuensis.

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[1] John Gordon, 'Old Glenbucket,' is described by a contemporary who saw him in 1745 as 'an old man well crouched, not very tall.' He was Glengarry's father-in-law, and was one of the first to join the Prince. He raised an Aberdeenshire regiment, and was a member of the Prince's council. He escaped after Culloden, and died in 1750.

[2] Robert Gordon, son of 6th Viscount Kenmure (who was beheaded and attainted), died 1741, aged 28. He was succeeded as titular peer by his brother John, b. 1713, d. 1769.

[3] James Graham of Airth joined the Prince before he came to Edinburgh. Graham is reported as 'lurking' in 1746.

[4] Basil Hamilton of Baldoon, second son of Basil, sixth son of William Douglas and Anne Duchess of Hamilton; 'out' in 1715, when he behaved with great courage at Preston; tried and condemned, but was pardoned in 1732; M.P. for Kirkcudbright in 1741; died 1742.

The old Gentleman replied, that he had heard my objections with attention and great pleasure, and in place of making him alter his former way of thinking, they had confirmed him in his opinion that there was none more fit to succeed him, as the several arguments I had proposed were so many proofs of my Capacity, and showed that a person, who was so much master of the objections to be made against himself, could not fail to remove them by his cautious deportment, and nothing was a stronger incentive to Virtue than a thorough knowledge and abhorrence of the opposite vice. The faults to be found with me would always keep me upon my guard, and as soon as the Party came to be acquainted with my conduct, and the motives which had induced me to act, they would lay aside all scruples, and in place of finding fault, not only applaud the choice, but think themselves happy in having one in whom they could confide with safety: but that laying aside all arguments of that nature, he was fully satisfied of the Loyalty and Attachment of the People principally concerned, and that they would no sooner know I was employed than they would unanimously agree to give me all the assistance in their Power: and concluded by saying, he would venture to propose it in the Despatches he was then sending to Rome.

I again repeated my desire to be excused, for the reasons before mentioned; but consented that he might promise in my name that there was nothing in my power but I was ready to undertake to promote the Interest of the Royal Family, and would accept of being a second to whomever his Majesty should be pleased to employ.

The Colonel, being then unable to write Letters of any length, begged me to assist him, which I chearfully complied with, and from that time made it my business to cultivate a friendship with every Person who was supposed to wish well to the Royal Family, and let no opportunity slip to insinuate my principles in every Company where there was any probability of their having effect. Notwithstanding what I had said, the Colonel took upon him to propose me for his successor, for in the Return to the Despatches he had then sent, which arrived in less than three months, the King approved his motion, provided the late Duke of Hamilton[1] agreed to it; and the Colonel soon after acquainted me with the Instructions he had received, and read a letter wrote by Mr. Hugh Hamilton of Rosehaugh, by the Duke's order, approving of his Majesty's choice. Though I was still averse to be charged with an employment of so much weight, yet it was now necessary to comply, as the orders, approved by a man regarded as the Head of the Party, rendered any further hesitation impertinent. Had his Grace objected, or even consented with reserve, there would still have been an avenue open whereby to retreat; but as things stood, all the difficulties I had started in regard to the rest of the Party were removed, as it would have been ridiculous for them to object against a person nominated by their Master, and approved of by their Head.

Being thus far engaged as Agent for his Majesty, I gave the Colonel all the assistance I was able; soon became acquainted 1740.

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[1] James, 5th duke, b. 1702, succeeded his father (who was killed in the duel with Lord Mohun) in 1712. He received both Thistle and Garter from Rome, and took the Thistle from George I. in 1726. He died at Bath in 1743.

with the leading men of the Party; and at his death (which I think happened in August 1740), received the Cypher by which he corresponded, with some few papers; but whether the rest were burnt, or consigned to any other person, I could never positively learn. It would have been of use to me had I got them all,* as the whole Series of his Correspondence would from thence have appeared, and made it easy for me to discover who were the people most to be confided in, and the properest to apply to, in case of any future plan; and, indeed, it seems necessary that a person employed in such business should be let into all former transactions, without which it is almost impossible for him to carry it on in a proper Channel.

I was no stranger to the Colonel's having a yearly allowance from Rome; which I never asked, nor gave the most distant hint I would accept if offered. It was the opinion, indeed, of many that the same appointment which had been granted to him was continued to me; but it was so much the reverse that I took pains to undeceive these people, and convince them that my engaging in that business proceeded from no view to gain, but a sincere and hearty desire to promote the Cause. Besides, I had been told when at Rome that the King's situation was such that with some inconvenience he could allow pensions to those in distress, and though there were some who under no difficulties received his Bounty, to the prejudice of others in real want, yet such selfish principles had no effect upon me, being proof against all allurements of that nature; nor would I ever use one farthing of his money, so long as he continued in exile, whilst I had any of my own. And did continue to serve him, from first to last, at a very considerable expence, notwithstanding many thought it reasonable that I should be supplied,† and some even advised me to ask it.

I hope it will be thought needless to launch out into many reflections upon this particular, so shall only observe that it is

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* I think when his daughter delivered these papers to me, she said the rest were to be given to Mr. Smith of Boulogne.

† Sir James Stewart[1] told me, that he always imagined I had an appointment: and when I assured him of the contrary, he seemed surprised, and said, it was but reasonable my Expences should be defrayed.

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[1] Sir James Stewart-Durham, Bart. of Goodtrees.

very fortunate to be able positively to deny an accusation* (which has been industriously propagated, and taken root in the minds of many), thrown out as the vilest of aspersions, and represented as a strong aggravation of imputations equally false and injurious.

Though several particulars happened about this period, which were I to mention might be of service to me in the Eye of the world, as they would shew † more to have been in my power than the generality imagine, yet, as I am incapable of base resentment and revenge, the companion of dastardly Souls, I will pass them over, and proceed to the unlucky time when I became concerned with the Earl of Traquair[1] and others, in the 1741.

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* It was commonly asserted as a fact beyond all contradiction, that I had an appointment of £300 a year; but the King, the Prince, and Mr. Edgar, know that from the day I was first employed, till this upon which I write, I never received one shilling.

† It is obvious that it was in my power to have discovered every man whose principles I had occasion to know, with all such as had been presented to the Prince in Scotland: and if such people's ungenerous and ungrateful behaviour had prevailed with me to expose them since, it might have appeared to many a just and deserved punishment for their meanness in joining in the common Cry against me; but though my regard for the King's interest has kept me hitherto silent (though without saving their Characters amongst men of sense and reflection) I would have such people reflect upon the injustice and barbarity of their proceedings towards me, when I am ready to believe they will blush for what they dare not publickly own. Indeed I am at a loss to think, how, when two of them meet, they are not ashamed to see each other, as they must immediately reflect upon what they were accustomed to profess, and what *they did* in consequence of their professions; especially some members of the Loyal Society (of which I was one) who were all equally bound by a most *solemn Oath* to obey the first Call of their Prince, how they could sit at home with an easy Conscience after that Call is astonishing to me: but I may venture to say, that if Interest, Cowardice, or whatever epithet may be given to the motive which prevailed with them to excuse their perjury to themselves, yet without sincere Repentance and Contrition, it will stare them in the face, and make them hang their heads at a more august Tribunal than they might have appeared before at York, Carlisle, or St. Margaret's hill in the Borough of Southwark. Had I been no further concerned, I should have thought myself indispensably bound by that Oath to turn out upon the Prince's landing, as no power on Earth could remit the Obligation but his Royal Highness.

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[1] See appendix, p. 524.

beginning of the year 1741. I hope it will not be imagined, from my using the word unlucky, that I apply it to myself only; far, far from it, for though perhaps no man ever suffered more barbarously and unjustly than I have these ten years past, I would live them over again without regret to reinstate my unhappy Companions in their former prosperity. But to proceed. The Association which gave rise to all the following transactions proceeded from accident: Lord Lovat's love of money and revenge, and William Drummond (*alias* Macgregor)[1] of Bohaldy's poverty and ambition. Lord John Drummond,[2] brother to the then Duke of Perth,[3] made a journey to Rome, and soon after came to Scotland, where he endeavoured to prevail with his brother, and others of the party, to employ him as their Agent with the King, and at the Court of France, which would naturally have rendered him of greater consequence, and better known than he was before, and promoted him in the French service, where he was then only a Captain. This scheme was made known to Lord Lovat, whose resentment against the government for depriving him of his independent company made him ready to embrace any opportunity to hurt them. And Bohaldy, whose indigence, and intimacy with his Lordship, made him look upon this as a favourable opportunity to get himself employed, took advantage of Lovat's humour, and the little cordiality that subsisted between the two Brothers, to represent Lord John as an improper person; and spurred on by ambition, his being first or second Cousin to Lochyell, and intimacy with Traquair, prevailed upon them, together with Lord John *[4] (the Duke's Uncle), Sir James Campbell of Auchenbreck[5] (Lochyel's Father-in-law), and Mr. John

* Naturally partial to his nephew the Duke, and much influenced by Traquair his brother-in-law.

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[1] See appendix, p. 522.

[2] Lord John Drummond of the '45.

[3] James, son of 2nd (titular) duke; b. 1713, d. 1746; was educated in Douay and Paris; came to Scotland 1734. Lieutenant-General in the Prince's army, escaped after Culloden in the *Bellona* with his brother, Lord John, and Sheridan. He died on board 13th May 1746, cf. p. 188.

[4] Son of 1st titular duke; succeeded his nephew John in the barren honours as fifth duke. Died at Edinburgh in 1757; buried at Holyrood.

[5] Fifth baronet, m. Janet, daughter of Macleod of Macleod; d. 1756. His daughter Anne married Donald Cameron, the Lochiel of the '45.

Stewart, brother to the Earl of Traquair, to form an Association and appoint him * their Agent.

Early in the year † before mentioned, Lord Traquair informed me of this Association; that his brother was employed to correspond with the Gentlemen in the Highlands; and that Bohaldy, who had been sent to Rome with their Instructions, was then at Edinburgh, and proposed that I should have a meeting with him ; and as the King's affairs were already committed to my care, I should likewise carry on the correspondence entrusted to his Brother, which I readily agreed to, being desirous of every opportunity to advance his Majesty's interest.

At my first interview with Bohaldy, he assured me in the most positive manner, that such a powerful assistance would be had from abroad, as to render a Restoration certain and easy; nay, even specified 20,000 Stand of arms, which he said were actually bought, with ammunition in proportion, ready to be sent over with a body of troops, and sum of money sufficient to defray the expenses of the war: in short that nothing requisite would be wanting, every particular being already agreed upon, and the time of execution fixed for the Autumn or Spring following. He told me likewise (which I had before learned from Colonel Urquhart) that Sir James Campbell of Auchenbreck had intended to go to the West Indies, but was prevented by the King's special order, and promised a pension of £300 a year, to enable him to live at home, being esteemed a person who could be of considerable service in Argyleshire: that there was a sum due to him; but as his Majesty could not conveniently remit it, he was authorised by Letter to raise some Thousand Pounds upon his Majesty's Security, at the rate of six per Cent. interest, part to be paid to that Gentleman, and the remainder to be appropriated to whatever services might occur. At the same time he pretended, that as his stay was to be short, and he durst

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* Lovat reaped a double advantage by Bohaldy's being employed: first he got quit of the burden he had been to him for some time; and 2dly he knew he was the only man in Scotland, who would undertake to vindicate him to the world, and to reconcile him with the King.

† In the month of March 1741.

not appear publickly, it would be proper for me to execute that Commission.

At our next meeting he told me of Orders he had received to accommodate a difference which then subsisted among the Episcopal Clergy, concerning a proper person to fill the Metropolitan See, which was then vacant. It would be foreign to my purpose, either to explain the nature of the dispute, or attempt to describe the Contraversy. It is sufficient to say, the King was willing to confer that Dignity upon Mr. Harper;[1] to which the College[2] would by no means consent. Mr. Drummond (*alias* Macgregor) of Bohaldy, after expatiating upon the subject, begged I would take the affair in hand, and endeavour to reconcile their difference. This I likewise agreed to, though with some reluctance, as I never had any inclination to meddle in Ecclesiastical matters; but the regard I had for that Body of Men, who had continued Loyal from the Revolution under great oppression, and who, it was evident, had great influence over their Hearers, made me promise to use my best endeavours to bring them into harmony and good humour, that by their ready submission to his Majesty's desire, they might shew good example to the people of their persuasion.

Cameron of Lochyell, and Macpherson of Cluny, were then in town, to whom Bohaldy told the same tale he had to me. Lord Lovat was likewise there, and had* frequent meetings with Bohaldy upon the same subject, and professed a strong desire to have some conversation with me; but I must acknowledge that so far from being willing, I had an aversion to any correspondence with his Lordship. I was no stranger to the infamous character he had, not only with the King's Friends, but the

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* Upon perusing Lord Lovat's Tryal, it will incontestably appear, upon comparing what I said there with what here follows, that the utmost care was taken to conceal every thing that was not known by his own letters: of which he was so sensible, that he sent me thanks by Mr. Fowler (the Gentleman Gaoler of the Tower) for my forbearance; and said, he was not the least hurt or offended with any thing I had said. Mrs. Fowler and her daughter are still ready to attest this; and have told it to many.

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[1] The Rev. William Harper, an Episcopal clergyman in Edinburgh.

[2] Of Bishops of the non-juring Episcopal Church in Scotland.

generality of mankind. I likewise remembered him to have been so much hated, that he was obliged to procure liberty for his servants to go armed when at Edinburgh. His Lordship's character may be partly known from the following Extract from Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath's *Memoirs*, which I insert here, as these Memoirs are become scarcer than they ought (page 75):[1]

'You must know then, that after the Duke of Queensberry had broke his vows to the Cavaliers; and seen them, when joined to the Country, so strong and zealous a party, there was no hope of being able to stand it out against so violent and united a Torrent; he bethought himself how to undermine their Reputations, and so diminish their interest with the Court, and find a pretence to vent his wrath, and execute his malice against those that thwarted his arbitrary designs, and knowing, to his certain experience, that the Poet was very much in the right, when he asserted, that

> 'Plots, true or false, are necessary things
> To set up Commonwealths, and ruin Kings,—

with the special advice and consent of his dear friends, the Duke of Argyle, the Earls of Stairs and Leven, and Mr. Carstairs (a rebellious Presbyterian preacher, one of Her Majesty's chaplains) resolved, one way or other, to frame such a plot, as, when lodged upon those they designed it against, should, in all human probability, be their utter ruin and destruction.

'They pitch'd upon one Simon Frazer, of Beaufort, as the tool to carry on this wicked design, and be evidence to accuse such persons, as they directed: This Gentleman, some three or four years before, had been guilty of a most scandalous rape upon the person of the Lady Dowager Lovat, sister to the Duke of Athole, for which crime the Lords of Justiciary had condemned him to die: and letters of fire and sword were raised, and a detachment of King William's troops sent against him and his adherents, who were pretty numerous, 'twixt whom several skirmishes happened; but finding the Duke of Argyle, who was his great patron (for no other reason that I know of, but because he had been guilty of a vile, lewd, and destestable crime; and that too upon the person of one of the family of Athole, which two houses bore each other a constant grudge) I say, Frazer finding Argyle was no longer able to protect him against the force of Law and Justice, quitted the kingdom, and retired to France. But King James, having got an account of the crimes he was found guilty of, for which he had left his native country, would not, during his life, allow him to come to the Court of St. Germaines. This person being made choice of, as well qualify'd for such a design, was sent for from France to England, and afterwards brought from thence to Scotland, but before he left France, by the advice of his friends at home, he turned Papist; and finding a way to be introduced to the French King by the Pope's Nuntio, he represented himself as a person of great interest in Scotland, and oppressed for his zeal to the Royal Family and that with encouragement, and a small assistance, he could contribute to make a great diversion to the English arms, and much promote the Royal Interest, and for that end proposed, that his most Christian Majesty would furnish him with two or three hundred men and a good sum of money to take along with him to Scotland, where he'd perform wonders. But the French King, unwilling to hazard his men and money, without a further security, and more probability than his assertions, gave him a fair answer, desiring him to go first to Scotland, and bring him some credentials from those persons, over whom he pretended so much power, which he agreed to; and got, for that purpose, a little money, and, by the French interest such credit at St. Germaines, as to obtain a Commission from King James to be a Major General, with a power to raise and command forces in his behalf, which was the main thing he aimed at: but at the same time Captain John Murray, brother to Mr. Murray of Abercarnie, and Captain James Murray, brother to Sir David Murray of Stanhope, were likewise under the protection of Queen Anne's act of Indemnity sent over to Scotland to be a Check upon him, and bring intelligence how they found the tempers of the people, and their inclinations towards King James. Thus provided, Frazer arrived in England; and on the borders of Scotland was met by the Duke of Argyle, and by him conducted to Edinburgh, where he was kept private, and being fully instructed what he was to do, the Duke of Queensberry gave him a pass to secure him from being apprehended, in obedience to the letters of fire and sword emitted against him: and now he goes to the Highlands, introduces himself to the Company of all that he knew were well affected to King James and his interest, there produces his Major-General's Commission, as a testificate of the trust reposed in him, and proposes their rising in arms, and signifying the same under their hands, that the King might know assuredly who they were, and what numbers he had to trust to, and regulate his affairs accordingly. Some were so far seduced, as to assure him, they were ready to serve the King, tho' I believe there was none did it in the terms he demanded, but generally there were few that did not regret the King's reposing any trust in a person of so bad a character, and fearing he would betray them, refused to treat or come to particulars with him. After he had trafficked here and there thro' the Highlands with small success, when the Parliament was prorogued, he went to London, to consider of what further use he might be to his Constituents resolving (tho' the Primum Mobile, and his patron, the Duke of Argyle, was now dead) to continue in their service, and they finding he had made but a small progress, and could not as yet fix any thing at the doors of these persons against whom they levelled, resolved to send him again to France, to demand letters, and further encouragement, to the Dukes of Hamilton and Athole, the Earls of Seafield and Cromarty, and the Cavaliers: and for that end the Duke of Queensberry procured him, and two others with him, a pass from the Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of England, under borrowed names. If he went upon a good design, as the Duke of Queensberry afterwards alledg'd, why needed he have made their persons and business such a secret to the Secretary, as he must know neither? But before Frazer reached Paris and had executed his black design, it came to light in a great measure; for the famous Mr. Ferguson soon discovered, and consequently defeated the project, when it was as yet but in Embrio; for Frazer, whilst he was in London, having addressed himself to him, and one Mr. William Keith (son of Sir William Keith of[1] and a great depender on the Duke of Athole) he acquainted them with his pretended design and project for King James, and mightily pressed Keith, that he'd use his endeavours to persuade the Duke of Athole to forgive him, and allow him access to his Grace, since he was heartily sorry for the crime he had committed, and was promoting so good a design: but Keith (tho' he play'd the fool and dipt deep enough with him in all other points) told him, that was what he could not presume to propose, and what he knew the Duke of Athole would never grant. But Ferguson, an old experienced plotter, understanding his character, suspected his integrity; and it coming to his knowledge, that he was often privately with the Scots Courtiers, was by them supported, and had obtained a pass, as above related, he soon concluded, that there was some base design in hand, and thereupon gave the Duke of Athole notice of it: and he having again inquired at the Earl of Notingham, and finding Ferguson's informations to hold good, and his suspicions to be well grounded, acquaints Q. Anne of the whole procedure, accusing the Duke of Queensberry in particular, and his other friends and partizans, of corresponding with and protecting a person out-lawed in the kingdom of Scotland, guilty of the most horrid crimes, and a trafficker with France: whereupon the Duke of Queensberry, to vindicate himself, declared that Frazer, when he came to Scotland, wrote to him, that he could make great discoveries for the Queen's service, that upon that account he had sent for him, given him a protection in Scotland, and again procured him a pass in England, with a design he should go to France, and make a clearer discovery, which he did not doubt he'd have performed, had not the matter come too soon to light, and as a convincing proof thereof, he produces a letter from the Queen Mother, directed to Lord Murray (formerly the title of the Duke of Athole before his father died); but his Grace made use of such solid arguments, and convincing proofs to show the fallacy of that letter, that Q. Anne herself could not deny, but that she thought it not genuine. Now let any impartial Judge consider, if it is probable that Frazer, with whom no honest man in Scotland would converse, who was under sentence of death, and not such a fool as to imagine that he had interest to do any thing of moment for

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[1] P. 78 of the edition of 1817.

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[1] Blank in Lockhart.

King James's service, could have had the impudence to address the French King in the terms as did, and come over to Scotland, unless he had been put upon it, and protected by such as could support him at home. If he only proposed to cheat the French King of a little money, why came he to Scotland with it, since he knew he could not fail, in time, to be discovered, and then could neither hope to be protected there, or dare return to France? These, I say, and many other such shrewd presumptions, make it clear what was the design of this pretended plot, and if successful, how dismal the consequences of it would have proved, viz., the destruction of those who opposed the designs of the Scots Courtiers and the English Ministry against Scotland, how happy it was in being rendered abortive, before the designed conception had come to full maturity; and how odious the thoughts of such a hellish conspiracy, and the abettors thereof, ought to be in the Eyes of all good men.'

As Mr. Lockhart, in the preceding extract, has mentioned Captain James Murray, my Uncle, but seems not to have been fully informed of every particular of the fact, it may not be amiss to observe, that Captain James Murray did not come over with Mr. Frazer of Beaufort, afterwards Lord Lovat, but was sent privately by himself by the Court of St. Germains with letters to the leading men of the Party in Scotland, to acquaint them with the nature of Mr. Frazer's commission, and the interest which had procured him their Countenance. He had luckly delivered his Despatches, before Mr. Frazer came to Edinburgh, and having taken the benefit of the Princess Anne's act of indemnity, had not only appeared publickly, but had been to wait on the Duke of Queensberry[1] (at his Grace's own desire), by whom he was much caressed on account of their former intimacy: but upon Mr. Frazer's seeing the Duke, and hearing that Captain James Murray had been in the Country before him, he let his Grace know that if the Captain continued in Scotland, it would be impossible for him to effectuate his scheme; so the next time the Captain paid his Levee, he was very cooly received; and soon after a proclamation was issued at the Cross of Edinburgh, offering a reward of £500 to take him dead or alive. The Captain happened then to be in town, and at the time of the proclamation was in a shop facing the Cross where one of the Heralds observed him, and having disrobed himself as soon as the proclamation was over, came and informed him of what had happened; upon which the Captain went directly to the Grass-Market, where he hired an horse, and went to his Brother's house in Tweddale, but an express being sent to acquaint him, that a search had been made for him in Edinburgh soon after he had left it, he thought himself unsafe there, and so went into Annandale, whither a party was sent in pursuit of him, which he very narrowly escaped, being alarmed with the news of their approach when in bed at the town of Annan, and had no more time than to dress and get on horseback, so that he was obliged to ride across the Firth of Solway at 12 o'clock at night, and very providentially got safe to the English side, where he skulked till he got an opportunity to go abroad to the King, in whose service he died at St. Germains a short time after the peace of Utrecht.

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[1] Charles, 3rd duke, b. 1698, d. 1778.

For these reasons I was shy, and could not believe, that he would ever perform what his Associates had promised in his name, though he had bound himself by a solemn oath. Besides, the influence which the particulars I have already mentioned had upon me, I was not ignorant of his having done dirty work when in favour; Lochiel having acquainted me of his violences in the Highlands, when he had his independent company, and the threats he had used to him, though his Relation. In short, his keen opposition in the Elections of that year seemed to me to proceed rather from resentment, and a view to render himself of consequence, thereby to get something in lieu of his Company, than any sincere inclination to serve the King. It will easily be imagined, after considering the above reasons, that it was with great difficulty I was prevailed on to have any intercourse with him, but being incessantly and strenuously invited and importuned, and reflecting that the station I was in, in some degree, obliged me to converse with all who professed an attachment to the Royal Family, I at length consented, at the request of Mr. John Macleod of Nuick,[1] who had brought me repeated invitations from his Lordship, as I had a great opinion of that Gentleman's honour and prudence: but I was so diffident of his Lordship's integrity, and so much upon my guard, that notwithstanding the many questions he put to me, the seeming simplicity with which he expressed himself, and the uncommon caresses he always bestowed, when he had an intention to pump, I gave him very little satisfaction, and avoided answering directly to any material questions he asked. This cautious way of proceeding was the cause of our future intimacy; his Lordship finding I was not to be prevailed upon to speak out, till I was satisfied of the person's sincerity with whom I conversed. He frequently observed this to others, and sometimes took occasion to mention it to me in a very artful and flattering way; yet I was still upon my guard, and told him no more than was necessary, or what I knew would be communicated to him by others, never being able to persuade myself that he was the man he professed himself to be; which nevertheless did not prevent him from declaring himself openly when in Edinburgh, and corresponding with me when in the Highlands by letters under his own hand, which he seldom did to any body, so that I may safely say, I was among the few who ever got his secrets without imparting their own. He frequently gave me an account of some of his proceedings against the Royal Family,* which would have made any other man blush: but as soon as I blamed him, and hinted my surprize, that one, who professed so strong an attachment to the Royal family, should have done so much to thwart their measures, he never failed to declare with the strongest asseverations, that his principles were nevertheless always the same; and concluded by saying, that when an occasion offered, he was able to vindicate his actions to the King.

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[1] John Macleod, afterwards of Muiravonside, Linlithgowshire, son of John, second of Bernera, an advocate, practised at the bar 1688-1732. He assisted in the abduction of Lady Grange. His son Alexander was A.D.C. to the Prince, and was pardoned, 1778.

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* He told me that in the year 1715 he came to Scotland with a resolution to oppose the Earl of Mar: that at Dumfries he was known by a Black-smith, who imagined he was going to join the Earl, as he was incognito; and having informed the Magistrates, they came to his lodging to arrest him, but he, pretending to be affronted at being suspected, refused to go to prison, and struck one of them, upon which (as he expressed it) they all fell on board him, and never was a Lord better drubbed, and then carried to gaol. Next day the Marquis of Annandale (Lord Lieutenant of the County) came to town in a violent hurry, having been pursued by a party of horse from Moffat commanded by Mr. Basil Hamilton: that he immediately sent to his Lordship to complain of his imprisonment, being come to Scotland to oppose the insurgents; upon which he was released, and got the command and forming of all the Militia who were there, to oppose Mr. Hamilton if he should advance: that, after forming the Cameronian foot under Major Hepburn, and putting himself at the head of the horse, intelligence was brought that a body of the insurgents was marching to the town from Galloway. Upon

But what above all induced him to put entire confidence in me was my engaging to make the following attempt. Mr. Clayton, then Commander in chief in Scotland, was a man of knowledge and experience in the art of war, thoroughly well acquainted with the Country, and greatly beloved and esteemed for his humanity and affability. Such a man, it was evident, would be a thorn in our sides, in case of an insurrection; and it was therefore necessary, if possible, to secure his person, and prevent his commanding the army. At a consultation * held at Bohaldy's lodgings, this was mentioned, and after several schemes were proposed, I agreed to attempt to carry him off from Edinburgh to the Highlands, as soon as we had certain intelligence of an embarkation; a thing by no means so difficult as it may appear to people ignorant of the Country and his way of living.

Bohaldy having now staid as long as he thought proper, I sent my servant and horses with him the length of Carlisle, to prevent his being discovered by hiring horses at Edinburgh; and as soon as he was gone, I applied myself to execute the Commissions enjoined me.

As money seemed to be a material acquisition, I made out a list of such as I imagined would contribute; and first applied to Mr. Hay of Drumelzier, who told me without any hesitation,

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which, after ordering a fine avenue of trees to be cut down to barricade the town on the side of Moffat (which, he said, he did more to be revenged of the inhabitants for his drubbing, than from any necessity) he marched his horse to oppose the party said to be on their march from Galloway, but when he came to the bridge, and looked back to observe the order of his horse, he was surprised to find they had all deserted him but four, of which number, he said, the Laird of Heron afterwards pretended to be one, but he did not think he was. This story he told with great humour.

* Lord Lovat was not present at this meeting; but was told of it.

that though his affairs did not then enable him to give any large sum, yet what he could spare he would freely give, provided he was not the first; not that any other's contributing before him would regulate the sum, for he had already resolved upon the extent, but was determined not to be the first to set the example. Though this was a disappointment for the present, yet I flattered myself he still might be prevailed upon, and therefore desired Lord Traquair to speak to him; which I did chiefly to convince him that it was no scheme of my own; but notwithstanding all we jointly said to him at a meeting in Edinburgh, he positively refused, without assigning any other reason than what he had done before; which, however frivolous it may seem to some, I am persuaded was the only one that prevented him, as I believe nobody wishes more sincerely the happiness and prosperity of the Royal Family, nor has acted a more uniform part than he.

The next person I applied to was Mr Lockhart of Carnwath;[1] but without coming directly to the point, gave him to understand that it was not unlikely that something might soon be done in the King's favour. This I did with a view to move his passions, raise his curiosity, and draw such professions from him as might put it out of his power to refuse me. What I said seemed to have the desired effect; his face glowed with anxiety, and his tongue was not wanting in the strongest expressions of zeal and attachment to the Cause; and again and again repeated how ready he was to do every thing in his power to forward it. Then thinking I had said enough to introduce my request, I proposed the loan, promising security in his Majesty's name, and assuring him of the great necessity there then was for a small sum, leaving it to him to give whatever he thought proper; but in place of an answer conform to the professions he had made, the joy which for some time had seated itself upon his countenance immediately vanished, and left nothing behind it but the gloom of disappointment. As soon as he had recovered a little, he excused himself by saying, that then was a most unlucky time, having no money by him, and being obliged at Quarter-Day to pay his brother and Sisters patrimonies. I answered, that I was sorry the necessity of the King's affairs should oblige me to make a demand of money at a time when so faithful a friend had it not in his power to assist him; but I begged leave to observe, that he had a Cash Accompt with the New Bank,[1] from whence he could at any time draw a few hundred pounds. To this he replied, that he had but lately drawn for a large sum, and a further demand so soon might look odd, as he was not accustomed to do it, and might be a means to hurt his Credit. This appeared reasonable; so, to obviate all difficulties, I offered to join my Credit with his for whatever sum he was willing to advance; which could not appear strange to the Managers, as they would naturally imagine the money was for my use, and he only Surety: and as it was not so easy to find an immediate evasion to this proposal, he neither positively refused nor consented, but said he would think of it; yet notwithstanding I had frequent opportunities of mentioning it to him, he would by no means consent.

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[1] George, eldest son of the author of the *Lockhart Papers*. He surrendered to Government after Prestonpans.

Though this fact is not represented in a stronger light than it really happened, I should be sorry it gave an unfavourable opinion of Mr. Lockhart's principles, as I am well persuaded he was very sincere, having behaved with great honour, spirit, and generosity, when things came to the push, and much belied the low opinion many of the party entertained of him, as will appear from the sequel; and indeed I was then ready to believe his backwardness was more owing to former attempts of that kind having been made at improper times, and by unfit persons, than to any want of inclination.

I became then sensible, though too late, that my little experience in business had made me guilty of a great oversight, for I ought to have had the letter to shew, wherein Bohaldy said he was ordered to raise the money, which would have obviated all difficulties; but I so little doubted his veracity, or other people's forwardness, that I neither asked to see or be possessed of it, but took it for granted that the persons I applied to would be as ready to contribute, according to their circumstances, as they had been to make professions of their zeal to serve the Royal Family.

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[1] The Royal Bank of Scotland—'the Old Bank' was the Bank of Scotland.

The late Duke of Hamilton came to town soon after, and not doubting of success with him, I begged to have an opportunity to talk with his Grace in private, which he granted very graciously, and appointed the next morning at nine of the Clock. I attended at the time fixed, and having acquainted his Grace with the task enjoined me, he seemed to approve the proposal; very frankly promised to contribute what sum he should find he could spare; named Sir James Hamilton of Rosehaugh,[1] and some others, as proper persons to be applied to; talked of the affair with much eagerness; and finally made an apology, why he could not pay the money immediately, it being then near the time of the general election, which put him to vast expense; but assured me it should be paid out of the first money that came to his hands; and at the same time desired me to wait upon him again, or write to him, that he might not neglect it. Though I had little reason to suspect a disappointment, yet as his Grace took no further notice of it for some weeks, I thought it would be proper to remind him, as he had desired; and therefore went to Peebles, where he was sollициting the Borough, and there I took an occasion to let him know that things were very pressing, and that a small sum would be of great service at that juncture. To this he returned much the same answer as before, which gave me some concern, for there was the greatest reason to believe that, had he advanced any sum, his example would have been followed by many; but what concerned me still more was his seeming at this interview not anywise affected with the zeal he had expressed at the former, which, as he never asked to know my authority, could not possibly flow from any diffidence of me. I therefore suspected that his professions of attachment to the Royal Family proceeded more from policy, and an instability of temper, than real principle, as no man of his circumstances would have hesitated to give so triffling a proof of his sincerity, had he spoke his real sentiments. If his Grace's conduct in publick life is considered, it will be found that I had great reason for my suspicion; of which several people now living at Rome may be Judges from his behaviour when there.

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[1] The Hamiltons of Rosehaugh were a branch of the family of Barncleuch.

So finding this scheme was not likely to succeed, and being very much pressed for money, to supply Sir James Campbell, who I was made to believe would be of vast service * in Argileshire, and who, without it, would inevitably leave the Country, I applied to Mr. Dickson, an Attorney, to borrow me £200, for which I would give bond. This Gentleman, without knowing for what it was intended, procured the money, and as Lord Traquair had been the person who drew me into this affair, could better afford it, and was in reason most obliged to engage his Credit, I acquainted him with what I proposed to do, and desired he might join † in the Bond, which he did, and I transmitted the money to Sir James Campbell by his son-in-law, Mr. Cameron of Lochiel, and in return received his receipt for it.

To leave the Duke of Hamilton no room for an excuse, I wrote a pressing letter to him, which I sent by Mr. Charles Smith of Boulogne,[1] to whom I communicated the Contents. This Gentleman (whom I call upon to vouch this fact), upon his return to Edinburgh, assured me he had delivered the letter, and took particular notice that his Grace read it three several times, once at the window, by the fire, and by Candle light, but gave him no answer, either by word or writing. When his

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* I put it to that Gentleman to prove, that he ever attempted to engage one man in his district to join the Prince, either before or after his landing: and he is alone able to account for his proceedings from the time I parted with him at his son-in-Law Lochiel's house, soon after the Prince's landing, till he was made a prisoner, as well as how he came to be made one so early.

† I received a letter from Rome some time after, desiring I might not advance any more money, or engage my Credit; and promising that the £200 should be paid. Mr. Edgar certainly remembers this.

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[1] An 'eminent merchant,' whose son married Elizabeth Seton, heiress of Touch. Cf. James Mohr MacGregor's confession, Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 33050, f. 369. Died at Touch 1768. Cf. also *The Scottish Antiquary*, April 1897, p. 189, and *The Family of Seton*, p. 345.

Grace came to town, I immediately waited upon him, but his Levee being very numerous, was going to retire, and take another opportunity, till upon his going to the door, when some of his Company left him, he stopped me, saying, he desired to speak with me, and stept aside to the window. I then told him, I had wrote according to his orders, but having no return, begged to know his answer. At this he pretended some surprize, saying he did not remember to have received it: but upon my naming the person who had delivered the letter, and remarking his having read it three several times, he then recollected it, but said, that not adverting from whom it came, he must have looked upon it as a dun, and thrown it aside. I then asked what he intended, and if I was to expect the money? To which he replied, that the affair was then much out of his head, and desired I would take another opportunity to talk to him further of it, which I promised to do, and took my leave.

This extraordinary behaviour surprized me a good deal. The affair was too recent to have escaped his memory, and his voluntary desire to speak to me left no room to doubt of its being upon that subject, as I had never any business with him but upon the King's affairs: yet, upon reflection, I judged that his desire to talk with me had proceeded from inadvertency, and soon discovering his error he endeavoured to bring himself off by pleading forgetfulness. I was no sooner got to the Market-Cross than I was informed that he intended to set out next morning for London, which convinced me his desire to talk with me again was only a feint; so being resolved, if possible, to have something under his hand, I wrote the same afternoon, telling him I was informed of his intended Journey to England, and begged to have an answer to the affair upon which I had the honour to talk to him that morning. In return to which he wrote, as near as I can [remember] at this distance of time, to the following purpose: 'That though the particulars which had passed between us, in relation to the raising a sum of money, had much escaped his memory, he should nevertheless be glad to have that matter fully represented to him, and as his stay in Scotland was to be so short, desired I would take the trouble to make it known to Mr. Hamilton' (the person who, I formerly observed, wrote the letter * to Colonel Urquhart by his Grace's order). It may be easily believed, that this letter could give no satisfaction: on the contrary, it convinced me, that his zeal for the Royal Family was not so ardent as he then inclined to have the party think. His referring me to a second person I could not take well. If he inclined to be informed, as the Gentleman was to remain in Scotland, his intelligence must have been communicated by letter, which I might have done with as much propriety, and perhaps more safety than he. It was employing another person without any necessity, which in business of that nature ought not to be done; and with deference to his Grace's superior knowledge, it was a little indelicate as well as impolitick. Though I could have got over any scruple of that nature, had I imagined him sincere; yet Mr. Hamilton's † natural temper was enough to make me decline it. We were no strangers to each other upon such subjects, having conversed a good deal together at Peebles, when among others he objected against some things then said to be upon the *Tapis*,‡ alledging the King was guided; which gave me no favourable idea either of his sense or principles. For how poorly soever the scheme then mentioned might have been said to be projected, his business was not to treat it with derision, but to find fault like a Gentleman, by regretting the supposed ill concerted measures, and pointing out a remedy. His sense I called in question from the weak and unguarded expression he used. Who is not guided? Judges are guided by the Law and Presidents: a criminal is guided by the forms of the Court. Men of all professions are guided by the several customs and examples handed down to them by time and their predecessors: and though the political Science is vast, yet it may, like others, be reduced to fixed principles, according to men and times. We are all guided by the dead or living: for let us look with Care into ancient history, and we will find precedents to the most singular instances of modern politicks, with the most refined remedies to defeat their effects. Little of that kind is new to us: if we read, we learn; and he is an extraordinary man who falls upon anything in that science, which has not already been discovered and practised. If by the living, it must be allowed to proceed from a laudable, humane, and honest disposition, not blown up or worried with our own knowledge, nor suffering our self-sufficiency so far to get the better as to make us imagine we are able to discuss and determine affairs of the utmost importance without assistance. Men are like Watches,* some of a finer and more delicate make than others: the one goes justly, the other not. Like them in shape, so are we generally much one and the same: but our organs of sense, like their wheels and springs, are finer and coarser, as the workman has bestowed labour upon them, or the Supreme Being more exquisite degrees of sensation upon our organs. From this I may be allowed to infer, that the greater share of good sense a man is possessed of, the readier he will be to ask advice of a person, of whose knowledge and perspicuity he has had experience; and the greater abilities he is master of, the more his admirable talents enable him to judge of right and wrong, his own failings, and the equitable, just, judicious sentiments of others, the stronger will be his inclination to lay aside his own conceited self-sufficiency, and embrace the opinion of his friend. Politicks differ from some other Sciences in this, that as the mind of man is variable and deceitful, the design, or double intention, which one of equal Capacity may not discover, another less sanguine may. The Judge, cool and unconcerned, may observe from the Countenance of a witness that deceit and prevarication, which the Counsel, examining, and warm in the Cause of his Client, may possibly overlook; and yet the Counsel may be a man of greater abilities than the then more penetrating Judge. We ought therefore to praise and applaud the man whose superior good sense directs him to inquire into the opinion and sentiments of others, and even, if necessary, like the Bee, suck honey from the poisonous herb. In fine, though I am almost sorry to have made so long a digression, yet I flatter myself it cannot be disagreeable to support the sentiments of the Wise Man, That there is nothing new under the Sun. That what was, is now. And what is, has been, and shall be in time to come. Let no man then plume himself upon his own abilities. We are all actuated Beings, and have no title to believe that our Creator has exerted his omnipotence further in the formation of us, by a more lively operation of the Immaterial upon the material substance, than our Fore-fathers, from whose example we acquire the experience which guides and directs all wise men.

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* Approving of my being employed in the King's service.

† This Gentleman had been very active in the year 1715 in dissuading people from joining the Earl of Mar; and from thence went by the name of Lord Blantyre's Aid-de-Camp.

‡ A scheme then said to have been in agitation, in which the Associators, as far as I know, never were concerned.

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* I hope this Comparison will not be esteemed inconsistent with the Christian Scheme, or the rules of sound Philosophy, as no such thing is intended.

But to return to our former subject. The disappointments I had met with, made me lay aside all thoughts of any further sollicitations at this time ; few having it more in their power, than those already spoke to : and of all the King's friends in the Low Country, none were esteemed to have more zeal and attachment to the Royal Family, than they. Their refusal therefore, gave small encouragement to apply to others, whose abilities were not equal, or professions stronger. Besides, to have pushed things further, would have savoured too much of begging, and given too mean an idea of the King's circumstances : so I contented myself with transmitting to Rome an account of the unsuccessful steps I had taken to accomplish the end proposed.

I would not have it imagined that this money business employed all my time: far from confining my services to that particular alone, I enlarged my acquaintance with the Loyal Party, who were many of them no strangers to the trust reposed in me ; and continued my endeavours to extinguish the remains of divisions among the Clergy, as a means to advance the King's interest by their continuing unanimously to instil these principles of Loyalty into the Laity,* the practice whereof had gained them their Sovereign's favour and the deserved character of Loyalty, in the most discouraging and oppressive times.

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* If the sufferings, Loyalty and firmness of that body of Men, be properly considered, it will be found that no part of the Christian Church, in any era, ever acted with more disinterestedness, courage, and resolution, than they have done since 1688 ; which deservedly renders them worthy of the esteem, favour and protection of all men of worth and honour.

To bring about this good end, I applied to Bishop Keith[1] (the chief stickler against Mr. Harper, whom the King had nominated) and endeavoured to persuade him, that the only method to conclude all differences, and merit the King's favour and countenance, was to consent to his nomination.

After some conversation, which was not like to terminate in any fixed resolution, I told him that flying in the face of the King's *Congé* would have a very bad look, and appear inconsistent with those principles of loyalty they had hitherto unvariably professsed, and inculcated into their hearers: that the Consequence of such conduct might prove very detrimental to his Majesty by the bad example it would give some, and perhaps hurt themselves in the Eyes of others who had a proper regard to the King's interest, seeing him gainsaid in an affair which had been esteemed the right of, and practised by, every King since the Reformation. If he would assign sufficient reasons for their refusal, I was ready to transmit them, and did not doubt but they would have their due influence; and if not I must be excused to think that such proceeding would be an attempt to diminish the authority they acknowledged. He was at no loss for specious answers to all my arguments; but finding it necessary to come to the point, he plainly said, it was what neither he nor his Brethren[2] could consent to, the person named being a man unworthy to be received by any Body of Christian Bishops, and had the King known his character, he was confident he would not have named him to be their head. Having never heard anything to Mr. Harper's discredit, and being desirous to learn the particulars laid to his charge, I begged to know his reasons for so severe a censure: but after many arguments on both sides, he absolutely refused; not being inclined, as he said, to enter into the private character of any of his brethren. This, I told him, was no satisfactory answer to me, and there was reason to suspect that it would be far less so where I should be obliged to send it: for to accuse a man in such general terms was accusing him of every thing that was bad; at least it was giving mankind room to conjecture the worst; was a thing permitted in no Court of Judicature in the Christian world, and allowed by every body to be very unbecoming a Christian, especially one of his Cloath; therefore hoped he would be particular, which would certainly be of advantage to him and his party; whereas, if such an answer, as he had given, was transmitted to Rome, it would not represent him in the most amiable light, but in all probability prove favourable to the other. Finding all I could say did not prevail with him to specify any particular Blemish, and knowing that his influence with his Brethren was considerable, I proposed by way of compromise,* that if they would agree to elect Messieurs Harper and Blair Bishops, they might then proceed to the nomination of the Metropolitan, who, I would engage, should be confirmed. This proposal did not seem to be so disagreeable as the former: but he was too cautious to lay himself under any positive obligation; and answered, that as he had but a single voice, he could not pretend to promise on behalf of his brethren, but that Mr. Blair was a man to whom he believed no objection would be made, and that he would therefore acquaint the rest of the College with the overture, and let me know their answer; which he did soon after. I was then in the Country, when his letter came to hand unsubscribed, and wrote in a Cant style, importing, that he had wrote to some, and consulted with other members of the College, who unanimously rejected the proposal, Because it would be flying in the face of the King's authority. The seeming oddity of the answer made me curious to have it explained, but as I had little reason to expect much satisfaction, I postponed any enquiry till my return to town, when I was informed by one of the Presbyters,† that upon occasion of a former dispute his

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[1] Consecrated without a diocese 18 June 1727. Bishop of Orkney, Caithness and the Isles 1731. In 1733 elected to superintendence of Fife also, but he resided at Edinburgh; elected Primus 1743.

[2] The College of Bishops.

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* I did this from a friendly inclination to the whole venerable Body, for whom I always had the greatest respect, as a means to keep them in the King's favour, who, I was afraid, might not look upon them with a good Eye, when he found them obstinately bent upon rejecting his nomination.

† Mr. David Rae,[1] a friend of Mr. Harper.

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[1] The father of Lord Eskgrove.

Majesty had condescended to allow them the naming of all the vacant Bishops, except the Metropolitan, which he reserved to himself; and that they were now afraid, should these two Gentlemen be received, the scales would be turned, and their schemes thwarted. Though this alledged reason * was not without its difficulties, yet I was determined to make a further tryal: but was prevented by a conversation I had with Mr. Harper, wherein he desired no further mention might be made of him,† being sorry to think there should be any disputes upon his account. I then made it my business to learn who was the person the most likely to be agreeable to both parties, and found that Bishop Rattray[1] was a man of extensive knowledge, great moderation, and unexceptionable character; agreeable to most of his brethren, and bid the fairest to put an end to all divisions: so in the first letters I wrote, after mentioning what had passed, I recommended‡ him, and afterwards received orders for his Election, which, however, did not take place, being taken ill the same day § on which he arrived at Edinburgh, and died in three or four days afterwards, which put a stop to that business during my time.

I was of opinion from the first that the members of the Association had not weight and interest sufficient to effectuate the scheme proposed, without previously engaging others: but as it would have been a very rash step in me to have mentioned the whole or any part of the Plan, without the consent of the Majority, I only observed to them, that without extending their connections, it was impossible to bring matters to bear, as, in case of a Descent, none, but such as were in the secret,

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* By Bishop Keith.

† This must be allowed, even by his opponents, to be a mark of great moderation; especially considering the interest he had: and indeed I never could observe any thing in him, that was not quite consistent with the Clergyman and Gentleman.

‡ He was likewise strongly recommended by others.

§ May 3d, 1743, being Ascension day, above 8 months before the Dunkirk Embarkation. Though his business was near two years in agitation, I thought proper not to interrupt the story by any intervening facts.

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[1] Consecrated Bishop of Brechin, January 4, 1729.

could be in a condition to join: and as in all undertakings of that nature, the utmost vigour and dispatch was necessary, the being obliged to wait for a junction with such as were unprepared would occasion a great loss of time, and might prove a vast hindrance to the expedition, if it did not entirely prevent its success. They would by no means give ear to any proposal of this nature; alledging it was very dangerous; that there was not a person of any consequence in the Highlands, who had not been already engaged by Bohaldy,* or one employed by him; that it was agreed to take no step without a general consent; and that Lord Lovat † would never agree to it. It is very evident, that had Bohaldy's affirmation been as true as it was absolutely false, there was no need of an Association: his own interest, assiduity, and influence had been sufficient to bring about their wishes, and he had deservedly merited greater praise than Monk, or most men to be met with in history. Though any unbiassed man, with half an Eye, might have seen the improbability of this Gasconade, yet he had insinuated himself so deeply into their favour, and gained such an ascendant over them, by his bold and positive assertions, that nothing he said was doubted; which appeared so unaccountable in men not void of sense, that I was at a loss what to think, and resolved to suspend my judgment for a time, nor to move in so delicate an affair, till I saw further. It was not long, however, before I had reason to be strengthened in my opinion, for the late Sir Alexander MacDonald of Slate[1] came to Edinburgh that year, and having by some means learned that there was a scheme carrying on, and that Bohaldy had put him down in the list * he gave to the French Court, was very much displeased, and declared he had never given any authority to do so, nor had he ever spoke to him on the subject. This story plainly demonstrates that Bohaldy's assertion was void of all foundation, for if this Gentleman, Chief of one of the first families and largest followings in the Country, had not been applied to, how improbable is it that numbers of inferior rank were, to whom it would have been more dangerous to have communicated the secret? And yet I must frankly acknowledge, that those I was concerned with were so strongly prepossessed, or rather infatuated, with a favourable opinion of

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* If he had been master either of abilities or interest enough to effectuate so arduous a task, he had not time to accomplish it from the date of his being appointed Agent, till he set out for Rome; he never was in Scotland after that, except in the Spring 1741, and then but a short time, and in private at Edinburgh, as I have already mentioned.

† If this particular is seriously attended to, it will appear that Lovat and Drummond had much the same interest in keeping the affair a secret to all except those already concerned: for had others less prejudiced in their favour been admitted, it is obvious they would not only have discovered the impropriety of the steps they were taking, together with the narrowness of the plan, but would have objected as well to Lovat's being the chief Director, as to Bohaldy's being the Agent: whereas the King's situation made it improper for him to object to either, had he been never so much convinced of the self-interestedness of the first, or of the fallacy and incapacity of the latter.

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* Not to break the thread of the story, which the following particular would do, I choose to mention Bohaldy's method of engaging people in the King's interests, by way of note. To such as were imagined to favour the King's interest, he introduced the subject, and if they dropped any favourable expressions, he then insinuated that it was a pity the King should be unacquainted with their principles; and if they seemed to think any correspondence dangerous, he then offered to make their way of thinking known to his Majesty, without their running any risk; to which if they consented, he from that day counted them as so many sure Cards. This he told me at Paris, and at the same time regretted he could not make the King comprehend his scheme; and asked me if I did? To which I answered that the method was easily conceived, but how far it would prove effectual was very dubious. He then asked me to observe in my letter to his Majesty, that he had made it known to me, and that I could easily conceive it; which I believe I promised, as it seemed plausible till maturely considered; which I had not done at that time. But it is obvious, his Majesty thought with too much justness and perspicuity to depend upon anything so vague and indefinite: and indeed, when after my return to Scotland I came to put it in practice, and consider seriously of it, it appeared plainly to be cheating the King, and putting a construction on men's meaning quite contrary from what they intended.

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[1] Seventh baronet, nephew of the chief attainted after the '15. He took the Government side in the '45. Married, 1733, (1) Anne, widow of Lord Ogilvy; (2) Margaret, daughter of ninth Earl of Eglinton; he died, aged 36, 23rd Nov. 1746. In justification of Bohaldy, cf. the statement of Miss MacLeod as to correspondence between MacLeod, Sir Alexander MacDonald, and Prince Charles, quoted in MacKenzie's *History of the MacDonalds*, p. 234.

this man, that my eyes were not opened for some time; so naturally are we induced to think with men of our own principles, and for whom we have a regard; but as I do not intend to leave any thing I advance dubious or liable to exceptions, where it is in my power to bring unquestionable proof, I appeal to Mr. Macleod of Nuick, now living, for the truth of this story.

1742 As it would only swell this paper to mention every incident, and as nothing of any great consequence happened till the month of December 1742, I shall venture to begin at that time by observing, that Bohaldy had not till then obliged us with any news of Consequence, though the time was at hand, when, according to his ultimate promise,* the troops were intended to land. The Earl of Traquair then received a letter from him, containing some vague and frivolous reasons why the Descent had failed in the Autumn; and assuring him, the troops and every thing necessary would be embarked early in the Spring. His Lordship laid the letter before Locheil and me; and neither of them seeming to make any of the objections to which I thought it was liable, I took the liberty to say, that it was not wrote as by a man that understood business; for admitting the reasons to be just, it was a little uncommon to write so carelessly upon an affair of such vast consequence, as this was, to all concerned. There were a number of preliminary steps to be taken, as I had before remarked, and yet it did not appear that any had been taken, nor did he insinuate they ought. It was true, the number of troops were specified, the places of their landing † fixt upon, arms, ammunition and money said to be provided, all necessary precautions, and without which they could not hope for success; but all these, however material, were far from being sufficient: it was likewise true, that the Country had been divided, according to their original plan, into different Districts,‡ and each allotted to the care of one of the Associators, who engaged to make it his business to forward the interest of the Cause in his province, by gaining as many of the principal* inhabitants as possible. I did not doubt but that Quarter of the Country allotted to Locheil was well affected, and would appear to a man; nor did I hesitate to believe, he had used all methods to secure them (as it afterwards appeared he had); but it did not seem that things were upon so good a footing in other places.

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* He had said when at Edinburgh, that the scheme would be executed in the Autumn or Spring.

† The main body at or near Aberdeen; and 1500 in Kintire.

‡ It is very evident, that this division of the Country was well intended, and might have been of great use, had the persons to whom the different

To Lord Lovat were allotted the Grants of Strathspey, the Macintoshes, the Mackenzies, all the people of Ross-shire and further North, together with the Chisholms and Grants of Urquhart. Though I made no doubt of the two last turning out, being his immediate neighbours, yet they were very inconsiderable in number, and as far as I could learn, he had not to that day endeavoured to gain any number of these for whom he had undertaken.

Sir James Campbell was entrusted with the care of Argyleshire and the islands adjacent: but it did not appear he had engaged any body;† at least he had transmitted no such accounts to us. There was no reason to doubt, that the body of men, proposed to be landed in that part of the Country would be joined by the MacLeans, MacLaughlans, and perhaps Largo's[1] people, and some others: but this did not put things upon a better footing than before. These people were already well inclined, and only waited a favourable opportunity to shew themselves; but were not such as merited the greatest attention. To gain friends was the chief design of parcelling

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Districts were allotted acted with assiduity: but it did not appear, after the Prince's landing, that any considerable progress had been made, except in Lochaber.

* I think it necessary to be circumstantial, and thereby give a clear view of the management after the Association, from whence it will be easy to see the little attention that was given to the most material point.

† It is evident from this, that things were not properly managed, for in affairs of that nature it was necessary that the persons employed should have from time to time communicated the progress they had made in their several districts, not only to one another, but to one who had it in his power to transmit the whole to the King, and their Agent abroad, from whence they could only judge what assistance it was requisite to demand from France and Spain.

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[1] MacDonald of Largie, in Kintyre; an independent branch of the Clan Donald.

out the Country into different Districts: and if Sir James had executed that which was more necessary in his province than in any other (and which I did not pretend to deny he had done) he ought to have given a distinct account of his proceedings and success, from whence it might be known what assistance was to be expected.

Another thing very material, if not absolutely necessary, appeared to be entirely neglected. Sir Hector MacLeane[1] had neither been comprehended in the Association, nor acquainted with what was going on; at least not by any immediately concerned in the Association. The Island of Mull, where part of his interest lay, was in the possession of Argyle, great part of it inhabited by the Campbells, and the whole inhabitants then either Argyle's tenants or vassals: it was not therefore to be thought, that people thus circumstanced, and immediately dependent upon Argyle, would openly take up arms* against the government, as if free and at their own disposal. This being the case, it was proper their Chief should be let into the secret: and if he could not come himself without giving suspicion, he might still be able to employ some of his family to officiate for him in preparing his Clan for a rising, as soon as he should be able to appear amongst them.

The north parts of Scotland, such as Braemar, Glenlivet, Buchan, with the other parts of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, and the Gordons were then entirely neglected. The care of them, together with the Farquharsons and Ogilvies, was assigned to the Duke of Perth, who, though his inclinations, abilities, and interests, were equal to the task, yet was then, and had been for some time, in England, which made it impossible for him to continue the progress he had begun in these parts, and might be a means to lose the friends he had made, who were mostly Highlanders, though not so much esteemed as those of the West; and as to the Gentlemen of

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* This was afterwards manifested by the few MacLeanes,[2] who under Drimnin joined the Prince; and those who were raised for the government, and acted against him as Argyleshire militia.

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[1] Fifth baronet of Duart, cf. pp. 135 and 156. Died at Rome 1750. His father fought at Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir.

[2] Cf. Mr. Blaikie's *Itinerary*, pp. 22 n. and 121.

the low parts of the North, there was no account that his Grace or any other had spoke to them.

The part allotted to the Earl of Traquair, on the south side of the River Forth, I was fully as well acquainted with as his Lordship, and knew well that he never so much as endeavoured to engage one man. The principal people in that part of the Country were mostly known to me, and I was sensible any effort they could make in the field would be very triffling, so the best way to make them usefull was to procure their assistance in money; and from the experience I had had in that particular, I was convinced the only method to prevail was to attack them warmly, and partly* communicate the design in hand to such as could be entrusted. Though it was evident the appearance from that part of Scotland could not be considerable, there being no followings as in the Highlands, yet there were several people well affected who would undoubtedly join upon timely notice, but being unprovided with all necessaries for such an expedition, it would be impossible for them to rise on a sudden; some less forward might assign it as a reason for keeping at home, and others justly complain as having been neglected. Some time was absolutely required to bring things to maturity; even the inhabitants of Lochaber could not be expected to turn out expeditiously. Plaids, shoes, and hose, were to be provided, which, as the people themselves could not afford them, became a burden on the Chiefs; nor could they bear the charge if not assisted with money; and supposing it was in their power, some months were requisite to procure them. Of all arms, swords were most wanted; and we could not expect to be supplied from abroad with a sufficient number of good ones. Some of the Northern Clans, who had not been disarmed in 1715, or afterwards, were much better stocked than those we chiefly depended on; it was, therefore, proper to purchase theirs,† which would serve the double purpose of arming our friends and disarming our enemies; but here both money and time were required likewise. As there had been a long peace, and all thoughts of a war of that kind much out of head, it behooved by degrees to insinuate a spirit into the people, and especially to cultivate the heads of the Tribes, who had in some degree fallen off from that veneration* and implicit faith they were wont to place in their Chiefs; and allowing this not to be the most difficult task, yet it was not the work of a day, but required time, secrecy, and discretion. The use of the Target had been long neglected, though, next to good swords, the first thing to be attended to, and though the materials might easily be found, it was difficult to procure a number of hands acquainted with their construction, and the utmost caution was to be used to prevent suspicion in the Government, should it be discovered any numbers were making.

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* I was always of opinion, that applying to a man for money, without shewing a confidence in him, which could only be done by giving him some intimation of what was adoing, was a kind of affront; as it was desiring him to contribute to the execution of a scheme with which he was not thought worthy of being trusted.

† Locheil had formed a scheme for purchasing a number of their swords, without giving them any grounds of jealousy.

It must be acknowledged that, had the Earl Marischal landed, as was promised, with a considerable force, the party in general would have been greatly encouraged; yet it is most certain that neither this, the favourable disposition of individuals, nor the combined influence of the Associators, would have provided sufficient to raise those who were unprovided, unprepared, and destitute of necessaries. The letter wrote by Bohaldy was in general terms; no particulars specified; no plan laid down for the march of the troops,† or their junction with the Clans; no scheme proposed to surprize any of the forts, or prevent the forces on the north Coast from retiring into the forts, or joining those in the South; no money remitted to the Chiefs to provide their men with cloaths, as had been positively promised; and indeed not one injunction given, nor the least explanation of the intended expedition, nay, not even a fixed time mentioned, but in general terms, EARLY IN THE SPRING, which, if fairly interpreted, must have been the end of February or beginning of March, to which there was then but two months, time scarcely sufficient to advertise such as might be relied upon, and much too short to make any proper dispositions. Now it was obvious to me that, if Bohaldy's information was true, and a landing relied upon at the time mentioned, there was an immediate necessity for every man to repair to his post, the Duke of Perth to be sent for from England, Locheil to go to the Highlands, and all the Chieftains advertised and set to work to prepare their Clans, Lord Pitsligo[1] (who had not then been spoke to), with some others in the North, informed of it, and many other steps to be forthwith taken, which I feared could not well be done without creating suspicion in the Government, the consequences of which were apparent, and would have blown* the whole scheme in the air.

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* There were several instances of this in the 1745.

† Viz., those that were to be landed in the North under the Earl Marischal; for it was proposed to land 1500 men in Kintire, to encourage the rising in Argyle; the district allotted to Sir James Campbell.

From these several considerations, I adventured to give it as my opinion, that no motion ought to be made, nor any further regard had to Bohaldy's information, than if no such thing was expected, but to send over a person properly instructed to address himself to the French Ministry, and learn from them what was intended, which might be executed in a short time. If a descent was really meditated, the person sent ought to inform himself of the particulars, and agree with Bohaldy, and others employed in the King's affairs in France, upon the different steps to be taken; and after his return things might be put upon such a footing that the party could not err, but exert themselves with all the vigour the time would permit; whereas, were any preparations to be attempted, as affairs then stood they might do things superfluous, and neglect such as were necessary; and if no descent was made, the design would

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* This will be easily conceived, when it is considered what a sudden alteration would have appeared in the Country, when all concerned were busied in preparing themselves and their followers: whereas, had there been time, everything might have been executed with the utmost secrecy.

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[1] Alexander Forbes, fourth Lord Pitsligo, was born in 1678, and was educated in France, where he gained the friendship of Fénelon. He sat in the Scottish Parliament till the Union, but then withdrew from public life. He fought at Sheriffmuir, escaped to the Continent, and was allowed to return in 1720. When he joined Prince Charles, 'it seemed as if religion, virtue, and justice were entering the camp under the appearance of this venerable old man.' He fought at Culloden, escaped to Aberdeenshire, lived in concealment till 1750 when the search for him relaxed, and he was able to retire to his son's house at Auchiries, where he lived under the name of 'Mr. Brown.' Died 12 Dec. 1762.

probably be penetrated, their persons secured, and the scheme prevented for a time, if not entirely ruined.

These reflections were so plain and obvious, and the difficulties so apparent, that after some triffling objections, and an unwillingness on Lord Traquair's part to find fault with any thing Bohaldy did, it was agreed to follow my advice, Lochyell having declared himself of the same opinion. Though this business required all possible dispatch, yet two reasons occurred to prevent its immediate execution. In the first place, it was no easy matter to find a person in whom they could entirely confide, and who could conveniently undertake that commission; and 2^{dly}, it was thought proper to have Lord Lovat's approbation, lest he should be offended that any thing of that nature was done without his knowledge and consent. To employ any person unacquainted with the situation of affairs would have been doing nothing, and to instruct him would have been much the same as to admit him into the Association, which they were quite averse to from the notion that Bohaldy had instilled, that they were alone able to influence the whole party to join the moment they appeared; whence they concluded to chuse one of their own number. Three of them were single, and as such might have gone with the less suspicion; but it was thought the Duke of Perth's or Lord Traquair's leaving the Country would be remarked; and Mr. Stewart[1] (Traquair's brother) who was too indolent to undertake a journey of that length upon any consideration; so the choice fell upon me, who though not of the number,* was nevertheless acquainted with the whole scheme.

The objections to my going were very obvious; I had got a family, and apparently had no business either at London or abroad. I was known by most of the party to be charged with the King's affairs, and as all men are not equally close,† it was

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* I hope due attention will be given to my not having been an original Associator, or ever received amongst them as such.

† Doctor Cochrane was a man who always declared a particular inclination to forward the Royal Cause: and I had acquainted him in general terms of my intended journey. Some time after I was gone, he visited my family, and was unguarded enough to ask my wife, when she heard from Paris? Which was the first hint she ever heard of my being there:

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[1] John, succeeded his brother as 6th Earl of Traquair in 1764. Died at Paris 1779, aged 81.

more than probable my absence would create suspicion amongst them, and occasion whispers, which by degrees might come to the ears of some of the friends of the Government, and prove prejudicial to me and the Cause I was engaged in.

Though these objections were just, yet they were overruled and necessity seemed to declare for my going; but I was still unwilling to consent, till a feasible excuse offered. I likewise observed, that though it was from no want of inclination, for on the contrary I ardently wished to be satisfied of the truth of what was advanced, both upon the account of the Party and myself, yet the situation of my affairs made it inconvenient for me to raise money for such a journey, as the charges I was put to by managing affairs at home required all the ready money I was master of, and even obliged me to borrow* when otherwise I had no occasion, and to raise any further sum at that time would not only hurt my family and Credit, but prevent me from getting any at a† more critical juncture; yet upon the whole, if no other person could be found, I would endeavour to order my affairs so as to be able to go.

Matters being thus settled, Lochyell was appointed to state the Case to Lord Lovat; and he employed one of the name of Macgregor (sent for from Dumblain), who had formerly been servant to Bohaldy, to carry his letter, pretending that it contained something relating to his late master's affairs. After having mentioned in his letter the present state of affairs, as represented by Bohaldy, with the reasons for sending one to France; and that Commissions of Lord Lieutenant and Lieutenant General had been sent for him at the same time, and were then in my hands, he observed that, in case I went, it was thought reasonable my charges should be borne and his Lordship contribute his share. As soon as the express was dispatched I gave it out among my Acquaintances, that having a Law-suit depending with the present Earl of March, I intended

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and shews that, by such like blunders, I might have been discovered. When I blamed him for it, he said, he thought the wife of one's bosom might be entrusted. A very dangerous maxim, and what no man concerned in such desperate affairs ought to adopt.

* Every shilling of debt now affecting my Estate was contracted in the service of the Royal Family.

† When it should become necessary to appear in arms.

to go to London and sollicit the Duke of Queensberry to have it ended, as the affair had been transacted by his Grace's orders when my Lord was under his Tutory.

Having impatiently expected the Messenger, who had been retarded in his journey by a storm, he at last returned with an answer, wherein his Lordship expressed his approbation both of the message and the person who was to carry it; adding that he thought it reasonable my expenses should be defrayed, and had sent his note of hand for £100, which he begged might be negotiated at Edinburgh, regretting it was not in his power to send the money, his rents being very ill paid, with other such excuses, which we heartily laughed at, knowing it to be a trick, as he could not be ignorant that no Man of business would advance one farthing upon his Bill without collateral security.

Lochyell then applied to Lord Traquair, who excused himself for the present, but said I might draw upon him for what money should be wanting when abroad, which, I have been told, his Lordship has since taken the liberty to say, was administring to my extravagance; a light in which I am pretty confident no man of sense or honour will ever conceive it. I dare venture to say, many people less zealous would have taken advantage of this disappointment to excuse themselves; but laying aside all thoughts of that nature, and preferring the interest of the party to my own, I borrowed the money from the new Bank,* and indorsed Lord Lovat's Bill† to Mr. MacDougal, Merchant in Edinburgh, who had joined in the security to the Bank with me.

I had almost forgot to observe that, in Lovat's letter he insisted above all things upon having the patent of Duke, which Bohaldy had promised him, and begged I would leave no stone unturned to procure it, and to ask it not only as a thing promised and granted, but as the chief‡ condition upon which, he said, he was acting so strenuously for the King's interest; and added that he had been lately in the County of Ross, where he had employed all his art to gain the inhabitants to his Majesty's interest, especially his dear Cousin the Earl of Cromarty,* who had given him the most solemn assurances that he only wished to see him in the field, that he might follow his example, and draw his sword in the cause of an injured family.

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* The Royal Bank of Scotland.[1]

† Of which he afterwards only paid £50.

‡ From hence every person may judge of his Lordship's principles, and the motives he acted on in this affair.

[1] For Murray's transactions with this Bank during the campaign, see *Miscellany* of Scottish History Society (vol. xv.), pp. 537-559.

I soon set out for Paris, and stopped at York to talk the affair over with the Duke of Perth,† who entirely approved of what I was going about. Upon my arrival at London, I was informed of Cardinal Fleury's death,[1] which gave me some pain, being the person (according to Bohaldy's information) to whom all application had been made, and to whom I had resolved to address myself. Thinking therefore that his death might occasion an alteration in all their schemes, and suspend if not put a stop to the Descent for that season, I had some thoughts of returning; but reflecting that an affair of so much moment could not have been managed by him alone, I was in hopes of procuring some intelligence by means of those whom he had intrusted; and being anxious to have the affair cleared up, I set out privately‡ for Paris, fully determined not to return till I was thoroughly informed whether the promises made were to be performed. Immediately upon my arrival I went to Bohaldy's lodgings, who shewed a good deal of surprize and confusion, but after a little conversation said he was glad I was come, for the Cardinal's death had made but little alteration in

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* The only person of distinction he ever pretended to have influenced in this affair.

† His Grace then informed me that he had spoke with several people in that City and neighbourhood, who professed a strong attachment to the Royal Family; and that the Magistracy were so well inclined as to propose sending over the Freedom of the City in a gold box to the Duke of York; that the Ministry knew their inclinations so well, that they had endeavoured to prevent their election, but had failed: and he concluded, by regretting that the people of his Communion were the most backward.

‡ I left London on Monday morning, and went on board the Packet at Dover that evening; but having a tedious passage, did not go to bed till Thursday night at 12 o'clock, when I was only a few posts from Paris.

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[1] Died Jan. 29, 1743.

their affairs, as he had all along entrusted Monsieur Amelot,[1] who was well acquainted with the whole scheme, and in possession of all the papers relating to it ; and having enquired how affairs stood in Scotland, and what instructions I had, proposed to go the same evening to Lord Semple,[2] who was charged with the King's affairs at the French Court. We accordingly went, and after a very polite reception they took great pains to persuade me that things were in as much forwardness as could be wished, and gave strong hints that it would be agreeable if I returned* satisfied with their answer. But finding that would not do, and that the chief intent of my journey was to have these assurances from the Minister himself, they agreed to go to Versailes and procure an audience. They insinuated strongly at that time, and afterwards at Versailes told me in plain language, that it was necessary, when I saw Mr. Amelot, to augment the strength of the party as much as with any shew of veracity might be done, which I gave them reason to believe I would, being suspicious from the whole of their behaviour

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* Had they been conscious of having advanced nothing but truth, they would rather have been pleased to give me an opportunity of hearing it from the minister, as I would thereby have had it in my power to assure the Party of their Candour.

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[1] Amelot de Chaillon, Foreign Minister, 1737 to 1744, where he fell into disfavour with the Duchesse de Châteauroux 'parce qu'il était bègue.' He died in 1749.

[2] Robert Sempill, 'captain in the regiment of Dillon,' was created, after 1723, a peer of Scotland by James, and died 1737. His son Francis, who is believed to have married a daughter of the 4th Earl of Seaforth, died 9th December 1748, and was buried at Chartres. Riddell, in his *Peerage Law* (vol. ii. app. ii. p. 978) says he has not been able to discover who was the Jacobite Lord Sempill in 1745. It is improbable that James would confer the barony of Sempill on one who had no claim to the old Scots peerage. The Lord Sempill who fought under Cumberland at Culloden was an Abercromby, the male line of the Sempills, according to Burke and Debrett, having failed on the death of Francis, 8th Baron, in 1648. Presumably, therefore, the Robert Sempill of Dillon's regiment claimed to be a descendant of the first lord who fell at Flodden. I have, however, been unable to discover anything further about him. The Lord Sempill of the text was in constant communication with James. He disapproved of the expedition of Prince Charles, and till his death was the centre of the King's as opposed to the Prince's party. He seems to have resided in Paris. There are many letters from him to James and to Edgar preserved in the Stuart Papers at Windsor. Many of these are published in Browne's *History of the Highlands*.

that my visit was not agreeable, and fearing lest by an obstinate refusal they should prevent my getting admittance; which alone gave me a very bad opinion of the men and their measures, as well as of the success of the whole affair.

It was evident from this, that they were not men of strict veracity, and had not represented the state of our Party fairly, but endeavoured to impose upon the French * by augmenting their numbers. This was cheating the King and his friends (for such I was then young and weak enough to esteem the French) and going the high way to render themselves ridiculous, and the scheme abortive, if it should be undertaken upon the strength of what they advanced.

On the other hand, if the French had really been sincere, and intended to support the scheme with vigour, some thousand men more would have made no alteration in their resolutions: and if they only proposed to make a diversion in their own favour, the greater they believed the strength of the loyal party, the fewer troops they would send to their assistance, as a large body might have, contrary to the French views, effected a Restoration; so, in whatever light they might put it, it was still false policy † and glaring dishonesty.

As Cardinal Tencin[1] had always been reckoned the King's best friend at the Court of Versailes, Lord Semple proposed

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* Bohaldy in magnifying the numbers, and giving in persons' names that had never been applied to or engaged, imitates his patron Lord Lovat, who acted in the same manner, when he was employed by some of the most virulent Whigs in the year 1703 to treat with the French ministry, that he might discover and ruin the King's friends. See the proceedings of the house of Lords upon (what was called) the Scottish Conspiracy.

† We had been informed, that the Earl Marischal, having heard of the numbers promised by Bohaldy to the French Court, treated his assertion with the contempt and ridicule it deserved: but that on the other hand, his Lordship had rather diminished them; which made Lochyell declare a strong desire to go to him, which I have often regretted he did not, as well as that I was positively enjoined by Lord Traquair not to see him at that time.

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[1] Tencin had been very intimate with James at Rome, where he was ambassador. D'Argenson calls him 'un homme mediocre,' and gives an amusing account of how his policy was modified by his amours and jealousies.

to introduce me to him: and after three days' continual solicitation I was at last only admitted for two minutes to his Antechamber, when he said he would be extremely glad to have it in his power to serve the King my master, having a singular regard for him, as indeed he could not fail—Sa Majeste ayent la plus belle du monde [*sic*].

The Reader is at liberty to make his own reflections upon this ministerial sally, at which I had most certainly laughed, if I had not been too much shocked with the shameful reception. I must own it filled my mind with many disagreeable and ill-boding presages: for what opinion could any man of common sense have of the interest of a person cloathed with the character of a Minister, who was obliged to sollicite three days for such an interview and such a speech; and what prospect could I have of receiving any satisfaction from Monsieur Amelot, who was no farther esteemed a friend, than as being a Minister? The same evening, we were admitted to him, and very politely received. I told him to whom, and by whom I was sent: but Cardinal Fleury being dead, I had applied to him as the person in whom my Constituents reposed the greatest confidence; and begged to know his Majesty's intentions, with what message would be proper for me to carry back. To this he answered, that he had delayed to see me, till such time as he had an opportunity to acquaint the King with my arrival and the purport of my Commission (of which Lord Semple had previously informed him), that he had accordingly communicated it to his Majesty the same evening, and received his orders to acquaint me that I might assure the party of his friendly intentions towards the King my Master, and as soon as the situation of his affairs would permit, he could give him all the assistance in his power. He then asked several questions relating to the number of forces in Scotland, of which I gave him an account, and likewise mentioned their situation and quarters, which ought to have given encouragement to an attempt, as they were but few and very disadvantageously posted in case of an insurrection. Bohaldy endeavoured to make him believe, that the number of the well affected to the King was very considerable, having been augmented by the assiduity and good management of the persons chiefly concerned; upon which Monsieur Amelot said, he hoped the Gentlemen had well considered of what they were about; that it was an affair of the utmost consequence; and though the Scots were a brave undertaking people, yet such enterprises were dangerous and precarious. This speech startled me not a little, as it had not the appearance of that warmth and keenness as Bohaldy had said in his letters the French were fired with, but seemed rather to savour of the dissuasive, and shewed they were either doubtfull of success, or little inclined to be assisting.

Lord Semple, amongst other things, mentioned a Memorial which had been given in concerning a Descent proposed to be made in the North of England, to which Monsieur Amelot seemed an entire stranger. Upon this his Lordship inadvertently asked him if he had not read it: to which he replied no, nor had never heard of it: so after a conversation of short continuance, we took our leaves.

Though this last part of the conversation will admit of many reflections, yet, not to be tedious, I will pass it over with only observing, that, notwithstanding it struck me, I nevertheless did not shew any concern, but rather appeared satisfied with what had passed. To have found fault, would have prevented me from making any future discoveries, should a further opportunity have offered; and what satisfaction could I have reaped from men who too plainly were no slaves to truth? The same self-interest, which induced them to impose upon the King and his friends, would have supplied them with assurance to dispute the most recent and evident facts, and endeavour to convince me that I had heard wrong. I therefore kept my mind to myself: it was not there my report was to be made; it was to those who had sent me: their eyes were to be opened by shewing them, that they trusted in people, who in all appearance made their employment a trade to deceive their Constituents.

After our return to Paris, Lord Semple and Bohaldy made a proposal of a very singular nature. Finding they could not prevail with the Earl Marischal to enter into their schemes, and knowing he was generally beloved by the Party in Scotland; to excuse themselves they endeavoured to blacken him (a practice I am sorry to have found too common) and were very industrious to persuade me that he was a wrongheaded man, not to be contented, the bane of all their business, continually setting himself in opposition to his Master and all those employed by him. In short, the epithet they dignified him with was, 'honourable fool.' I had not the honour to be acquainted with his Lordship; and though I had, and differed with them in opinion, yet as I was not come thither to wrangle, I only regretted the misfortune, as a thing not to be helped; little dreaming of what followed: but Bohaldy, not satisfied with complaints and abuse, proposed to me to write a letter to his Lordship, finding fault with his Conduct, and intimating to him that he was not so popular as he imagined, and that his Conduct was universally condemned by his Countrymen. I was as if thunderstruck at this proposal, and for a short time at a loss what to say, being ready to resent his attempting to make me a tool to his private resentment, knowing that the Earl Marischal was generally esteemed and the most popular man of the Party. His Lordship was then near Bologne, which they complained of, as his being upon the coast might occasion suspicion in the English ministry; in which I so far agreed with them, if his Lordship imagined the French intended an invasion; but as to writing to him and finding fault with his conduct was what I would by no means consent to; being a thing I had not the smallest title to, and if I was officious enough to do it, would justly be laughed at as a piece of childish impertinence and presumption.

Having now no further business at Paris, I prepared to return: and Bohaldy seeming a good deal elated with Monsieur Amelot's answer (though for what reason I could never guess), determined to accompany me to England, to settle matters, as he said, with the King's friends there, where we arrived with great privacy * in a few days.

Being desirous to make as much of my time as possible, I

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* When we came to Calais, and found there were some British passengers, I was a little averse to go for fear of being known, but finding upon enquiry that it was Mr. Norvel of Boghall with his Tutor, an English Clergyman, I was easy, for Bohaldy had known Norvel at Paris: so he went to him and let him know who I was, and that I had been about the King's affairs; and put him upon his guard in case of our meeting afterwards in London.

went immediately to wait on Colonel Cecil,[1] who had been long employed in the King's business, with a view to learn from him in what shape he imagined things were, that I might be able to judge of the sentiments of the different parties, and hear the complaints they had against each other. Having gained this Gentleman's confidence some time before, I found no difficulty to attain the end I proposed, for as he knew I was employed, he looked upon me as in some degree equally concerned with himself, and not suspecting from whence I came, he freely opened his mind; shewed me several letters he had received from Rome; mentioned the then situation of the Party, and accounted for Lord Semple's being employed; complained of him for allowing himself to be imposed upon by the French Ministry, and blindly giving ear to their promises, and that he had been so presumptuous as to assume the character of Minister from the Party in England, when nothing was ever less intended by them. It would be tedious to mention all the complaints which the Colonel made: nor can I pretend to recollect every particular at the distance of fourteen years,[2] but in general he was much displeased with Lord Semple's conduct, and represented the loyal Party at home as far from being united or resolute enough to form any regular combination.

Though I was far from being satisfied with Lord Semple, from what I had observed, yet his specious behaviour * and seeming abilities so far blinded me as to make me attribute the atrocity of some particulars more to the Colonel's dotage than his Lordship's faults, as old men are generally peevish, and apt when disobliged to represent things in the stronger colours. However, as my memory was then very good, I took care to forget nothing he said, resolving to let the King know what was alledged on either side, to enable his Majesty to judge where the blame lay, and who were the persons in whom he had reason to repose the greatest trust and confidence.

I declared before, that I was at a loss to divine what could make Bohaldy so keen as to come and apply to the Party in

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* He was a much smoother and more insinuating man than Bohaldy; said less, and seemed fearful to contradict him.

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[1] Jacobite agent. A minute of the French Foreign Office calls him 'oncle de Lord Salisbury.'

[2] This dates this part of the *Memorials*.

England: for if he represented things fairly, there was not the least room for encouragement. On the contrary, from what Mr. Amelot had said,* nothing was then to be expected; yet he seemed as much disappointed to find the Earl of Orrery was out of town as if an army had then been embarked, and after meeting with Mr. Erskine of Grange,[1] was in such a hurry to see his Lordship, that he immediately went to his Country seat, and returned with apparent satisfaction. Had the state of affairs, as I have truly represented them, been laid before that noble Lord, I cannot think he would have been highly pleased, or Bohaldy much encouraged: so must therefore be allowed to think, till such time as he tells truth, or the Earl divulges the conversation, that either Drummond had little reason to plume himself upon his reception, or that he represented things in quite a different light from what they were.

I am likewise of opinion the case was the same with Mr. Erskine. They had several meetings, and his temper and caution are too well known to imagine, if he had been thoroughly apprized of what had passed, and that there was so distant a prospect of any vigorous measures, he would have taken the trouble to consult and write letters, or indeed run any risk on that score.

At another interview with Colonel Cecil, he complain'd almost as loudly of the late Dutchess of Buckingham,[2] as he had done before of Lord Semple, alledging she had appropriated to herself the part of Embassadress extraordinary from the Party in England to the King and Court of France, and employed one Colonel Brett as her Secretary, when abroad; and that she had erred on the opposite side from Lord Semple, by demanding succours more proper for a Conquest, than to aid and assist a party, which was a means to make the French believe the King had few friends of any consequence ready to appear for him: but had the Colonel lived in the year 1745

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* Supposing his speech to me had really proceeded from his master, it was still general, inconclusive, and such as nothing certain could be built upon.

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[1] Lord Mar's brother, the notorious Lord Grange, b. 1672, d. 1754.

[2] Katherine, third wife and widow of John Sheffield, 1st duke of 4th creation, was an illegitimate daughter of James II. by Katherine Sedley, Countess of Dorchester. She died in April 1743, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

and 1746, he had probably altered his opinion, and allowed the Dutchess to have been right, as he would then have seen that nothing was to be expected from them but vain idle boastings, and, as Bolingbroke says, that they only vent that Loyalty which their Claret inspires.

Having staid as long in London as I thought necessary, I told Bohaldy that I intended to go to Scotland, and asked his commands. He pretended then to be very busy, having got an exact list* of all the Gentlemen in the City who were the King's friends, and that it was necessary to cultivate them; but as he could not appear, Lord Traquair must immediately come up to concert matters with the Duke of Beaufort,[1] Lord Orrery,[2] Lord Barrimore,[3] Sir Watkin Williams Wynne,[4] Sir John Hinde Cotton,[5] etc., and concluded by insinuating that a letter from me to Lord Marischal might be of service, to which I did not make any answer, but assured him I would not fail upon my arrival to acquaint Lord Traquair with his request: and then bade him Adieu.

On my way home I stopt at York, and informed the Duke of Perth of what had passed; who, finding himself entirely disappointed of his expectations, was much shagreened, and fully persuaded of the emptiness of the promises hitherto made.

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* This List, upon which he valued himself very much, was no more than the reputed characters and principles of the most remarkable men in the City, a thing which any man who is a little known may procure with great ease. If it was necessary, I would engage to procure such an other in a week's time, though Lord Traquair told me, he had shewn it to Sir John Hinde Cotton, who seemed surprized how he had got it:—but it is not surprizing that such bagatelles should seem considerable to people who study nothing but their *own interest*.

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[1] Henry, 3rd duke, b. 1707, d. 1746.

[2] John Boyle, fifth Earl of Orrery, b. 1706, succeeded to the earldom of Cork 1753, d. 1762.

[3] James, 4th Earl of Barrymore, b. 1667, d. 1747. Great-grandfather of the notorious 7th earl and his brother the 8th and last.

[4] 3rd baronet, succeeeded 1740; M.P. for Denbigh; d. 1749.

[5] M.P. for Cambridge borough and afterwards county till 1741, then for Marlborough; Treasurer of the Chamber (a household post) till 1746, when he was dismissed; d. 1752.

Upon my arrival at Edinburgh I acquainted Lord Traquair and Lochyell with all I had learned at Paris and London, and Bohaldy's desire to see his Lordship there. He promised to set out in a few days, without seeming at all moved at the disappointment; whereas Lochyell was much affected; said he was entirely satisfied with the accounts I had brought, and was glad to find he could no longer be imposed upon, for as the promises hitherto had been without foundation, let whatever further assurances be given, he was determined not to move till thoroughly convinced of what was to be done, and often repeated how lucky it was that no steps had been taken upon Bohaldy's letter, which might have proved fatal to the Cause; and finally came to a resolution to wait patiently, till he should [know] by the Earl of Traquair's return, what were the sentiments of the Party in England, and what they were willing to undertake. He likewise promised to write to Lord Lovat: and I having recollected the principal complaints made by Colonel Cecil against Lord Semple and Bohaldy * inserted them in a letter to his Majesty, which I immediately dispatched to Rome.[1] Having thus acquainted the King with the differences subsisting amongst his agents, I bethought me how to turn Bohaldy's proposal of writing to Lord Marischal to the best advantage. To have insinuated to his Lordship or his friends, that any thing of that kind had been proposed, could have served no end but to make the breach wider: and not to have endeavoured to repair it, would not have been acting up to what I always proposed, my chief aim being to advance his Majesty's interest whenever an occasion offered, and consequently had I neglected this, must have been to blame for letting an opportunity slip, from whence considerable advantage might have ensued. Having seriously considered this matter, I wrote a letter to his Lordship, of which I am heartily sorry it is not in my power to give an exact copy, though I am at no loss to recollect the contents in general, which were as follows: That knowing his innate

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* I am afraid I was much too modest upon that subject, and have often wished since that I had told every particular in as glaring a light as they had been represented to me.

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[1] This letter may be at Windsor, but I was unable to discover it.

Loyalty and attachment to the interest of the Royal Family, his popularity, and the entire confidence the Party reposed in him, I thought it my duty to acquaint him, that I was extremely sorry to find such differences subsisting amongst the several persons employed in the King's affairs, and knew of none so fit to reconcile them as his Lordship: that his residence upon the coast made a correpondence easy, and begged with submission to insinuate that his applying himself to execute such a scheme would be meritorious and of vast importance at that juncture: adding, if my taking the liberty to write was using too much freedom, I hoped he would forgive me, and attribute it to nothing but a zealous passion to serve the Cause.

This letter I enclosed in one to Mr. Smith of Boulogne, whom I knew to be agreeable to his Lordship, desiring him to peruse it, and if he thought it was wrote with sufficient respect, to take the trouble to seal and deliver it: and as Lord Traquair was ready to set out for London, as soon as I had finished my dispatches, I went to his seat, and having informed him of what Bohaldy had proposed, showed him the letter, and gave my reasons for writing in so opposite a stile to what I had been solicited; and asked his opinion. His Lordship, far from finding fault, said it was very proper; condemned Bohaldy's proposal, and promised to forward it when he arrived at London, of which he would give me notice; and set out next morning.

Upon my return to Edinburgh, I made it my study, in consequence of my first plan, to get acquainted with every body who seemed inclined to my way of thinking; and may say without vanity, heightened the zeal of some by exposing the situation of the Country, and the advantages that would accrue from a change of government.

Amongst many people then in Edinburgh, who made no secret of their principles, Lord Elcho informed me of the bad opinion folks abroad had of Bohaldy; that he was looked upon as a low-lifed fellow, void of truth; that he and Lord Semple had had some dealings with the Earl Marischal, but he had found them so false, that he positively refused to have any thing more to do with them; and that they had [tried] all methods to engage him to give credit to their negociations, but his Lordship had laughed at their attempts, and said, till they could give him security for their speaking truth, he would have nothing to do with them. This story plainly decyphered their malice and spleen against his Lordship, and their reason for soliciting me to write to him; and made me happy to have wrote in so opposite a stile to their wishes.

At this time I received letters from Rome, wherein I was ordered to observe to such as could be safely trusted, that the prospect of a vigorous effort was not very distant,* and without giving them too much room to pry into particulars; and was likewise directed to keep up their spirits, and let them understand that their assistance might soon be required.

The late Lord Kenmure, a person extremely Zealous in the King's cause, and whom I had brought to confer with Captain Hay upon my coming home, had acquainted me, that the people called Cameronians, a considerable body of men in the Counties of Nithsdale, Annandale, Galloway, and other Western Shires, were greatly disgusted with the government, and expecting a change, had applied to him by one of their leaders to beg his protection and countenance should a Revolution happen. As the orders I had lately received made it necessary to gain a number of friends, these people were (if possible) to be secured, especially as, like the Jews, they had [kept] themselves distinct from the other inhabitants of the land, and, as I was informed, were enrolled and regimented. If my memory does not fail me, application had been made at that time in their behalf, and the King promised to take them under his protection, and to allow them an unrestrained liberty of Conscience, with a yearly sallary to each of their preachers: but Lord Kenmure dying soon after this grant came to hand, and before he could acquaint me how matters stood, settled with the Gentleman who had spoke to him, I judged it proper to let his brother, the present Lord,* into the secret, and begged him to manage that matter, which he readily agreed to. I nevertheless thought it an affair of too much consequence to be conducted by one man, for though Sir Thomas Gordon of

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* If strict justice, with the laws of humanity, and benevolence, will allow of a conjecture to the prejudice of our fellow-creatures, sure it must in the present case, where every circumstance seems to confirm the probability. The letters mentioned came to Edinburgh in the summer, when Traquair and Bohaldy were at London (at least Traquair was) a few months after my return from France. As both Semple and Bohaldy had wrote dispatches to the King immediately after the audience we had of Cardinal Tencin and Monsieur Amelot, is it not then reasonable to conjecture that it was owing to the contents of those letters that I was instructed to give the Party reason to believe something was soon to be done; and does not this fairly imply that things had not been justly represented? If it was to any subsequent encouragement, it must have followed soon after this audience, or those orders could not have arrived so early; and yet Lord Traquair said not one word of any such thing. A great deal might be said upon this subject: but the inferences are self-evident: therefore shall only desire that these two Gentlemen's dispatches at that time may be examined and compared with what I have advanced. If I am wrong, it only follows that we in Scotland were kept in the dark by Traquair, or both he and we by Lord Semple and Bohaldy.

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* As this Lord's future conduct was very unbecoming a man who had been entrusted, it is necessary to give my reasons for confiding in him. When I went to Kenmure to acquaint the late Lord with Captain Hay's being at Edinburgh, and his desire to converse with him on the King's affairs, his Lordship told me he was mighty uneasy on his brother's account, having reason to suspect that his neighbour Lord Garlies (now Earl of Galloway) was endeavouring to prevail with him to accept a Commission in the Government's service, which was a thing he could not endure to think of: and desired me to talk to him, to let him know his fears, and put him in mind that as his patrimony was then spent, if he took [a step] so disagreeable to him, he might lay aside all thoughts of any assistance from him; but if he continued firm to the principles in which he had been brought up, and for which his father had suffered, he should want for nothing in his power to give him. When I spoke to the present Lord, he seemed not only uneasy, but expressed great concern that his brother should suspect him; and declared that no offers should tempt him, and there was nothing further from his thoughts; that he was sensible of the infamy attending such a step, and never could prevail with himself to serve the family who had taken his father's life. He said, he was convinced that whatever face [they put] on to him, in their own breasts they would disapprove the action, and despise him for it; that all the arts Lord Garlies was master of could not allure him, being as sincerely attached to the King's interest as his brother, or any man in the nation, and not only esteemed it a duty, but would reckon it his greatest honour and happiness to have an opportunity to shew he had some of his father's blood in his veins, that he was sensible of the great obligations he owed his brother, and would never do any thing so disagreeable to

Earlston,[1] who had sollicited Lord Kenmure, was esteemed the first man of that body, it was still requisite to be informed of their other Leaders, and endeavour to gain them. Having therefore learned that Captain Cramon was one who had great influence amongst them, I agreed with Lochyell, and Cochran of Roughfoil, Physician in Edinburgh (mentioned in note, page 38), that being their acquaintance, they should manage him; and Bohaldy was desired to procure a Commission for him from Rome, which might be ready to put into his hands when an occasion offered; and part of this summer passed over in acquainting such as were thought proper, and in making experiments,* all tending to the same end. Some time before Lord Traquair returned, Mr. Smith came from France, and as I had been much surprized at his Lordship's silence, having heard nothing from him since he left Scotland, nor received any return from Lord Marischal, I flattered myself this Gentleman might be charged with it; but to my great surprize he took no notice at meeting of having ever heard from me, which made me at a loss what to think, whether it might have miscarried, never doubting of its being forwarded, or if Lord Marischal, having heard of my being in France, had been offended at my not offering to wait on him, and refused an answer; but whatever was the reason, I resolved to take no notice to Mr. Smith of having wrote to him.

As Lord Traquair had made a longer stay than was expected, and never favoured me with a letter, the season being far advanced, I made a visit at his house to learn if the Ladies

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him. He then begged me to assure him that his fears were groundless, that nothing should make him act this part he so much dreaded; that he might depend upon his sincerity, and his conducting himself according to his brother's wishes: and at the same desired I might take an opportunity to assure his Majesty of the sincere regard he had for his interest, with his readiness to testify it by his actions upon all occasions.

* Clubs of the King's friends became upon this pretty frequent in town, and encreased afterwards to a very uncommon degree, as may be remembered by every person in Edinburgh, who were then able to judge of the party: and I was the first promoter of the Buck Club, which shall be taken notice of in due time.

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[1] In Kirkcudbright, a descendant of Gordon of Airds, an early reformer (1530). The present baronet claims the title of Viscount Kenmure.

had heard any thing of him, when accidentally his Lordship arrived. As my anxiety to know how matters stood was in proportion to my zeal, my curiosity was no less to know the reason of his uninterrupted silence, and the fate of my letter; I therefore took the first opportunity to beg to know the success of his journey.

He told me that Bohaldy and he had several meetings with their friends, who were all extremely well inclined, and in high spirits: that the persons they had chiefly dealt with, and who were esteemed the leading men of the party, were the Duke of Beaufort, the Earl of Orrery, the Earl of Barrimore, Sir John Hinde Cotton and Sir Watkyn Williams Wynne; that the Earl of Barrimore and Sir Watkyn Williams Wynne were ready to embrace every opportunity, but that the others were more shy: that having found them nevertheless well inclined to the King's interest, he had told them that as money was absolutely necessary, and not to be had in Scotland, their assistance would be required; to which Sir Watkyn answered, that it was natural to expect a large contribution from him, being possessed of a great fortune; but turning to Lord Barrimore observed, he was obliged to live at a vast expence, and had it less in his power to be assisting that way, than if his income was smaller: and that Lord Barrimore seemed to acquiesce, and frankly offered, if it was necessary, to provide £10,000. He then mentioned the frequent meetings in the City, where he had dined with numbers of the well affected; which he expatiated upon with seeming satisfaction: said, he had been at Litchfield races, and dined there with above an hundred honest men;[1] and concluded by telling, that Lord Barrimore, though then in the Country, had, on purpose to meet him, pretended business in town: which concluded his whole negociations, wherein he had spent full four months.

Little satisfied with this intelligence, and without making any observations upon what he had said, I enquired how he had forwarded my letter to the Earl Marischal; and to my great astonishment was answered, that having shewed it to Bohaldy, he disapproved of the contents, and that they both agreed to commit it to the flames; a liberty I would not have taken with my footman's letter.

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[1] *i.e.* Jacobites.

I will now venture to make some remarks upon this notable Report. The Party in England, he said, was in high spirits. Whence could their being so proceed? Not surely from the answer made by Monsieur Amelot; for had it been fairly reported, they would have had little reason to rejoice. It did not appear that any further encouragement had been given by the French Court: at least his Lordship mentioned nothing like it, having only said the scheme would be executed in the beginning of Winter or early in the Spring, which could administer small comfort, as it was only treading in the former old beaten path of Autumn and Spring, according to Bohaldy's information for the Autumn 1742 or Spring 1742/3; therefore I must be excused for thinking their spirits were raised either by hearty meals, or by Bohaldy's false representation of Mr. Amelot's answer.

Notwithstanding these frequent meetings and numerous companies, I cannot help observing, that according to his Lordship's report, the strength of the party seemed to consist chiefly in five persons. Strange indeed! if proper application was made, that amongst so many reputed friends of the Royal Cause, so few as five could only be found as principal men, and amongst them only two who would declare to embrace every opportunity to appear for his Majesty and save their sinking Country. Even allowing this to have been as his Lordship said, and that there was more safety in dealing with them than in greater numbers, yet what did their professions of zeal tend to, or what was the effect of them? Words without actions are truly vain, for he did not even pretend to say that there was any scheme laid down, or plan of action formed even by these five; yet it must be allowed by every unprejudiced thinking man, that had they been the men they professed themselves, and as much elated (upon solid grounds) as his Lordship represented, no necessary precaution could not have escaped them. They could be no strangers to the scheme formed in Scotland, otherwise his Lordship must have concerted with them to little purpose without communicating it; nor is it to be thought they would have consulted with him without knowing the grounds he went upon, the authority with which he was vested by his Countrymen to treat, and the force they proposed to bring into the field. But lest this should appear only a probable conjecture, I venture to affirm upon his Lordship's authority, that the Scots proposals were laid before them, and call upon him to vouch it. This then being the case, how shall he account for his not pushing them to do the like? What was the reason of his going? Surely not to hear the bare professions of these Gentlemen: that could be of little use; the world in general reputed them Jacobites, and the party were no strangers to their having declared themselves so upon many occasions. The Scots required no further assurances of that triffling nature: it behoved them to know if they were willing to join them in the insurrection they meditated, what assistance* they would give, and after what manner they proposed to do it. These were the principal demands which ought to have been made, and an explicit answer to them insisted upon; but in place of this, his Lordship was contented with vain and frivolous expressions of Loyalty, which left his friends in Scotland as much as ever in the dark with regard to that very material point: and indeed it appears that he had no thought of any one thing necessary, except money; and even in that allowed himself to be put off with a superficial promise, till what they were pleased to call a proper occasion should require it. He knew the Commission I had to raise money, and the bad success I had met with: the necessity still subsisted, and was so much the more pressing, as the time more nearly approached when it was to be expended; why not then represent the urgency in its proper Colours, and be at a certainty whether they would contribute? If a sufficient

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* Lord Lovat made no scruple to declare in the Tower, that if the Duke of Beaufort had not promised to raise 12,000 men, he would not have concerned himself: whereby he exposed before the Warders a nobleman to the resentment of the Government, whom I had been at great pains to represent at an examination by a Deputation of the Council as no ways privy to and concerned in our scheme, and that his name being found in a letter to the Prince was owing to Bohaldy's information, which I represented as a vainglorious puff.[1]

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[1] Cf. *infra*, p. 435.

sum could not have been raised immediately, they might have specified a particular time at the distance of a few months; for surely the noble Lord, who was said to have offered to provide ten thousand pounds, might in a short time have procured five thousand; but nothing of this kind was done: his Lordship having contented himself with taking the will for the deed, as if that goodwill would have furnished the several necessaries of which we then stood in need. It would seem he was too bashfull, and esteemed it an abundant favour that they condescended to hear him: and thus satisfied with that honour was cautious not to offend by being too importunate; and preferred being in their good graces to the substantial interest of the party. I would not be understood, by saying so much upon this particular of the money, to harbour any grudge against his Lordship, or the persons named for not transmitting a sum, but remark it as having been the only material point touched by him of the many he ought to have settled; and even in this he did not sufficiently exert himself.

I had some difficulty to forbear laughing at that part of his report, where he seemed to look upon it as a meritorious action in Lord Barrimore to come from his Country seat to town with no other view than to converse with him on these matters. Where was the mighty merit? Was not Lord Barrimore a subject as well as he? He had declared himself one of the party; and why was he to be exempted from trouble? Affairs of that nature are not to be carried on by sitting at home: a man must stir and shew his zeal by his activity, as the most effectual method to engage others in the same interest. His Lordship had made a journey from Scotland, and though there was some disparity in their age, there was none in their quality: the one was as much bound to exert himself as the other. Besides, the observation would have been more apropos to most other people; nor did I require any example of that kind to excite me to be alert, as I was continually upon the move, to the prejudice of my family, and frequently taking horse, when others, who pretended as much zeal, were going to bed.

I hope to be forgiven for making a few remarks upon his Lordship's conduct in regard to my letter to the Earl Marischal.—After reading the letter, he voluntarily made offer to forward it. Upon that consideration I entrusted it to him; therefore, had it been for this reason only, nothing should have prevented him from keeping his promise; besides, he had highly approved of it, upon hearing my reasons for writing in that style. Had he upon reflection disapproved of it, why not account for his change of sentiments? Why not write to acquaint me of it, and endeavour to procure my consent to its being destroyed, or return it by the first sure hand? Which every man conversant in the world, and even such as from their outward behaviour did not appear to be so polite as his Lordship, would and ought to have done. A letter is always looked upon as so sacred among Gentlemen, that I am ready to believe few instances will be found of one's taking upon him to dispose of another's without his consent. If he was afraid to keep any writings of that kind in his custody, he could be at no loss to lodge it safely with some of the many people he knew in London; but it was a season of the year when he had frequent opportunities of transmitting it by private hands; and even supposing no opportunity of that kind had offered, the common post would have done as well, all being then quiet and not the least suspicion of any correspondence of that nature, so that the Clerks of the office were entirely exempted from the trouble of trying their dexterity of hand; and he knew that others had been sent by the same conveyance upon the same subject. But to use no further arguments of this kind, I will beg leave to ask his Lordship two Questions: What authority had he to shew this letter to any man living? And with what view was it, that above all others he shewed it to Bohaldy, the man in the world who ought not to have seen it? I did not enjoin him to make it known to any body: my complaisance induced me to communicate it to him; but I saw no necessity for asking the advice or approbation of any other. He, therefore, could not take upon him to impart it to a second person, without being guilty of the most evident and flagrant breach of trust. I had fully informed him of what Bohaldy had proposed, and he disapproved of it knowing his inclinations then; he could not fail knowing that he would be against it as a thing entirely destructive of his scheme to render Lord Marischal at variance with all employed in the King's affairs. To what purpose then did he shew it to him? Surely his consent to destroy it could no ways diminish the fault. In short, I never could conceive a reason for it, if not his being so much wedded to that man; and so fearfull to offend him, that he rather chose to take the odium of the action upon himself than risk disobliging his Dictator. Being unwilling to make any more differences than subsisted already, I stiffled my resentment for the sake of the publick good, and only regretted that he had altered his mind, as I was persuaded the letter might have been of service, had it been forwarded.

Without any further remarks, I shall proceed by saying, that all that could be done, after this uncertain and unconclusive answer, was to wait with patience for accounts from France or Rome, and to regulate affairs so, that in case of a landing we might make as quick an appearance as possible, and endeavour to dispose of people's minds for such an event. This was Lord Traquair's province in the low Country, but I defy him to say he ever took the smallest trouble about it, or to produce one man whom he endeavoured to engage in the Cause.

It was judged proper that Lochyell should immediately repair to the Highlands, to put things upon the best footing he could: and as I had been in possession, since the month of December preceding, of two Commissions for Lord Lovat, one of Lieutenant General, and another of Lord Lieutenancy of all Scotland benorth the river Spey, with, for Sir James Campbell* of Auchenbreck, one of Lieutenant General, and another of Lord Lieutenancy of Argyleshire, I committed them to his care, thinking they would be safer in his hands than mine, in case of any suspicion or search.

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* It would be no hard task to shew the impropriety of asking the Commission of Lord Lieutenancy of Argyleshire for Sir James Campbell, and that Sir Hector Macleane was entitled to it in preference to Sir James: but his Majesty could not refuse it, he being represented as a person of so much interest, one of the Associators, and father-in-law of Lochyell, and the only considerable man of the name of Campbell of that way of thinking, for though Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell had been formerly known to be of the same principles, yet he had ever been too cautious to risk any thing, though his two brothers, Ardslegnish and another, [were] killed at Culloden.

Being informed that an augmentation of the Dutch troops was intended, and sensible of the great loss we should be at for officers, I thought of making interest for a Company in the Scots Brigade, by which I might be able to engage some of the officers to come over: but as any application of that nature might look like deserting the King's business, I imparted my scheme to Lord Traquair, who greatly approved it, and desired me to draw out a plan, which he would shew to a friend, whose advice might be of service; which I did, and he shewed it to Mr. Erskine of Grange, who likewise approved it: and then I wrote to Rome, and desired leave to apply.

The winter passed over without any news from Bohaldy, till the publick papers began to be filled with accounts of the Prince's arrival in France, and the motion of the troops towards the Coast. All parties seemed then full of concern: the friends of the government were afraid of an invasion, whilst its Enemies, ardently wishing for it, were uneasy that no intimation, however distant, was made to them: and above all, the Duke of Perth and I, then at Edinburgh, were in the utmost dilemma, not knowing what to think or how to move. The Earl of Traquair, likewise in some perplexity, arrived in town, and soon after received a packet from Bohaldy, containing two letters, the first dated in December, and the second of a fortnight's date before arrival.—The one wrote in December contained an account of his going to Rome* soon after parting with his Lordship at London, where he said he had the utmost difficulty to procure the King's consent to the Prince's leaving Italy, but after presenting two long† Memorials, he had prevailed, and immediately returned to France, where he acquainted the ministry of his intended journey to England, where he had been likewise much‡ difficulted to persuade the King's friends to agree to the Descent intended, which he said would be in the month of January (which was elapsed before his packet came) with 12,000 men from Dunkirk under the command of the late Marshal Saxe in England, and 3000 men, with ammunition, arms, money, and every thing necessary in Scotland, commanded by the Earl Marischal; and concludes by desiring that all necessary preparations might be made for their reception.

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* His Lordship knew nothing of his Journey, so it would seem to have been a project of his own, unless he accounts for its sudden conception.

† It would not be amiss to examine these memorials, and compare the facts therein set forth with the after performance of the first and truth of the last.

‡ It is surprizing (to give it no worse epithet) that Bohaldy should have presumed to advise his Sovereign to send the Prince to risk himself,

The other letter begun with a heavy (but improbable) complaint against Andrew Cockburn for having neglected to forward the first letter, which he said he had left to his care. Then tells that having settled affairs* with the party in England, he was upon his return to France, and in all probability the troops would be landed as soon as the letters could come to hand. He then says, but how Lord Marischal is to be equipped† is more than he can tell: and in the Postscript, enquires what is become of Mr. Erskine of Grange; and begs

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or impose upon the French Court to send their troops, when according to his own words there was no scheme settled for their reception. It was too wanton an experiment with a person, upon whom the welfare of his Majesty's family and dominions depend; as neither Bohaldy or any man of tolerable sense could imagine that the friends of the government would not use fire, and every other means in their power, however destructive to the inhabitants, to incommode and distress him at and after his landing: and therefore what is mentioned in his memorials relative to the English friends, and promised in their names as inducements to prevail with his Majesty to consent to the Prince's journey, ought to be very particularly attended to.

* In his first letter he says, he had been much difficulted to persuade the English friends to agree to the Descent: after which he went to France; and upon his return says, he had then only settled affairs with them. Strange way of proceeding! From his first letter it is plain he knew upon what footing, and with what force the Descent was to be made: and as he must (or at least ought to) have told them this before he procured their consent, why were not the affairs he now mentions settled then, and what were these affairs? Their consent signified nothing without engaging to join: and surely if they consented they must at the same time have promised to assist. The whole of this hotch-potch transaction of his requires an explanation.

† In his first letter he says, his Lord was to be furnished with ammunition, arms, money, and every thing necessary.

he may come to London without delay to advise how matters were to be conducted.*

The letters being read, I took the liberty to give it as my opinion that they were so contradictory to each other, that no regard was to be paid them: that no material step, such as making preparations for the reception of the troops, should be taken, as being absolutely impracticable on account of the shortness of the time: that the chief thing to be done was to write to Bohaldy, observing his contradictions, and desiring him to explain himself; and at the same time to acquaint Lord Lovat and Lochyell (then in the Highlands) with the Contents, that they might be upon their guard, whatever should be the event: that the Duke of Perth should talk privately to Lord George Murray, and such as he thought proper: and that Lord Traquair should do the like in the low Country, which was his province.

His Grace declared himself altogether of my opinion, and Lord Traquair, after much reluctance and hesitation, unable to reconcile Bohaldy's contradictions, was obliged to acquiesce: so in their presence I wrote in the terms proposed, which was subscribed by us all, and dispatched next day by Lord Traquair, and inclosed to Doctor Barry at London, with orders to forward it immediately.

It was carried by one of the Duke of Perth's servants (addressed to [1] Milne, Clerk in the War or some other of the publick offices, to be delivered to the Doctor). The fellow was taken up soon after his arrival at London, and examined concerning his dispatches by the Marquis of Tweeddale,[2] then

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* If affairs had been settled with the Party in England (as he wrote a few lines before) there could be no occasion for Mr. Erskine's advice how matters were to be conducted. If he meant for Scotland, Mr. Erskine could not be with him in time, if matters were in such forwardness as he represented: and Bohaldy should have sent instructions in time how they were to be conducted: for it is very unlikely that Mr. Cockburn (who was known to be very careful of letters sent to him) should have stopt his letter; and it is more likely he accuses Mr. Cockburn, to vindicate his own criminal neglect.

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[1] Blank in MS.

[2] John, 4th marquis, succeeded his father in 1715, Secretary of State for Scotland, 1742-46, Lord Justice General, 1761; d. 1762.

Secretary for Scotland; but answering that they were papers concerning Lord Traquair's private affairs, the matter was dropt, and he set at liberty, his Lordship's intended marriage being then surmised, and the packet supposed to contain a Rent-roll of his Estate, and such writings as are usually produced upon a marriage settlement.

The Doctor, having received the letter, did not think proper to send it, but wrote to Bohaldy, acquainting him with its being in his custody, and to know if he should forward it. I should be very sorry to reflect unjustly upon this or any Gentleman, but it will certainly be allowed that the delay was shewing little regard for Lord Traquair's desire, and paying great respect to Bohaldy; besides, it was an overstrained caution, for the same conveyance by which he sent his own, would have with equal safety forwarded his Lordship's; nor did he ever pretend there was any risk, so it must have either proceeded from something I shall not be so unpolite as to insinuate, or that he esteemed any thing his Lordship could say as very immaterial.

The Duke of Perth, notwithstanding what Lord Traquair and I urged to prevent him, went next day to Drummond Castle, afraid of being taken up on suspicion; which soon confirmed what I had before alledged, that in case the first letter had come in course according to its date, and preparations followed thereupon, the government might have been alarmed, and endeavoured, if not effected, the ruin of all concerned; for no sooner had his Grace made his abrupt departure, than orders were given to observe his motions, and parties sent to his house to seize him. I continued in Edinburgh, and took care to put all upon their guard who might be trusted: and Lord Traquair went in a few days to the Country, where he remained unactive.

The Duke of Perth was no sooner got to the Country, than he exerted himself to the utmost to put things upon the best footing in the District allotted him. He had two private meetings with Lord George Murray, who at first proposed to raise the people of Athol, as if to serve the Government, and when got into a body, to join us. He likewise dispatched expresses to Braemar, and other parts of the North: nor did he confine himself to his own province alone, but sent for Mr. MacDonald of Keppoch,[1] and acquainted him with the situation of affairs.

Lord Lovat, on the contrary, feigned himself sick, as an excuse for not bestirring himself, and with great difficulty could be prevailed upon to see Lord John Drummond (the Duke of Perth's brother), who,* ignorant of what was going on, had come over to raise men for his regiment.

The news papers being now full of the Dunkirk embarkation, and the government growing more and more anxious and uneasy, I was advised by an acquaintance (a person of honour and probity) to get out of the way, being much suspected, and very probably might be apprehended. Though I knew him to be sincere, yet as he was in the government's service, after thanking him for his advice, I seemed surprised that I should be suspected, and said that as I usually lived in town at that

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* He had been seen and informed against by one Grant, who had some time belonged to his regiment, which he quitted to enter among the Government's troops, and afterwards kept a publick house in London, but has lately gone to Jamaica. An officer in Lord John Drummond's regiment (since justly distinguished by a badge of honour for his services to the Royal Family) informed a friend of his who used to visite him and the other French officers in the Marshalsea prison, of Grant's character, and desired him to put his Acquaintances upon their guard not to trust him, which he accordingly did: yet this very man was since the year 1746 esteemed honest by many of the party; insomuch that from good authority I have great reason to believe that many of those who came from France since 1746 frequented his house, and made him too privy to their business: nay, even Bohaldy himself, in spite of all his boasted prudence and caution, was frequently in his house, of which when I seemed to doubt, my author was so well assured of it, that he offered to appoint the time when I might see him there; from whence I hope to be allowed to observe, that had I been the person the blind and prejudiced endeavoured to represent me, it was in my power to have injured not only him and others, but higher Powers through their sides; but all men of reflection are sensible how easy mankind is to be hurried with prejudice, how ready low minds are to sacrifice every thing to present interest and resentment, and how little common fame is to be relied upon.

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[1] Alexander, son of 'Coll of the Cows,' who fought at Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir. He was at the University of Glasgow in 1713; m. Jessie, daughter of Stewart of Appin; fell heroically at Culloden.

season of the year, my leaving it might be a means to heighten the suspicion, whereas if I continued under the government's servants eye, they might be undeceived and give me no trouble: but, he replied, I was mistaken, for they were not ignorant of my principles and connections with the party, and in all likelihood would secure me; and as he might not be informed of their intentions early enough to acquaint me, thought my going to the Country would be prudent. This happen'd on a Saturday, but judging it imprudent to disappear too suddenly, I staid till the Wednesday following when I had an excuse to go to the Country to a brother-in-law's burial: but before I set out I had an instance of a very extraordinary piece of management; whom to impute it to I cannot positively say, whether to Doctor Barry or Mr. Cockburn, for to one of them it was owing. To my great surprize Mr. MacDougall* brought me a letter addressed to the Countess of Traquair. He had been luckily at the Postoffice when the mail arrived, and one of the Clerks† (who was in our interest) observing the letter, and imagining it might be of consequence, gave it to him. Not thinking that any letter of moment could be sent by the common post at so critical a juncture I was averse to open it, but reflecting that an intrusion of such a nature at that time would not be taken amiss, I ventured to open it in Mr. Macdougall's presence. Finding the inclosed sealed and directed after the same manner, I was the more curious, and having opened that, found it blank with one inclosed, sealed, and addressed to her son by his cant name, wrote by Bohaldy, and containing a few lines in Cypher, saying the troops were then ready to embark, that he expected to be in England in a few days, and again begging that Mr. Erskine might repair to London. Had this letter fallen into wrong hands, which was the more likely when addressed to so suspicious a name, what a scene must have ensued, for though perhaps they could not have explained it, yet it left room to suspect every thing, and would have proved a sufficient pretence to secure Lord Traquair, and those with whom he was most intimately connected.

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* Wine merchant in Edinburgh.

† Mr. Francis.

It was not the same now as formerly: the common post was become the most dangerous conveyance of any. It was not to be doubted that when an invasion was threatened, and an intestine war dreaded, nay, upon the brink of commencing, the utmost care would be taken to look into letters, especially such as were addressed to Roman Catholicks, or people suspected to be Jacobites. Nothing can vindicate such a step, nothing but dotage or drunkenness could have occasioned it; nor would any man of business, or even pretender to it, have wrote so triffling, so insignificant a letter, upon such an emergency. He had said the same thing three weeks before: now since another occasion of writing offered, he should have been more explicite, whereas the letter was only an anxious enquiry after Mr. Erskine of Grange, as if the army, when landed, was to have halted till Mr. Erskine gave his orders to advance, or as if the Prince was not to have marched to S^t James's till Mr. Erskine was ready to receive him. Mr. Erskine, perhaps, was a very good and able man, but I am afraid his presence would not have counterballanced the bad effects which must have ensued, had this childish letter been intercepted.

Though I fondly wished for an invasion, yet from former disappointments, and every circumstance already mentioned, I could not be satisfied it was really intended; nor did I think it was more than show, till I received a letter from Mr. Nisbet of Dirleton,[1] which assured me that the accounts of the preparations at Dunkirk were authentick; so after regulating my affairs in the best manner the time would permit, and talking with such of the King's friends as I thought proper to let into the secret, I went to the Country.

Two days after I met with Lord Traquair at my brother's interment, when I informed him of what had passed from the time of his leaving Edinburgh, and the receipt of Bohaldy's letter: upon which he acquainted me with his having received a letter from Edinburgh the night before, advising him there was a warrant issued to apprehend him, that he did not think it safe to continue longer at his own house, and therefore proposed going to Drummond Castle and asked me to accompany him. Being a little startled at the intelligence he had mentioned, I ventured to ask him from whom it came and was answered from his Taylor; which giving me as low opinion of the information as I could possibly have of the informer, I declined going, saying, though I did not propose to return to Edinburgh, yet I could not think of going so soon to Perthshire, for having but little ready [money] it behoved me to raise some from my tenants. His Lordship obligingly replied, that the want of money needed be no stop, for if I would join in a bill with him for £500 he would procure it from Lord Elibank;[1] so having no further objection I agreed to his proposal; and after writing to Lord Kenmure to acquaint him * with the motive of our journey, and to beg he might be in readiness in case of a landing, we set out for Perthshire, and the second evening we arrived at † Drummond Castle where we were informed that his Grace, fearing a surprize, had retired to a farm (possessed by James Drummond Macgregor) about eight miles up the Country upon the side of Loch Tron.

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[1] The following note is kindly contributed by Mrs. Nisbet Hamilton Ogilvy of Biel and Dirleton:—'The William Nisbet of Dirleton who lived in 1745 and died in 1783 was the son of William Nisbet, who died in 1733, by his wife Christian, daughter of Sir William Bennet, Bart. of Grubbet. He married Mary, daughter of Alexander Hamilton of Pencaitland, which lady succeeded to the Belhaven (Biel) estates on the death of her kinsman, James, fifth Lord Belhaven and Stenton. William Nisbet was very musical—played the violin and composed. There is a fine portrait of him at Archerfield by Allan Ramsay.'

Thinking his absconding would still give stronger suspicion to the servants of the government, I proposed to Lord Traquair to go and endeavour to persuade him to return home; and his Lordship consenting, we went to his Grace, and I took the liberty to tell him that his skulking was not only the ready

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* I had spoke to him at Edinburgh, and he promised to be in readiness; but considering that in case of a landing, all the King's friends in the low Country would be liable to be arrested, I wrote to him to come to us in Perthshire.

† We had here an instance of fidelity and regard for their master's preservation. When we arrived in the Court yard it was dark, and some of the servants then in the Cellar hearing the tread of our horses, and imagining we were a party of dragoons come to seize his Grace, one of them came to the door and threw a full bottle with great violence at us, but providentially it struck none of us.

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[1] Patrick, 5th baron.

way to make him suspected, but below his dignity, and might give the party an unfavourable opinion of his power in these parts, where he had a number of people who would be faithfull to him, and if properly placed on the different avenues could give him timely notice of the approach of any parties that might be sent from Perth or Stirling to seize him.

These arguments prevailed, and he returned two days after, when the Lords Nairn[1] and Strathallan[2] were sent for,* and the affairs of the Country put upon the best footing the shortness of the time would allow.

As it might seem troublesome to mention every particular incident which happened at that time, let it suffice then to say that every hour passed away in anxious expectation; and parties having been sent both from Stirling and Perth to apprehend the Duke of Perth, he was at last obliged to retire to Braemar, where he staid till all apprehensions of an invasion were over, and people's minds a little at rest.

Having continued in Perthshire† till all hopes of a landing were vanished, I went to Stirling, where I was informed of Lord Elcho's[3] being arrived from France, upon which I went privately to Edinburgh to learn what had passed, and found by his Lordship's account, that all the apparatus for an invasion was shew only, and that the Earl Marischall, in place of having 3000 troops allotted for Scotland, with arms, ammunition, and money, could not, after sending frequent couriers to Paris, procure any orders, nor was he so much as provided with money for his necessary expences as General; and the Prince, instead of being publickly at Dunkirk with the troops, was kept private at Gravelines,‡ where no person had access to him but Bohaldy, or such as he chose.

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* Lochyell was then in the island of Sky with Sir Alexander MacDonald, who declared himself ready to join upon the troops landing.

† At Fairnton, Abercarny, Lord Nairns, etc.

‡ His Royal Highness knows best if this is true.

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[1] John, son of Margaret, Baroness Nairn, and Lord William Murray, son of 1st Marquess of Atholl; b. 1691; out in the '15; taken at Preston; forfeited; joined Prince Charles at Blair, was a member of his Council, and commanded an Atholl battalion, escaped to France, where he died in 1770.

[2] William, 4th viscount, fell at Culloden.

[3] David, son of 4th Earl of Wemyss, and Janet, daughter of the notorious Colonel Francis Charteris of Amisfield, b. 1721, d. 1787.

These accounts affected me very sensibly, and made me the less wonder that neither Lord Semple or Bohaldy had sent us proper intelligence of what was going forward, though till then I could not help thinking it strange why they did not account to us for the embarkation's miscarrying, which they might easily have done by sending a small vessell to Scotland, or the same ship which brought Lord Elcho from Boulogne.

The time passed away without any intelligence from these 1744. Gentlemen till the month of June, whilst all concerned were extremely uneasy to think they should be so much neglected and left entirely in the dark in relation to an affair of so great consequence, and for which they had so long struggled with imminent risk both of their lives and fortunes. It cannot appear strange that those principally engaged were uneasy, as their all was at stake in case of a discovery: and it was with the greatest indignation they reflected that the man whom they had employed, and who enjoyed the bread he then *and still eats through their interest*, should dare to neglect to answer* the letter they had wrote, nor give them a circumstantial account of the situation of affairs, and to what cause it was owing that the descent he had so positively promised had not been made.

Some were of opinion that having got the Prince in France, and the management of affairs into his hands, he looked upon himself as able to stand on his own legs without their support, and so had dubbed himself an independent Minister† and man of consequence, indifferent which ever way they should interprete his silence, having the *shew* of the Prince's authority.

This was not the opinion of two or three, but of many who were now acquainted (since Lord Elcho's‡ arrival) with what had passed; and it was upon this account that a resolution was taken to come at the bottom of the whole affair; and I was named as the person to execute the Commission, even Lord Traquair himself professing great anxiety, and blaming Bohaldy's silence.

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* The letter, signed by the Duke of Perth, the Earl of Traquair, and me, and sent to London to be forwarded by Doctor Barry.

† As Lord Semple, according to Colonel Cecil, had assumed the character of Minister from the King's friends in England without their consent.

‡ His Lordship did not scruple to acquaint such of the King's friends as could be trusted with the management at the time of the embarkation.

I acknowledge I was not only the first who proposed to send to France, but was very desirous to go; yet reflecting on the several disappointments we had met with, the frivolous triffling and unconclusive reasons assigned for these disappointments, together with the usage I had received from Lord Traquair and Bohaldy in the case of my letter to the Earl Marischall, I did not think myself a fit person, judging that Semple and Bohaldy would give as little satisfaction as possible, and being strongly suspected by the friends of the government, was afraid the cause of my journey might be guessed, and rekindle that jealousy which seemed then to be a good deal abated. Nevertheless, I agreed with Lord Traquair at Peebles to go to the Duke of Perth, and talk the affair over with him: and the same night, when the family were gone to bed, I set out for Drummond Castle, where I arrived the next day; and having told him what had passed at Peebles, he not only approved the scheme, but begged that by any means I might go. He professed his dislike of Bohaldy's conduct, the diffidence he had of his veracity, and his ardent desire to be satisfied whether any thing had been really intended. Upon this I freely opened my mind to him, by declaring the doubts I had long conceived of that Gentleman's integrity, and my reasons for being a little averse to the journey. He took all imaginable pains to remove my difficulties, and begged I would go; for, said he, let whatever be the success, we cannot fail to learn if the agents are to be trusted; and if they avoid giving reasons for their silence and the miscarriage of the embarkation, or do not assign satisfactory ones for both, they will equally demonstrate that no dependence is to be had upon them or the French Court, and then will be a proper time either to make an alteration both in men and measures, or entirely lay aside further thoughts of the affair for some time.

Though thoroughly satisfied of the necessity of sending some person, I continued nevertheless of opinion that none could be more unfit than me if obliged to apply to Bohaldy or Lord Semple alone: but finding his Grace bent upon the scheme, I agreed to it, provided I should have nothing to do with them, but be at liberty to apply immediately to the Prince in the name of his friends in Scotland, and likewise to lay a state before him of what had passed, acquaint him with the several disappointments we had already met with, the false and contradictory intelligence sent us, to know if these letters had been wrote by his order, and finally to learn what had put a stop to the embarkation, what situation affairs were then in, and what steps his friends in Scotland were to take.

His Grace agreed heartily to this proposal; and I promised upon my return to acquaint the Earl of Traquair with the conditions upon which I was willing to go, that there might afterwards be no room left to find fault, or alledge he was a stranger to my intentions. Accordingly I went to his house in the Country, where having told him what had passed with the Duke of Perth, I was so candid and fair as to shew him the Copy of Letter I proposed to forward to the King upon my arrival in France, and likewise the heads of a Memorial which I designed to lay before the Prince, or communicate to him by word of mouth if an opportunity offered: to all which he consented; and desired I might set out with all convenient despatch.

As I had neither mentioned my journey to my family or any of my friends, and as it was necessary to assign some plausible reason, I was obliged to stay a few days, and give out that I intended to go and see the army in Flanders; and that it might look the less suspicious, went to Edinburgh and asked Lord Elcho to go with me, but, as he did not immediately resolve, I determined to set out by myself, and when I had every thing ready, got an express from Lord Traquair acquainting me that he had received a letter from Lord Semple and Bohaldy, which he was then deciphering, and desired I might come to know the Contents.

I took horse immediately, full of hopes to find something satisfactory, but it is impossible to express the disappointment upon finding things worse than ever, the most unaccountable reasons assigned for the Invasion's having failed,[1] and a still more unaccountable proposal. I cannot now recollect every particular, nor will it be thought strange that many things of moment have escaped my memory, if the distance of time, hurry of business, unprecedented bad usage, unheard-of oppression, the vilest calumny, and the sinister accidents that have befallen me in private life, are duly considered: but, still I can remember the chief reason alledged was, *that the Admiral*[1] *had been bribed by English money and disobeyed his orders.*

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[1] The fleet was driven back by storm on Feb. 24.

I will readily grant that such things may have happened both in ancient and modern times, though the examples perhaps are few; but that it did in the case before us I cannot be prevailed on to believe. If it did, it will follow that Bohaldy expressly contradicts himself; for, in one of his letters before mentioned, he assured Lord Traquair that the scheme was carried on with so much secrecy and address, that neither the Admiral himself, and but few of the ministry, knew of the expedition upon which the fleet was to go, and that the Admiral's orders were given with strict charge not to open them till he was got to a certain Latitude. If this then was the case, it was impossible the Court at London should know its destination,* and without that knowledge there was no occasion to bribe the Admiral. Such steps are not taken at a venture, and though the English fleet was neither so well manned or numerous as it was soon after, yet it had not been for many years upon so bad a footing as to *fear the French and bribe their Admiral*: and the extraordinary expedition with which a squadron was manned at that time is a strong argument to support what I say; nay, it can scarcely have escaped any man's memory, that the squadron was not equipped before the French fleet was in the Channel. Had the Court at London known its destination before it sailed from Brest, and had they had time to debauch the Admiral from his duty, it can hardly be believed, nor will any man of reason allow himself to suppose, that immediate orders would not have been issued to equip a Squadron for the Downs.

A man that is capable of being bribed to betray his Prince,

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* Such as have a mind to cavil may say, it was possible to be informed by some in the Secret: but when every circumstance is fairly considered, this will appear quite void of probability.

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[1] Monsieur de Roquefeuille.—Cf. Browne's *History of the Highlands* for a full account of the attempted invasion.

is not so much to be depended by the Enemy as not to be guarded against; for had he taken money, and continued to act up to his orders, he would not have been the first example of the double knave: so I may venture to say, that had the Admiral been bribed, the English would nevertheless have fitted out a fleet, not only to guard against his treachery, but to cover it to his own Court.

Either Bohaldy's assertion that the scheme was carried on with great address and secrecy, or that the Admiral was bribed, must be false: both cannot be true; so the world is left to judge which of them is most likely to want foundation.

The Bribery seems to be entirely unsupported by any evidence, or even presumption: for of all nations the French (particularly ever since the minority of Louis the 14th) are the least apt either to neglect or disobey their Sovereign's commands.

Had the orders been positive, the Admiral knew very well that to disobey was sacrificing both life and fortune. If they were in the terms asserted by Lord Semple and Bohaldy, he had no business at Dunkirk: he was to have blocked up Portsmouth, and prevented the English fleet from sailing.

There was then no fleet in the Downs (unless about the same number of guard ships stationed there in time of peace) to intercept the transports: or supposing there had been a few ships, the Admiral might have detached a small Convoy to keep them at a distance (and not loitered before Dunkirk) till the troops were embarked; for as there was no Enemy to annoy them, they might have been put on board with great despatch, without the assistance of the men of war's boats, as there is great plenty of small craft along the coast, and even the fishing boats would have served to transport a number. It is therefore evident, that if any such orders to be opened at sea were given, it was only for a blind, and the Admiral must have had secret ones countermanding the execution of the descent: and nothing else surely would have prevented him from blocking up Portsmouth.

Innumerable arguments might be brought to support the probability, if not the certainty, of what has been said, but it must appear so plain to every thinking man, that I shall only make one further remark.

The Admiral was old and sickly, and died the third day after the storm. He had served his Country well, had ever preserved an unspotted and unblemished character: and there was never the least insinuation made by any of the French ministry of his being bribed; nor indeed (as far as I could learn) by any other person than Lord Semple and Bohaldy. It is not, then, to be imagined, or so much as dreamt, that this man on the verge of the grave would have betrayed that Country or disobeyed that Prince he had so long served with steadfast zeal. Such low, vile, and groveling thoughts cannot with any reason be entertained; for a nice notion of honour and ardent desire of glory being so strongly imprinted in the minds of that people, that had this Gentleman's orders been such as was alledged, he would have executed them with fidelity and alacrity, thinking himself happy that he was to leave the world, and finish his course, in the service of his Prince: and from thence I will venture to conclude that there is great reason to believe the Admiral obeyed his orders, and that the French ministry never intended the preparations should have any other effect than to alarm the English ministry, and make them draw their troops from Flanders, thereby to enable themselves to make the greater effort upon the Rhine in the following Campaign; which was plainly seen a few months afterwards.

Lord Semple and Bohaldy, in their Letter to Lord Traquair, after this uncharitable and absurd apology for the unsuccessful attempt, observed that the affair now being over, it was absolutely necessary to procure fresh assurances from the King's friends in England and Scotland,* whereby to induce the French to renew the enterprise.

This was a very extraordinary demand: for the French were already either † satisfied or not with the assurances which had been given. If they were satisfied, it was to no purpose to reiterate them. None stronger could be given than those from Scotland. More subscriptions, indeed, might have been procured; but as the original subscribers had undertaken for all the principal men of the Party, and promised that any two of them, whom the French Court should name, should be sent over, and the French having made no such demand, it appeared they were satisfied, and therefore no stronger assurance could be given or thought necessary.

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* No such proposal was ever made to the English: on the contrary, it will appear from what follows, that they were made to believe the French had never lost sight of their first scheme.

† It is plain they were satisfied (if the descent was really intended) otherwise they proceeded contrary to every rule of policy and good sense, which they are not apt to do.

If they were not satisfied, from whence did their scruples arise, and why on a sudden upon the back of the expected embarkation? No promises had been, nor was it so much as proposed, to rise in arms before the troops landed: so there was no failure on our parts.

This demand was not at all likely, the French ministry being too clear-sighted not to have observed the failings on the part of the Scots (if there had been any) long before that time, as the assurances and proposals had been laid before them for years: and Lord Semple and Bohaldy were not aware of the inference to be naturally drawn from this demand.

Had the French Court asked any such thing of them, it was a demonstration that they never intended an embarkation with any other view than I have said before. The Scots had given no cause to think they had repented of their first engagements, and though for what I know the English had come under no such solemn tye in writing (though if any dependance can be had on this and other of Bohaldy's letter, they had given assurances), yet it was never so much as surmised that they had given the French any grounds to suspect an alteration in their sentiments.

Such a request on the part of the French Court would have shewn the utmost want of sincerity, a triffling and evasive shift, and plainly elucidated that they schemed nothing but to play the Prince and his friends off to serve their own ends.

It would be childish to argue further upon this point, or frame conjectures of what might have been the French design in making such a demand, as in fact none such, or any tending to it, was ever made by them, but was the sole produce of Lord Semple's and Bohaldy's brains to serve their own purposes. They were conscious that nothing substantial had been intended, and that no effectual assistance was to be hoped for. It was therefore their business to gain time by engaging the party in this new scheme, no matter how long they were about it: the more tedious the better for them, as it continued them in their employment, and the Party could not complain of delays, as they could have no title to expect assistance till such time as the assurances demanded were granted.

This, I will venture to say, was the most coarse-spun piece of Policy ever thought of: and it is surprizing how they could imagine that any set of men could be so thoroughly blinded as to agree to it; as any man, with a small share of reflection, could not miss to see through it. It was endeavouring to impose upon people's judgment after the grossest manner imaginable. In short, was an attempt to involve the party in an endless labyrinth of unnecessary negotiations, and make them launch out into a boundless ocean of useless correspondence, attended with the most imminent danger not only to those immediately concerned, but to all in general.

Jan. 1744.

It must appear strange to every person, that in their several letters wrote after the Prince's arrival in France,[1] his authority is never used nor his name mentioned. It is almost incredible that men could be so weak as to imagine so palpable a neglect would be overlooked. Whatever authority they had to write or act before his arrival, surely it naturally ceased as soon as he appeared amongst them, and all future despatches were to be regarded as made by his orders or consent; yet they had the modesty to write I or We, as if no such person had existed. This probably proceeded from their being conscious they did not write truth, and should an enquiry be made, it could not be objected to them that they had used the sanction of his authority to their fictions.

From whatever reason it proceeded, it was most unbecoming and disrespectfull: it was imposing on their Constituents; and using their Prince like a schoolboy, keeping him in the dark, concealing the zeal and merits of his friends, and putting it out of his power to give countenance to such as most deserved it, and cooping him up in a Corner like an outlaw to prevent him from conversing with those, who not only knew his interest, but were zealous of his honour; knowing, that if he had access to hear such, their underhand dealings would be discovered, and they either dismissed, or disregarded.

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[1] The Prince left Antibes for Paris on horseback on Jan. 29, 1744, having arrived there from Genoa on the 23rd.—*Letter from Villeneuve to Amelot*, French Archives.

I expressed my sentiments pretty much to the Earl of Traquair concerning the letter as above recited, and his Lordship having declared his dislike both of apology and the scheme proposed, urged my journey as more necessary than ever, and begged I would make all possible despatch.

July 1744. Accordingly I set out in the beginning of July 1744, and arriving at London in a few days, I went immediately to Mr. Cockburn to know when I could see Doctor Barry. The old Gentleman told me that the Doctor had received a letter from Bohaldy some days before, which exciting my curiosity made me send him immediately to acquaint him with my arrival, and desire to see him. The Doctor was then in the Country, and in three days came to town, when I saw him, delivered him a letter from the Earl of Traquair, and desired to know how matters stood, and if he had lately received any favourable accounts from the other side: to which he answered that he had received a letter some days before, and was much difficulted how to answer it.

Bohaldy had engaged the Doctor to procure some English sailors to pilote over the troops he pretended were soon to be landed;* and now they were procured, he desired they might be immediately sent over: but the Doctor very justly observed, that having neither mentioned the Port where they were to land, nor the person to whom they were to be consigned, he was quite at a loss how to act. I told him, he had no way to obviate that difficulty, but by writing the first opportunity to Bohaldy, desiring him to fix upon the place where they were to land, and the person they were to apply to there.

This instance of Bohaldy's confused way of doing business, as well as many other particulars already mentioned, will help to give the world a just notion of his *capacity* and *integrity*.

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* This Intelligence to Doctor Barry is quite repugnant to what Semple and Bohaldy wrote to the Earl of Traquair, though both letters must have been written at or very near the same time.

He first bespeaks Pilots to assist in conveying a body of troops, and when they are procured, writes to have them sent over, without either specifying the port where they should land, or the person to whom they were to apply when landed. Had there been any pressing business which had prevailed with them to sail, they would have been seized as spies or pirates: Mr. Honeyman, their Conductor, to vindicate himself, must have imparted his errand to the Governor of the place, or the Intendant of the Marine, which would have discovered the whole, and put the secret in the mouths of all present at the examination, and though there had been none but the Governor and his Clerk, they were too many. Besides, as the thing would have made a noise in the place, it might have been discovered by persons employed by the Court of London as spies: and if discredited by the Governor (which was very likely, there being then no body of troops upon the coast) he might have very innocently spoke of it as a cunning device of theirs to get off. Had they named Bohaldy, things would not probably have fared better with them, as he was too obscure a person to be known, and might perhaps be esteemed by the Governor rather as a spy than the King's agent.

But supposing this had not been the case, and that the Governor believed their story, yet kept them confined, till he could receive orders from Paris, where was Bohaldy to be found? If he was known to any of the Ministers, save Monsieur Amelot, he was not to the Minister of the Marine, and yet he was the person to whom the Governor would naturally have applied. If that Gentleman had never heard of him, how then were the Pilots to be relieved? It is probable, they would have been kept a considerable time, their Conductors absence (being a man of business) remarked and whispered about, his voyage found out, and the whole discovered.

Had Mr. Honeyman their Conductor been furnished with Bohaldy's address, and permitted to write to him, their difficulties would not have been so great: but it nevertheless seems evident, a discovery must have happened, for during the time that would have elapsed before a return could have been procured from Paris, many would have had access to converse with the private men, and discover the cause of their voyage, for the fellows finding themselves disappointed of the many fair promises made them at their being engaged, and either afraid of long confinement, or exasperated against their Conductor, would have told all they knew. So, whatever the affair had fallen out, there is not the least probability the affair could have remained a secret.

On the other hand, had all these difficulties occurred to the Doctor and Mr. Honeyman, and prevented their being sent, and had the troops been ready to embark, and pilots wanted, how could this exquisite negotiator have answered for his blunder?

But this was not the case: there was no occasion for them; nor the least ground to believe that any such thing was intended. It was a second part of the same farce they proposed to act upon Scotland: to keep the minds of the people of England in suspence and agitation, and make them hope something was to be done, though nothing was intended.

It was matter of wonder to me, that men of sense should be cajoled into the belief of such whimsies: and it was no less strange, that the *demand alone* did not convince them of the preparation for an embarkation in the Spring being only show. No pilots were then asked, or sent over: and if the passage was hazardous in July, it was more so in the Spring. If they were then necessary and neglected, it was a proof the managers were unequal to their task: for if the French Pilots were then sufficient, they were equally so at this time, and as easily to be procured.

Though I may seem to have dwelt upon this Topick, I judged it requisite to discuss the point at length, to shew how unaccountably things were conducted, and to what an unfit person they were unhappily entrusted, and how liable Princes are to be imposed upon, and unjustly become liable to censure for the mismanagement of others. Princes have not always access to chuse their own servants; especially such as are in his Majesty's situation, must employ those that are willing, those he would incline being seldom found ready: and when interest takes place, things go but badly with a Prince upon the throne; and much worse with one in exile.

I should be inexcusable not to observe the monstrous deceit intended in Semple and Bohaldy's negotiations, and how liable men of that stamp are to be detected. In their letter to Lord Traquair they say nothing of any second descent, but that was over till fresh assurances were given to induce the French to continue their friendship; whilst the English are persuaded to believe that a body of troops were ready to embark, and seamen asked to pilote them over. Mankind would labour in vain to palliate, much less vindicate, such glaring falsehood and evident contradictions.

The Doctor (as I advised) wrote by the first post; and having considered which would be my safest way to get into France, I resolved to write a letter to Bohaldy at the same time, acquainting him I was got so far on my way to see him, and desired he would send me a passport to Rotterdam, to the care of Mr. Crawford the Banker, against the time I mentioned I expected to be there.

As it was proper for me to write this letter in cypher, I applied to Mr. Cockburn, who told me he had one by which he corresponded with Bohaldy; and, to my great astonishment, pulled from the seat of the window a copy of the Cypher in which Bohaldy corresponded with his friends in Scotland.

If the other incidents which had happened occasioned surprize, this no less affected me, and gave me the utmost pain to think, that through the negligence of this good old man the lives and fortunes of so many were at stake. This room was the common receptacle of every one who assumed to himself the name of friend or Jacobite; nay, his niece and maid had hourly access, whilst this Cypher lay ready for the perusal of any person curious enough to look at it, wherein was a list of names, both Scots and English, only proper for the knowledge of such as were very nearly concerned.

To make any observations upon this affair would be spending time to little purpose; the reflexions which naturally occur are too many and obvious to be overlooked, and must stare every body in the face and sensibly touch all men of penetration.

I carried the Cypher with me, and having finished my letter, employed Mr. Cockburn to forward it: and though I was strongly inclined to detain the Cypher, on account of the danger we were all in from the careless manner in which it was kept, yet the inconveniences that might ensue made me return it, when I endeavoured to persuade the honest man that it was unsafe to have it in his house but when he had occasion to use it, far more so to have it tumbled about in that loose way; and advising him to be a little more circumspect for the future, endeavoured to convince him of the fatal effects that would follow in case of a sudden search, or any other unlucky discovery. All my Arguments were in vain and unsuccessful; he was grown old, and like an ancient Oak readier to break than bend; for every time I was in the house it lay in its old position, either loose on the seat of the window, or peeping out from below a Dictionary.

As Lord Elcho had wrote me that he would go abroad with me, I resolved to waite him a few days, and in the mean time went to Dr. Barry to [learn] what answer he had from Bohaldy, and found he had received a letter by the course of post, saying he had procured instructions to the Intendant of the Marine at Diep to receive the Pilots, and desiring they might be sent thither without delay.

Though I very much suspected that no such instructions could be procured in so short a time since sending the letter, I advised the Doctor to write, the answer being received in due course, and consequently Bohaldy had only from the arrival of one post to the setting out of the next to reply, and that at the time too when the Ministers were with the King upon the Rhine; yet, as the Doctor did not seem to doubt it, I thought it none of my business to find fault, as I could not do it without calling Bohaldy's veracity in question to a person I knew little of.

The Doctor had once proposed to me to go with the Pilots, which I had not absolutely rejected, being uncertain whether Lord Elcho might alter his resolution; but he now proposed it as a means to make the men comply with the more good will; alledging that seeing a Gentleman with them would be a strong inducement, and by giving them drink and a few Guineas would prevent their reflecting upon [what] they were about, and leave no room for repentance till too late. So being uncertain from Lord Elcho's delay of his coming, and a little dubious of Bohaldy's sending the passport, I agreed to go, if no better way occurred, and to meet Mr. Honeyman next day at the Doctor's house, who promised that Mr. Honeyman should provide me with a dress and every thing necessary for the voyage, as we were to have Nets and other Tackle proper for Fishermen, and give ourselves out for such if brought to by men of war or Custom-house boats. Accordingly next day I met with Mr. Honeyman, and Lord Elcho having arrived, I declined the proposal.

Having all along thought it strange that Lord Traquair had never made mention of any plan of action laid down by the English, and thinking it scarcely possible that men arrived at these years, when general and undigested projects are not relished, would engage so far as they were said to have done without forming a plan of operation, I endeavoured by distant hints to learn from the Doctor upon what plan they were going, and if they had any reason to expect assistance from the Gentlemen of the army. It was very easy to perceive from his answer that if any plan was formed he knew little of it; not that his silence proceeded from caution or reserve; for, without asking, he told me that such letters as he received, and with other papers he judged necessary to be preserved, he lodged at a house in the Country. To the other part of the question he frankly answered, assuring me they had the greatest reason to expect assistance from the army, and that one Colonel (whose regiment then lay in Kent), had engaged for his whole corps.

Having no further occasion to wait, and judging it full time to be gone, I set out for Flanders, and upon my arrival at Ostend wrote to Bohaldy, acquainting him of my being there, and that I would endeavour to be in Rotterdam by the time I had appointed in my letter to him from London; and when I got to Tournay, wrote to Mr. Crawford, Banker at Rotterdam, that in case any letters for me addressed to his care came to hand he would keep them till meeting.

After Lord Elcho and I had passed a few days in the Camp, I went to Rotterdam, and found two letters from Bohaldy; one from Paris promising to meet me in person, and the other in a very ministerial stile (wrote at Rotterdam), expressing his surprize at not finding me there, and declaring that the Prince's affairs admitting of no delay, his Royal Highness would be anxious for his return.

When Mr. Crawford delivered me the two letters, he said there had been a Gentleman to enquire after me, who was gone that day to Leyden; upon which I immediately set out for that place in hopes to find him; but after the strictest enquiry (according to the description given by Mr. Crawford), at all the Inns in town, no such person could be found. Upon this I returned next day to Rotterdam, and met with him at the Sun (the house most frequented there by the British), playing at Cards in a *promiscuous Company* with his nephew, Mr. John Drummond, an Officer in Lord John Drummond's Regiment, who went by the name of Scot.

Notwithstanding I was concerned to find them in so publick a manner in a town swarming with Spies, and in a house the *common resort of the English*, yet I found no fault, but accosted them as acquaintances I was glad to find there by accident; and when the game was over we retired into another room, where he immediately began to regret the embarkations not having succeeded, and assigned the same reasons as in the letter before mentioned.

Having listened attentively to what he advanced, I objected to what he had said, and insinuated that the French were not sincere. As this touched him in a tender point, he flew into a violent passion, as he is apt to do upon the least contradiction; so I judged it best to drop the argument, lest he had let any thing fall to occasion a quarrel, and discover us both, or that might prevent my journey, which was the thing I chiefly aimed at. I therefore told him that as we might have future opportunities of talking that affair over it would be proper to drop it at that time, and that I was in as great a hurry to return to Scotland as he could be to France, whither I must go without delay, having instructions not only to know from him and Lord Semple what had passed, but to wait on the Prince and receive his commands.

To this he answered that when he received my letter he had intimated it to the Prince, and assured me his Royal Highness would make me welcome; but as he found it necessary to keep private, as a means to blind the Court at London, he was afraid that any person's coming from Britain might occasion suspicion, and discover where he was ;* and that for this reason he did not think it proper to send the passport, believing our meeting in Holland would answer the same end ; and added that he could not help thinking it would be best for me to return directly from Holland, and assure our friends in Scotland that the French were very hearty in their interest, and were then making great preparations for a second embarkation.†

It will be easily perceived that I needed be at no loss, from this discourse, to judge that my journey was not agreeable to him, and to see plainly that he attempted in the Prince's name to divert it.

I therefore told him that it would give me the utmost concern should my journey to Paris prove any hindrance to the Prince's affairs ; but as my own safety depended upon the privacy of my journey, to which I could see no material obstacle, I did not apprehend any bad consequences would ensue ; that had my journey proceeded from my own curiosity alone, I would have been ready to return with what answer he should give me, but being sent by the Party with their positive injunctions to see the Prince, I was under the necessity of going at all events, and could in no shape avoid it without having his Royal Highness's orders to the contrary ; and finally, that I was ready, though I had no pass, to go upon his in the quality of domestick or any other it would admit of.

Finding me determined, he at last consented to my going with him, but said that could not be for two days longer, nor did he know what road he should be obliged to take, his principal errand to Holland being to purchase arms,‡ and in case he could not find them there he would be obliged to go by Liege. Upon this our conversation broke up ; having agreed to wait his time, and follow what route he thought fit.

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* It was then *publicly known* at London that he was in Paris.

† Bohaldy is the proper person to reconcile this with what he and Lord Semple wrote to the Earl of Traquair before I left Scotland.

‡ Yet he would spend a day and a half in going to Leyden, where no arms were to be found.

However happy I was in the thoughts of being able to accomplish my journey, I was nevertheless amazed at the story he had told me of his coming to Holland to buy arms. I have mentioned before, that upon his first coming to Scotland, in the beginning of the year 1741, he had assured his Constituents that there were then 20,000 stand of arms provided by the French Court, which he all along continued to affirm ; and in his letter from London before the expected embarkation, he expressly says money and arms were to be embarked with the troops for Scotland ; and yet now he was weak enough to contradict himself by saying he was then come to purchase them. Nothing could be a plainer proof than that what he either then had said, or did now say, was not to be depended upon ; and how unaccountably was it thus to expose himself to a man to whom he had formerly told the reverse. Besides, it was a palpable absurdity to pretend to do a thing in two or three days, which he had not been able to execute in as many years. Had it been possible for a stranger, during a general war in Europe, to procure so considerable a number of arms in so short a time, it shewed an unwarrantable oversight not to have done it long before ; and it was an evident proof that no provision of that nature* had been made for the promised Descent. The arms then provided (if any were) would still have served ; or had they been disposed of to the French troops, we can scarce believe their magazines are ever so ill provided as not to be able to replace them when required ; and if till then they never had been at a loss for them, it gave strong reason to suspect that the French were not so sanguine as they had been represented.

After three days stay he acquainted me, that having found the arms he wanted, he intended to set out that night, and at his desire I agreed to stay one day longer, and appointed to overtake him at Brussells, where I accordingly found him, and from thence proceeded to Paris.

Bohaldy finding that I avoided to enter upon business, and talked only of the army and common occurrences, took occasion to give himself airs of great consequence, insinuating a high opinion of his abilities, and how much he was master of the Prince's ear, with the uncommon favour he stood in; and, imagining general hints might not be sufficient, descended to particular instances.

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* This agrees well with his writing, ‘but how Lord Marischal is to be equipped is more than I know.’

Amongst others he told me, with great gravity, that his Royal Highness could not endure to travel alone, and as he chose his Company preferably to any other, he had ordered to have a post-chaise made to hold them both, which he assured me was the very chaise we then rode in. He then described the many extraordinary conveniences it had, with the new form of it, all which, he said, he had contrived himself, and that the Prince was so highly taken with it that he would travel in no other, nor allow him to use any other, but when his Highness had immediate occasion for it himself.

Being tickled at my congratulating him upon the happiness of having so great a share of his Master's esteem, he proceeded to inform me how much he was respected and valued at the French Court, and, to leave me no room to doubt, gave the following proof: That when he had agreed* with the French ministry to go to Rome, and persuade the Prince to come into France, Monsieur Amelot (then Secretary for foreign affairs) acquainted the King with his intended journey, who no sooner heard his name mentioned, than he said, 'Oh, Monsieur Malloch (the name he then went by), I know him, that is Monsieur Macgregor; he must carry three or four domesticks along with him, for it is dangerous at present to travel through Switzerland.'

Many more such stories were the subject of our conversation, but these two alone may be sufficient to give an idea of my fellow-traveller's accomplishments.

When we arrived at Paris, I went to Mr. MacDonald's,[1] the

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* This was his own expression: and as I have observed before, a point of fact incumbent upon him to make good by better authority than his own word.

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[1] Æneas Macdonald, brother of Kinlochmoidart. His father was Ronald of Kinlochmoidart, who fought at Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir. His mother was the sister of Lochiel of the '45. Æneas lived in Paris till the French Revolution, when he was killed.

Banker, and as the Prince happened to be there at the time, Bohaldy acquainted him with my arrival, and his Highness ordered [me] to wait upon him next day at the great stables in the Tuilleries.

Mr. MacDonald being present, and surprized at my coming, came immediately to me, when, amongst other things, he told me the Prince was as much surprized as he. At a loss to guess the cause of this unexpected news, I could not help doubting what he said, and mentioned my having wrote from London for a passport, and the conversation that had passed upon that head with Bohaldy at Rotterdam; all which Mr. MacDonald assured me was absolutely false and without foundation, for till two days before our arrival, that the Prince received a letter from Bohaldy, telling there was a Gentleman from Scotland upon the road to wait on him, his Highness had never heard one word of it, and even then he was not told who the person was, nay that after Bohaldy had named me, and left the room, the Prince said he was at a loss to know who I was, but immediately recollected to have seen me at Rome some years before.

Mr. MacDonald then enquired what business Bohaldy had in Holland, alledging it could only be to prevent my journey, and was curious to know what pretence he had used to the Prince for his going thither. To which I answered, that he pretended to have come thither to buy arms; at which Mr. MacDonald in great astonishment declared in a most solemn manner that Bohaldy had it so little in his power to purchase arms that he had not credit for one Louis dore, nor money to defray his expences upon the road till he lent it to him.

Though it may seem superfluous to make any remarks upon the gross and unheard-of falsity of his story, or the unpardonable abuse of power which his character of Agent enabled him to practise, as that is too glaring to escape the most careless observer; yet I hope to be forgiven for taking notice, that there are few crimes of a blacker dye than to keep a Prince ignorant of the very men employed in his service.* I can say without vanity, that upon every occasion I did my utmost to serve the Royal Family to good purpose, with as much zeal and fidelity, and perhaps more activity than any hitherto employed, but it is plain from his Highness's recollection that he had heard nothing of my being employed, either from Semple or Drummond.

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* Tho' Bohaldy was guilty to the highest degree in this respect himself, yet he was ready to find fault with others who in the least seemed to do so: for knowing that I had some time before sent the Prince a present

In what manner Bohaldy reconciled his conscience to such proceeding is none of my business to enquire: but it is plain beyond doubt, that this was putting it out of his Master's power to reap proper advantage from the zeal of his servants, and prevented him from shewing countenance to such as were entitled to it, and might be a means of bringing the odium of the neglect upon him though entirely innocent. It was assuming the merit of every thing to himself, and using the most effectual means to prevent business being done to any purpose, as no man of spirit will risk life and fortune with any chearfulness, when his Prince neither openly acknowledges his services, nor even tacitly seems sensible of them: and this instance gives me strong reason to believe his Highness was not much better informed of others chiefly concerned, and that Bohaldy took little pains to acquaint him with the merit and services of those who afterwards appeared for him: but I shall say no more upon this particular, lest it should be thought that I resented it as a personal injury, which I solemnly declare I never did; and only add that it was extremely lucky his forgery about the arms was discovered, as it was an imposition of the most dangerous nature, making the Prince believe his affairs were in a prosperous way, all necessary provisions being either made or making, and had his Royal Highness given as much ear to him as he pretended, might probably have induced him, upon the faith of these and such like assertions, to undertake an expedition before anything was provided, the fallacy whereof might only have been discovered when it was too late either to remedy it, or save his character with the world.

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of fine stockings by Mr. Smith of Boulogne, who forwarded them without saying from whom they came, he exclaimed against Mr. Smith as having sent them as his own present; and mentioned it to the Prince before me.

Next day when I had the honour to be presented,[1] Lord Semple and Bohaldy were both present, and as they officiously staid whilst the audience lasted, I shunned entering upon the business I chiefly came upon. The Conversation turned upon the defeated embarkation and the causes of the disappointment, which both Lord Semple and Bohaldy endeavoured to prove in the terms contained in their letter to Lord Traquair, the absurdity of which was so glaring that I could not refrain from shewing the Prince that the reasons assigned were not even specious, much less probable: and when talking of the strength of the Highlands, which they had imprudently asserted to be 20,000 men, I plainly told his Highness, that supposing the combined force of that country amounted to that number, he was not to depend upon a body any ways near to what was mentioned, and marked out to him the Chieftains principally to be relied upon, with the number of their followers; at which, though the two ministers looked somewhat disconcerted, they nevertheless continued to tread in their old steps by seeming to laugh at my ignorance, and boldly asserted the truth of what they had advanced.

The Prince, being upon his feet, ready to quit the room, asked me if I had any thing further to offer; to which I answered, that I had some things to lay before him, and begged to have the honour of a private audience, to which he consented, and appointed next day at the same hour; at which the two Gentlemen seemed struck on a heap but took no notice of their surprize to me, nor did I seem to observe it.

Next morning when I was ready to go abroad, Bohaldy came to me, and proposed to accompany me to the Stables, which I consented to, where having waited some time the Prince arrived, and Bohaldy withdrew.

I then told his Royal Highness, that as I had affairs of consequence to lay before him, I did not think proper to do it the day before; that I was come over with a full intent to keep nothing hid from him; begged his Highness would allow me to speak my mind, and if I was wrong he would be graciously pleased to interpret it as proceeding from my zeal and attachment to his interest without any selfish views.

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[1] Cf. Appendix, p. 427.

The Prince seemed a little surprized at so unexpected a motion; but assured me I might speak freely without fear of its being taken amiss.

I then begun by giving him an account of what had passed in Scotland and the particular intelligence received from Lord Semple and Bohaldy from the time the latter had been there. I informed him minutely of the contents of the two letters we had received in the Spring, and the one which arrived just before my departure; shewed him the palpable contradictions they contained; opened the bad consequences flowing from such false intelligence, and the many disappointments we had met with, though made to believe that all was to be depended upon: and finally endeavoured to shew him, that he was told one thing, and his friends another.

To this his Highness answered (without having once given the least interruption) that he was sorry to think his friends in Scotland should have any reason to believe they were imposed upon; that Lord Semple and Bohaldy might have been to blame in some particulars, but there was no body without their failings; and he flattered himself their conduct was not so much to be found fault with as was imagined.*

I thought I could easily discover from the answer, that if he was not entirely satisfied of the truth of what I had said, yet he inclined to believe it, but was averse to own himself at once convinced of the treachery of men then in his service, and perhaps did not care by declaring himself to give me too immediate a cause to triumph.

I on the other hand finding it incumbent upon me to make good what I had advanced for my own honour as well as his interest begged to know of His Royal Highness, whether he had ever seen the letters mentioned: to which being answered in the negative, I begged as a proof of what I had said, that he would demand copies of them, and thereby satisfy himself if they were in the terms specified, offering to give him their dates which I had marked in my pocket-book;* but as he neither accepted nor refused, but seemed to evade the proposal, I begged to know what orders were to be sent to Scotland.

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* I believe it will be very difficult, if possible, to find an instance in history, where a young Prince acted with so much moderation and temper upon discovering that he had been ill used, imposed upon, and (if I may say so) treated like a boy incapable of advising in or directing his own affairs. Most would have flown out into a passionate and high resentment, without regard to anything but their grandeur, and the indignity thrown upon it: whereas, here is one of 23 or 24 years of age, never accustomed to controul, acting with as much coolness, caution and circumspection, as the most experienced Statesman. Whoever seriously considers this affair from first to last must be astonished to hear that his Highness had so much command of temper, as not only never to upbraid them, but even to receive them civilly.

He then said, that though the embarkation in the Spring had been defeated, he had nevertheless reason to believe, as Lord Semple and Bohaldy had said the day before, that he would procure a body of troops before winter.

Thinking this a proper opportunity to give my reasons for doubting the French Court's sincerity in regard to the Dunkirk embarkation, I exposed the weakness of the reasons given by Lord Semple and Bohaldy for its not succeeding:† and then took the liberty to tell his Highness, that I was sorry to differ from him, but could not prevail with myself to think, that there was any probability or likelihood of his procuring assistance so early as he expected.

I represented that the French army then in Flanders was much inferior to that of the allies, and obliged to keep upon the defensive; that as their whole strength was then upon the Rhine, and a large detachment formed for the siege of Fribourg, it would be impossible to draw a body of troops from Germany to replace those in Flanders in so short a time as was necessary;‡ that the garrisons were already very weak, and, in that case to give him such a body of troops as he expected would be leaving French Flanders much exposed to the enemy's inroads; and finally the season was then too far advanced for the execution of such an enterprise; so that upon the whole I did not see the smallest probability of procuring any assistance at that time.

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* Lord Traquair gave me the pocket-book at his house, when he shewed me the last letter from Semple and Bohaldy, saying the one in which I had wrote my remarks was not good enough. Though this circumstance may appear at first triffling, yet it shews his then displeasure at their proceedings. How he came afterwards to be led by the nose by them he only is able to account for.

† This was necessary to remove the prejudices he might have imbibed, and to prevent his being ready to give faith to any promises made by the French Court, or rather by Lord Semple and Bohaldy in their name.

‡ It was then to the best of my memory the beginning of August, so before a detachment could have joined the army in Flanders, and the

His Royal Highness seemed to think what I advanced was not void of reason; and said, that at all events he was determined to come the following summer to Scotland, though with a single footman.

Observing him say this with great keenness, I answered, that he could not come sooner to Scotland than would be agreeable to his friends there, but I hoped it would not be without a body of troops. To which, without making any doubt of procuring assistance, he repeated what he said before with still greater energy; which made me believe he was really resolved upon it at any rate.

Although the design was noble and only becoming a Prince of the greatest spirit, yet I thought it my duty to shew him, that in that case he could not positively depend upon more than 4000 Highlanders, *if so many*; that the Duke of Perth, Lochyell, Keppoch, Clanronald, the Stewarts, MacDonalds of Glengary, with Cluny and Struan Robertson's people, were all he could rely upon with any certainty from the West Highlands, in case of such an attempt, and that even they would be sorry to think he should risk himself without foreign assistance, for though their attachment to his interest might induce them to join, yet it would be with regret; and though Lord Lovat and others professed as much zeal as they, yet I suspected they were not so warm, and might probably assign his landing without troops as a reason to sit at home.

To all which he answered, that he would try every method to procure troops; but should that fail, he would, nevertheless pay us a visit.

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necessary preparations been made to embark the troops, the armies must have been in winter quarters, and the weather so uncertain that an embarkation would have proved very difficult, and the execution very precarious.

I then ventured to ask him, if a sufficient number of arms was provided, the Highlanders being in much need of a supply especially of swords.

To this he replied, that it was upon that errand Bohaldy had gone to Holland, where he had procured as many as were necessary. As I knew Bohaldy had bought none,* I took the liberty to doubt by seeming surprized, that after having so large a quantity of arms as Bohaldy had pretended were provided some years before, he should have been obliged so lately to make a new purchase. But his Highness, to remove my doubt, said, that if any such number had been formerly provided, it was likely, as the scheme was not executed, the French had disposed of them. However, as I was resolved to open his Eyes by discovering Bohaldy's falsehood, it was necessary to push this matter as far as it would go, so I went the length to say plainly, that I doubted much of Bohaldy's having provided any, having been only four days in Rotterdam, which was too short a time to execute a business of so much consequence. He then appeared a little offended that I should imagine Bohaldy would venture to impose upon him in so gross a manner: but begging to be excused, I assured his Royal Highness, that I would not be so positive, if I had not the strongest reason to believe the truth of what I had advanced; and begged that to satisfy himself he would put the question home to Bohaldy by enquiring the nature and quantity, where, and from whom he had bought them, how they were paid for, and where lodged: which his Highness promised to do; saying that if it was as I alledged, it was very strange, for Bohaldy had assured him the day of his arrival from Holland that he had actually bought them.

I then told him what had passed betwixt Doctor Barry and me when at London; gave him an account of Bohaldy's letter about the Pilots; and asked if his Highness had heard of them, for they must in all probability have landed before that time, as they were to sail the same day I left London.

To this he answered, he had never till then heard any thing of them, but would enquire that evening of Bohaldy : and then went away, saying he must see me again, and would send me orders when to come.

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* See page 88.

Bohaldy had been all the time in the next room, and as I had reason to believe he would listen to what passed, I spoke low, though not so much so but I was persuaded he had overheard a good deal of the conversation, and was therefore in hopes he might have let something drop whereby I should know, in which case I was determined not to let him have the same opportunity the next audience, but he was too much upon his guard to let any thing fall to give suspicion, yet could not help shewing the utmost jealousy and concern, and from that time contrived to have his nephew continually about me under pretence of friendship as I was private and alone, which made me change my lodgings, though to no effect, for that Gentleman was so much with me, that I had no opportunity of committing any thing to writing as I had intended.

Next day I got orders to meet Sir Thomas Sheridan at the same place where I had seen the Prince : and he brought an order, desiring I might communicate every thing to him ; which I accordingly did, and took particular notice to him of the strong manner in which his Royal Highness had expressed himself upon his resolution of going to Scotland, repeating to the old Gentleman what I had said to his master, and begging him to reflect upon what might be the consequence of such a step ; and told him, that if his Highness continued firm in that resolution, it would be proper that his friends there should know it, that there might be no excuse for their not appearing if it happened,

Sir Thomas declared himself pleased with what I had said, regretted and severely condemned Lord Semple's and Bohaldy's conduct, and at the same time expressed great satisfaction, that now the Prince was let into the real state of his affairs in Scotland ; of which till then (he said) he had been kept quite in the dark ; begged I would put down all I had said in writing ; assured me however backward his Royal Highness had been to declare himself, he was nevertheless convinced of the truth of what I had said, and had even for some time before suspected foul play, but did not chuse to declare it too openly ;

and concluded by assuring me, that I should have another opportunity of seeing his Royal Highness, when he hoped I would conceal nothing from him.

Next day I was ordered to be at the same place, where the Prince did me the honour to meet me; and his Highness, being more free than formerly, said he was very well pleased with every thing I had said to Sir Thomas Sheridan, and desired me to mention what steps I thought necessary to be taken. To which I answered, that I was loth to offer advice upon an affair of such consequence, but certainly the steps to be taken very much depended upon circumstances; that as to Scotland, if the Earl Marischal landed with 3000 men, as was proposed, and a descent made in England at the same time, there was not the least reason to doubt of its being reduced to the King's obedience in a few weeks, and even supposing no descent was made in England, I did not imagine that upon his Lordship's landing any of the Loyal Clans would hesitate to appear;* but if his Highness continued positive in his resolution to go to Scotland, and no descent made there or in England, the affair would be more precarious, and required the utmost circumspection, for as I had said before to himself and in the presence of Lord Semple and Bohaldy, I was still of opinion that three or four thousand men might be raised, but more could not be answered for, without previously making his resolution known; and as to the English, he knew best the nature of their engagements, and whether they would appear, if he came with the Scots alone amongst them.

His Royal Highness was pleased to answer, that provided he procured such a body of troops as had been offered the preceding Spring, few precautions would be necessary, as he hoped, if they were once landed, all the King's friends would join; nor did he doubt of a general rising in Scotland if Lord Marischal landed with 3000 men; and that the English had given him the strongest assurances, nor could he doubt from the offers they had made that they would be less forward than the Scots; but as he was unalterably fixed in his resolution to make an attempt, and as Lord Semple's and Bohaldy's scheme of fresh assurances was quite out of the way, he desired my opinion upon the measures proper to be followed in Scotland.

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* It was my opinion then, and more so now, that had Lord Marischal landed with 3000 men, arms, ammunition, and money, that the insurrection in Scotland would have been almost general, and the army have reached the Capital by the time, if not before, the troops landed from Flanders.

I told his Royal Highness that it would be necessary to write letters to the principal persons of the Party acquainting them with what he intended, and thereby learn what they were willing to undertake; that at the same time a sum of money should be raised in the Country to purchase arms and enable them to take the field; that the English should likewise be spoke to and let into the secret, and brought to a determined resolution what they were willing and ready to do upon every event. I likewise observed, that though I had no doubt of his being able to prevail with a number of French officers to follow him, yet it seemed necessary to gain some of the Scots Brigade in Holland, who would be more agreeable as being Countrymen, and might likewise be of more service by carrying over part of their regiments; and assured his Highness that as far as was in my power I would endeavour to execute all or any part of the Commissions he should be pleased to entrust me with.

After some conversation upon this subject, his Royal Highness promised to have the letters wrote, with the other necessary instructions, and appointed me to meet him the second day following; telling me at the same time that he had found what I had said about the pretended purchase of the arms was too true, for having spoke to Bohaldy concerning them, he had acknowledged there was no such thing,* and in regard to the Pilots he had owned they had sailed from England at the time I mentioned, but mutinyed when opposite to Dieppe, and had returned: and gave me orders to commit every thing I had said to paper, which I promised, as soon as I had an opportunity, which I should contrive before I left France.

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* It was a pity that upon this discovery, which rendered him unworthy of the smallest trust, the Prince did not immediately dismiss him from his service and incapacitate him for all business by informing the King, his father, and Court of France, and signifying to the English not to confide in him. Had this been done, Bohaldy would not have had it in his power to further debauch Lord Traquair and hurt his Highness by representing him in a very odd light in London when his Highness was in Scotland, saying his proceedings were entirely of himself and against the King's consent. Sir Alexander Baily can vouch this.

I was next day invited to dine with Mr. MacDonald, the banker, where I saw Mr. George Kelly[1] for the first time; and, among other things relative to the Prince's affairs, he let me understand that Lord Marischall had been informed that I had used great freedom with his character, which he was the more surprized at, as I was entirely unknown to him. It was not difficult to guess from what quarter the accusation came, and to what it was owing.* The stronger Bohaldy's party was the better man he esteemed himself; and the more that joined him to run down this noble Lord the greater authority (he imagined) he had to continue his abuse, and tear his character. His daring to burn the letter I had wrote to his Lordship was as inexcusable, as his reason for so doing was evident. I therein (honestly and with a real intention to remove, as far as was in my power, every obstacle to the King's service) declared my sentiments, and had it been delivered might have been of great service, as it would probably have opened a correspondence between his Lordship and me, and certainly

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* I have since frequently conjectured that this might have likewise come from Mr. Edgar, the King's Secretary, who was a great partizan of his Lordship's, and might have proceeded from some rash and youthfull expression that I had perhaps used in a letter I wrote at Paris to his Majesty the first time I was there, when his Lordship lived near Boulogne, and when I had not cleared myself of prejudice in favour of Bohaldy; but I declare what I then wrote upon this subject has quite escaped my memory; and I have too good an opinion of Mr. Edgar to think him capable of revealing his Master's intelligence, especially such as could tend to nothing but to create differences and confusion among his friends; and I impute the whole to Bohaldy's base and insidious practices.

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[1] George Kelly, born in Ireland 1688, was Atterbury's amanuensis; imprisoned in the Tower 1723; escaped 1736; translated several works from the French. The article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* ignores Kelly's relations with Prince Charles.

put it [out] of Bohaldy's power to carry on his iniquitous schemes, or misrepresent me to his Lordship.*

I was a good deal soured at this intelligence; it was a base double way of acting on Bohaldy's part, and extremely grating to me to think that what I had honestly and zealously intended for the interest of the Party should now turn out a personal reflection against me; but I was then become so thoroughly versant in Bohaldy's deceit and falsehood, and understood that Lord Marischall knew him not only to be a thief in private life,† but a most audacious liar‡ in politicks, that I thought any particular explanation needless; therefore made little other reply to Mr. Kelly than by disdaining the accusation, and desiring him to take the first opportunity to write to his Lordship and assure him that what was said in my name was absolutely false, and that there was none of his Countrymen who had a higher opinion of his Lordship's merit.

The day following I attended the Prince by his orders, and received instructions from him to the Earl of Traquair, requiring him to repair immediately to London and acquaint his friends in England with his resolution, and to demand a categorical answer from them what they were willing to do, and whether they would rise in arms at the same time with the Scots, or wait till they marched to their assistance. He likewise enjoined me to endeavour to raise a sum of money

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* I have often blamed myself since for not acquainting Mr. Smith and Mr. Kelly with the whole affair; but men at the age I then was[1] are seldom capable of the most solid reflections, and are often too ready to esteem things of consequence as trifles. Were such a thing to happen to me now, I would not pass it so lightly over, nor be so easily persuaded to have any connection with men of Traquair's and Bohaldy's stamp.

† After the battle of Sherifmuir, in the year 1715, when the Earl Marischall enquired for a portmanteau, he was told by one of his servants that the groom who rode before it had been slain, upon which his Lordship imagined the enemy had got it; but his servant told him that was not the case, and all would have been safe but for the young Laird of Bohaldy (the person here mentioned), who with a party of Macgregors had plundered the whole baggage, in place of fighting.[2]

‡ See p. 51.

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[1] Murray was twenty-nine at the time.

[2] Cf. Introduction to *Rob Roy*.

either in Scotland or England, or both; gave me a Credential, written with his own hand, authorising me to treat with the officers in the Scots Brigade, and a letter to Lord Elcho in return to one I had delivered from his Lordship; enjoyed me to say all the obliging things I was capable of to his friends in Scotland, and to acquaint them that, in case he did not make a descent in England, they might depend upon his appearing among them the next summer. He then told me that the letters I required should be delivered to me that evening at Mr. MacDonald's, the banker, and desired me to return home with all possible expedition.

After assuring his Highness that nothing should be wanting on my part to obey his commands, I begged to be excused for not having wrote out the memorial as he had desired, Bohaldy having kept so strict an eye over me that it was impossible to write without giving him more cause of suspicion than was perhaps necessary, and therefore asked his Highness's leave to stop a day or two upon the road, when I should write and deliver it to any person he should send for it; and then took my leave.

Lord Semple and Bohaldy dined with me that day, and having enquired of his Lordship if he had yet had any intelligence of Mr. Honeyman and the Pilots, with visible surprize and confusion, and at a loss what to say, he looked across the table to Bohaldy, who immediately answered, Yes, my Lord, you remember that last night's post brought us accounts that they had sailed some time ago, but having mutinied when near Dieppe they returned to England; but their Conductor (added he), being a man of extreme good sense, disposed of them with great address, and prevented a discovery.

It is here worth while to observe that Bohaldy said the accounts had only reached them the night before, whereas the Prince had acquainted me two or three days before that they had received these accounts some time before that, though they had all along denied to me their having heard anything of them; and now to conceal their falsehood, doubted it. What could have induced them to disown their knowledge is more than I can account for, unless from some maxim in politicks peculiar to themselves, and plainly demonstrating that they had got into such a train of falsehood and dissimulation that even in the merest triffles they could not deviate from it.

In the evening Sir Thomas Sheridan brought the letters to Mr. MacDonald's, and having got them sewed up in my sadle I set out next day for Senlis, where I wrote the memorial,[1] as desired, and delivered it to Mr. MacDonald, whom the Prince had sent to receive it.

From thence I continued my journey to Dendermond to speak to Captain Clephan of Villegass's regiment, in consequence of the Prince's instructions, to endeavour to procure a number of officers, and if possible, men, to come over to Scotland next summer.

This Gentleman with whom I had become acquainted the year before in Scotland, and whose father (Major Clephan) had served the King in 1715, and afterwards lived in the family, though he seemed (and I sincerely believe was then) very well inclined to serve the Prince, shewed nevertheless more than ordinary caution, lest his talking privately with me should have created suspicion in his brother officers, by whom he was universally beloved, having [been] long in the service.

I shewed him however my Credentials: and he professed himself very ready to promote the cause. and promised to talk with such officers as could be trusted.

Colonel (now General) Graham was the person to whom I chiefly intended to have applyed: but as he was then in the Camp, whither it would have been altogether improper for me to return, I begged the Captain to take the first opportunity to talk with him upon this subject.

I intended to have staid longer to try what could be done, but the Captain's shyness, and the Prince's orders to make all possible despatch, made me set out next day with Captain Anderson (likewise of Villegass's regiment) on my way to Rotterdam, where we arrived in two days, and found Lord Elcho there waiting my coming.

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[1] See Appendix (No. 15), p. 379.

There is printed in Browne's *History of the Highlands*, in the Appendix to vol. ii., a letter signed 'J. Barclay,' which, according to Mr. Browne, was written by Murray, and refers to this. It will be noted that 'Barclay' refers to a letter dated '24,' while Murray's letter is dated the 21st. The letter of the 21st, however, was probably followed by another letter sending another memorial. This letter and memorial I was unable to find at Windsor. 'J. Barclay' and 'Barclay' were signatures adopted by Murray, *v. infra*, p. 136.

I had taken occasion to sound Captain Anderson during our journey, and finding him well inclined, I talked to him more fully at Rotterdam, and let him into the reason of my jaunt to Dendermond; upon which he readily engaged in the scheme; gave his honour that he would come over, and promised not only to use his interest with Captain Clephan, with whom he was very intimate, but with the other officers of the Brigade.

After two or three days stay here, I set out for England in company with Lord Elcho; and upon my arrival at London went immediately to Doctor Barry, who behaved after a very different manner from what he had done before, by appearing very shy and unwilling to speak upon business.

I was at no loss to guess the cause of this change, but saw plainly that it proceeded from Bohaldy; the jealousy I had given him at Paris had made him represent things in such a manner to the Doctor, as in some degree to create the same jealousy in him.

I was nevertheless determined that nothing of this kind should prevent me from executing the Commission I was charged with, and therefore told the Doctor that as he was the person trusted by the King's friends in England, I judged it proper to inform him of the Commission I had received. I told him that the Prince stood then very much in need of money, without which he could not bring his affairs to bear; that though the Scots were very willing, yet their abilities were small, and though they could provide hands, without a sufficient sum to arm and entertain them they could be of no service; but it was not so much on account of the Scots that the Prince then made the demand, nor did he require any large sum; he had indeed occasion for some thousand pounds to buy up arms and other necessaries; but as to what might be requisite for the maintenance of an army after a descent, he would procure elsewhere, whereas his present demand was only on account of his own more pressing and immediate exigencies.

To which the Doctor answered (very coolly, and with an indifference which I could not help thinking very unbecoming one so deeply engaged) that he could not imagine it was possible the Prince should be so much put to it for money, Lord Barrimore and others having that summer made him a large remittance by the way of Amsterdam, whither (he said) the ministry had traced it, but there lost sight of it.

There is a reflection naturally arising from this story, which I cannot dispence with observing. The Doctor said positively, a remittance had been made that summer, yet the Prince then knew nothing of the matter, and did me the honour afterwards to assure me that it never came to his hands. The Doctor did not say, nor did I ask, to whom it was remitted; but it is not to be doubted that Semple and Bohaldy were the men, being then their immediate correspondents. What then became of this money? Either Semple or Bohaldy must have appropriated it to their own use, or the person charged with the remittance must have converted it to his. If no such sum was ever sent, his Lordship and the others concerned must have imposed upon the Doctor; or he advanced a falsehood to me: but whether true or false, I take it upon me to say from the best authority that it never came to the Prince's hands.

Some few days after this conversation with the Doctor, a paragraph appeared in the news papers, insinuating that some preparations were then making in France: and having been assured by Lord Elcho, that it was suspected at Rotterdam that I had been in France, I thought it proper to leave London, lest any such information should be transmitted, and make me observed or suspected there; so having procured a meeting next morning with the Doctor, when I repeated my Commission, and begged him to communicate it to the King's friends, I set out for Scotland the day following.

The first person I saw there was Mr. Nisbet of Dirleton, whom I found at his uncle's house at Marlefield;[1] and acquainted him with my having been in France, the Prince's resolution of coming to Scotland, and the pressing occasion there was for money.

To which he answered frankly, that he was ready to contribute all in his power; that he had not then much ready money, but would purposely uplift some Bonds.

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[1] Near Yetholm.

From this place I set out for Traquair, but being informed his Lordship was from home, I continued my journey to my own house; and next morning sent an express to his Lordship at his brother-in-law the Earl of Nithsdale's,[1] to acquaint him with my arrival and anxiety to see him.

Three nights after, his Lordship came to Broughton, when I told him that the Prince desired he might immediately repair to England to execute his commission there; and then shewed him a journal containing every minute particular that had passed from my leaving Scotland untill my return: which having read, he answered that he could not then take upon him to make a judgment, the affair requiring consideration, and that he was obliged to return next day, being to settle some of Lord Nithsdale's affairs, but would see me again soon.

After supper, being concerned to see the little anxiety he shewed upon so critical a juncture, I told him the affair was of the utmost consequence, as he must observe from the contents of the Journal; and above all it was indispensably necessary that he should take an immediate resolution of complying with the Prince's request: but to this he answered in a peevish complaining manner, that it was hard to oblige him to be journeying to and again from England; that he was surprized the Prince should think he had nothing to do but run his errands; and immediately went to bed. What difference was here from his behaviour upon my return from France 16 months before? Then he was all readiness to obey Bohaldy's summons, and went accordingly; but now the tables were turned. Bohaldy was to be no longer the sole director; the Prince was about to act independently; and his Lordship did not chuse to run *his errands.*

The most confined genius will be able to make abundance of reflections upon this particular: so I shall save myself the disagreeable task.

I was heartily chagreened to find the man, to whom so great trust was committed, and upon whom so much seemed to depend, not only careless and remiss, but even backward and averse to execute the orders enjoined him. Being determined that the blame should not ly at my door, and that nothing in my power might be left undone, I immediately dispatched an express to Lochyell then in the Highlands, and another to the Duke of Perth, begging they would both come to Edinburgh.

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[1] Lord Nithsdale of the '15 died at Rome in 1744. The estates had been conveyed to his eldest son in 1712. He died in London 1776.

Lochyell instantly complied, but the Duke declined for some time, having lately returned home, and was still uncertain how far it was safe to appear openly in town.

Lord Traquair called at my house on his way home, and appointed to meet me some days after at Edinburgh; whither I went next morning, and having met Lochyell in the evening, I shewed him my journal, and acquainted him with my private instructions.

It would be difficult for me to describe the resentment this Gentleman expressed against his cousin;[1] so shall only say in general, that there were few epithets, however bad, which he did not liberally bestow upon him. He further declared it as his opinion that those principally concerned should unanimously send over a memorial to the Prince, representing their detestation of Bohaldy's behaviour, and requiring him to be dismissed from his Royal Highness's service as a person in whom they could repose no confidence: and at the same time professed his readiness to appear in arms if the Prince landed; but said it was his opinion, that he ought by no means to attempt it without the 3000 troops proposed.

Upon Traquair's arrival I met with him and Lochyell, and passed an evening together, when the whole affair was fully talked of; and though his Lordship laboured hard to gloss over Bohaldy's conduct, yet things were so glaring, that he could not help blaming him in some particulars.

This part of the conversation being ended, we jointly insisted upon his Lordship's obeying the Prince's orders by setting out for England: but he excused himself, by saying it was not immediately in his power, nor did he see any pressing necessity for it, but he would order matters so as to be able to go in a few weeks.

Being concerned at this delay, I endeavoured to convince him that there could be no stronger reasons for his journey than what then subsisted: for if the French made no descent in England, it was plain from what the Prince had said, that he would come to Scotland early in the Summer, and if the descent was made, it would most probably be in the spring; so which ever way things happened, we had but a few months wherein to get ready, the necessary preparations not to be made on a sudden, and besides these preparations might vary according to the answer we should receive from England. If they were found determined not to take arms, except a force was landed in their country, it would be madness for us to attempt it; and it would therefore be necessary to acquaint the Prince, as soon as possible, with their resolution, to prevent his coming. If they were willing to join the Scots, it behoved us to know whether they would rise at the same time, whereby to divide the troops, or if they would join us upon our marching into England. Should they think they were able to make themselves masters of their own country, the Scots would undertake to do the same; if not they would march to their assistance: so it was in every view proper to be informed of their resolution, in a pointed and distinct manner, to prevent all blunders, as it was evident the Scots behoved to act differently, as the plan should be laid, either to march into England, or not.

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[1] *i.e.* Bohaldy, whose mother was a daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel.

It was obvious, there would be great difficulty to procure money in Scotland, to enable the Chiefs to carry on the preparations requisite, much more to enable the Prince to purchase arms; and there was great reason to doubt whether, if the French refused to make a descent as proposed in the Spring, they would assist him with money to carry on his expedition: which reason alone made his journey expedient to try to raise a sum there, which it was not to be imagined they would refuse, provided they were willing to rise in arms, as they must be sensible, that to capacitate their neighbours to form in a body would make a diversion of all the troops in Scotland, distract the government, and make their game the more easy: but upon the whole, it was the Prince's earnest request, and ought at any rate to be complied with.

In spite of all these arguments, which were too evident not to occur to any man of moderate understanding, and which his Lordship cannot fail to remember I took the liberty to use, and Lochyell urged, he nevertheless continued immoveable, and would by no means consent to go for some time.

A few days after this interview, Lochyell acquainted me, that Mr. MacDonald then the younger of Glengary[1] was arrived from France, freighted with heavy complaints from Bohaldy against me, which though he, young Glengary, did not entirely give ear to, yet as he was unacquainted with me, he could not help in some measure giving credit to what he had been told; but as he, Lochyell, was thoroughly convinced the allegations were false, he had not only endeavoured to undeceive Mr. MacDonald but had likewise proposed a meeting, to give me an opportunity to convince him he had been imposed upon.

It will easily be imagined, that I was too sensible of Lochyell's friendship, as well as the advantage it might be to the Party to make the smallest difficulty about this interview; so desired my compliments to that Gentleman and assured him that the sooner I had the pleasure to see him, the more agreeable it would be.

In consequence of this message, we met the following evening, when Mr. MacDonald informed me that Bohaldy had sent his nephew, Captain John Drummond, express after him to Dunkirk, to acquaint him with my having been at Paris, and my having there advised the Prince to go over to Scotland at any rate, [with] or without assistance, to endeavour to make himself master of the Country, and (as he termed it) *seat himself upon the throne and leave the King at Rome*:[2] and begged Mr. MacDonald, in the most earnest manner, to make this known to the King's friends in Scotland, to shew how dangerous a man I was, and to put a stop to my future negotiations.

I was pretty much embarrassed how to clear myself of so vile, so base, and so false an accusation, a fact so diametrically opposite to the intent of my journey, and the advice I had actually given. To have ridiculed the story as improbable would not have been enough, though it deserved no better answer, and to prove a negative, was no easy matter. I therefore thought it necessary, in my own vindication, to let Mr MacDonald into the motive of my journey, to inform him of the footing upon which I went, and the manner in which I conducted myself.

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[1] Mr. Andrew Lang's Pickle the Spy.

[2] See the Chevalier's letter to Louis xv., p. 508.

With this he seemed quite satisfied ;* and then produced a letter written by Mr. MacDonald the Banker at Paris, representing Lord Semple and Bohaldy in their proper colours, setting forth the Prince's unhappy situation under such managers ; and referring to the consideration of his friends, whether it was not necessary to send over a person of character and credit to be with him, and manage his affairs separately from them.

It will not be doubted, that this proposal of Mr. MacDonald's was very agreeable to me ; and that I applauded the scheme. Lochyell likewise approved of it ; but no resolution was then taken to move in it.

At this time, the Lairds of MacLeod,[1] Appin,[2] and Lorn (Macdougall) came to town ; and as I had formerly had a long conversation with MacLeod upon the subject of the King's affairs, I proposed to Lochyell that we should have another meeting to deliver him a letter from the Prince. Lochyell accordingly made the appointment ; when after some discourse, I told him I was charged with a letter from the Prince, and then put it into his hand. After reading it, and appearing extremely well pleased, he expressed a strong desire to hear a description of his Highness's person and character ; which I having attempted very candidly and without reserve, he declared in a kind of rapture, that he would make it his business to advance his interest as much as was in his power, and would join him let him come when he would.

Having sat a considerable time, which was all spent upon the same topick, and Macleod having again and again repeated his resolution to promote the Prince's interest, and join him when he came, we broke up, but went to another Company in the same house, where were Lord Traquair, Mr. Stewart of Appin, and young Glengarry, where Macleod was no sooner seated, than as much affected with what had passed, he called for a large glass, and drank a bumper to Prince Charles. We

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* I appeal to Glengary to vouch this fact ; and to Mr. MacDonald the Banker to acknowledge his letter.

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[1] Norman, 19th of Macleod, b. 1706, M.P. for Inverness-shire 1741-1751, d. 1772.

[2] See *infra*, p. 112.

sat there for some time; and when the Company was breaking up, I stopped Lochyell, and told him, that notwithstanding Macleod seemed so forward, and had promised so positively, yet I was determined to engage for no man, lest it should be imputed to me, that the Prince upon my intelligence and assurance had been encouraged to make an attempt without having sufficient grounds to go upon. I was resolved to have (if possible) every man's opinion and his own hand, and not to proceed after the vague, loose, and uncertain manner the other Agents for the Family had been accustomed to do; and therefore begged he would go to him next morning, and procure something of that kind from him in writing.

Lochyell seemed much pleased with this scheme; promised to go to him: and told me next day, that he had been with him before he was up, when he repeated the same things, and came under the like engagements he had done the night before, and as he said was so frank and hearty that he was loth to ask any thing from him in writing, lest he should think it was doubting his honour; besides, as he continued to lye in bed, he thought it improper.

But, as I was still desirous to engage every one in such a manner as to leave them no room to resile, I begged Lochyell would repeat his visit next morning, and procure his advice and consent in writing: which he accordingly did, and as I can well remember, it was in the following terms: 'That having maturely considered his Royal Highness's resolution, he was of opinion that to land in Scotland without assistance from abroad might prove an unsuccessful attempt: but as he was entirely devoted to the interest of the Royal Family, if he should land, he would join him at the head of his Clan.'

Having procured this assurance, I naturally imagined it was impossible for him to fall from his engagements; and upon a further meeting I had with him, after informing him of what advantage it would be to insinuate himself into the favour of the Party in England, and let them know the Scots strength, and how forward they were, he promised to follow my advice; and assured me he would do every thing in his power to promote the Cause.

As my transactions with this man came in so naturally and closely with what I mentioned of Mr. MacDonald of Glengary, I delayed making any observations on Bohaldy's uncandid proceedings with regard to me: and indeed I am loth to spend time in tracing him in all his windings, and thereby rendering this paper more tedious and complex than it would have been by giving only a succinct narration of facts, yet as it is natural to desire to have every thing made plain, without which it is impossible to see into the dangerous consequences attending upon circumstances, I will venture to look back to what passed betwixt Glengary and me, and thereby shew the false, treacherous and mischievous step Bohaldy in his great wisdom was pleased to take.

First then let us observe the mighty pains he was at in Rotterdam to persuade me, that my going to Paris would be a means to discover the Prince, and hurt his affairs: yet the same *cautious man*, notwithstanding all his care and foresight (to say no worse) sends a *boy* (for his nephew was no more) unacquainted with the world and business, to inform a young Gentleman of the secret he had seemed so much afraid of being divulged. He had the honour of being the King's correspondent, the Prince's confident, and the Party's agent: could he then discover any person sent, any message delivered, or proposal made, without being guilty of the most flagrant treachery and breach of trust? The consequences flowing from such a discovery might have proved fatal to the whole Party, had either his nephew, or Mr. MacDonald, inadvertently mentioned my journey: for it is not to be doubted that I would immediately have been seized, a plot trumped up, and the persons, with whom I was so nearly and publickly connected, rendered suspected (I should rather say discovered, as their principles were no secret) and brought to trouble.

That this must have ensued will appear, beyond any cavil, from every circumstance which must infallibly have been discovered, upon the enquiry which would have followed my confinement.

My having retired to Perthshire, and being with the Duke of Perth the year before in the time of the Dunkirk embarkation; my going that summer to the army, where I had no plausible business; my disappearing for some time at Rotterdam, and my return thither again, coinciding exactly with the time when it was said I had been in France, would have proved such convincing arguments against me, that had I been possessed of the deceit of Bohaldy himself, with the tongues of men and angels, it would not have been in my power to clear myself satisfactorily with the ministry of the charge against me. Besides, as I was generally intrusted with the whole papers and correspondence relating to that affair, had my person been seized when I had so little reason to suspect it, a part if not the whole of these papers would have been seized likewise: and what appearance must it have made to the world, when it came to be known, that from the spleen, envy, jealousy and unjust revenge in this obscure creature, many people of distinction were brought to the block and gallows, and the strength and glory of half the nation utterly destroyed? Posterity would have been amazed and shocked to think, that any member of the human race had been guilty of so vile an act. And what would the present age think, did they know that this man, notwithstanding so palpable a piece of treachery, not only dares to shew his face and pretend to honesty, but even finds people so credulous as to give faith to his pretended loyalty, and trust him as a person devoted to that Interest?

Though MacLeod is the fittest person I know to rank with the gentleman last mentioned, and comes naturally to be spoke of here, yet as his future conduct is universally well known; and as it is possible the previous steps to the transactions of those times will not be much longer a secret, there will be no more room left for reflection and conjecture, but every man will be able too to see with his own eyes, and judge by the strength of his own capacity, his ideas of right and wrong, truth and falshood, when this person must become a landmark to all travellers.

This naturally leads me to observe that no humane, no good, benevolent, unprejudiced person can reflect upon the Prince for an undertaking, which till now perhaps appeared to them rash and inconsiderate, or proceeding from youth and heat of blood, as none will be under the necessity of puzzling his brains, to find out why he made an attempt of such consequence to himself and friends with so small a force.

No man will be at a loss to determine, who are the people, dead or living, who merit the most applause, or the severest censure, and who ought most justly to be branded with the names of Coward and Traitor.

Is it in the power of nature to be guilty of greater cruelty, deeper villainy, than to deceive and impose upon the generous and well meaning, by making them believe he is their friend and will support them to the utmost, when at the very time he is determined to undermine, disappoint, nay even oppose them ?

Can man be guilty of a baser action, than to persuade his fellow-creature to enter into a scheme upon the faith of his assistance, and yet fail him ?

And can a Prince be blamed with justice for making an attempt, when promised to be seconded by people who not only professed friendship, but offered their services with the most solemn asseverations, and *even gave it under their hands ?*

Surely never man had more reason to believe than the Prince ; nor did ever man so basely betray, as did MacLeod ; whom I shall leave for the present to the racks and tortures of a guilty conscience, and the just and severe judgment of every good man.

I applied next to Mr. Stuart of Appin, Chief of a considerable following, and who professed a strong attachment to the Royal Family ; and finding him very ready to engage, I ventured to acquaint him with the expectations we had of assistance from France, but at the same time desired his opinion of what the Scots were able to do of themselves, and as a means to judge accurately of the number of each Clan, I begged he would give me a list, which after comparing with others I had before procured, found it rather inferior to them all, but from my after-knowledge was sensible it was the justest of any, and not above four sevenths of the number given in by Bohaldy to the French Court.[1]

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[1] The chief of Appin at this time was Dugald tenth and last of Appin. The authors of the *Stewarts of Appin* (Edin. 1880) state that he was a boy at the time of the '45. This could hardly be the case, since Murray consulted him. His father, who fought at Sheriffmuir, and was attainted, died, according to the same authorities, before 1739. Charles Stewart of Ardsheal led the clan, according to the *Lockhart Papers*, to the number of two hundred and sixty, to the Prince's standard. Dugald of Appin took no part in the '45. He sold Appin in 1765, to Seton of Touch. Cf. p. 442.

This Gentleman, finding me very desirous to be satisfied of every particular in relation to the Highlands, assured me that as soon as he got home, he would send me some papers of his Father's concerning the rising in the year 1715, from which I would learn a good deal not only of the nature of the people but the manner of raising them, with the situation of the Country, etc.

At another interview, I took an opportunity to acquaint him with the Prince's resolution of coming to Scotland: and told him, that as I was resolved to act upon a different plan, from what others hitherto concerned in the King's affairs had done, and that it should not be imputed to me that any attempt had been made upon my intelligence alone, I begged he would give me his *signed opinion*; which he consented to, and gave it much in the same terms with Macleod's.

I intended to have spoke likewise to Mr. Macdowal of Lorn, having been sometimes in company with him, when he seemed by his conversation as much inclined to assist the Royal Family as any other; but having mentioned my design to Lochyell, he dissuaded me, saying, he believed there was no fear of him, as he was very well affected, but as he had but a small following, he would naturally join Sir James Campbell, when the Country came to be raised, and as he was connected by marriage to the Campbells, he thought it was as well to let him alone, lest he should let anything drop to give them suspicion: so I advised his being with him from time to time in the tavern, where the Royal Family was generally the subject of discourse.

Lord Elcho was now come to town, and several of the most considerable of the King's friends, with whom I had frequent meetings; and convinced him, Lochyell, Sir James Stuart, Glengary, and others of the necessity of Lord Traquair's going to England, begging they might use their influence with him; upon which they desired I would write him a letter to press his departure, which I accordingly did, but could obtain no satisfactory answer, his Lordship finding some excuse for a further delay.

As there was now so near a prospect of things coming to a Crisis, I thought it time to render the Party a little more extensive:* and as a means not only to make them better acquainted with one another, but to draw them to make publick declarations of their principles, and thereby leave them no pretence to excuse their appearance when things came to an open rupture, I schemed the forming a Club, where all the well affected might meet. Having communicated my thought to Lord Elcho, he approved and perfected the scheme: the Club was soon formed, and consisted of the principal people of the party, together with several of the Inhabitants of the City: and I cannot help thinking but it was of some service, and might have been of more, if all who appeared there had taken the field.

As Lochyell and Glengary had communicated the contents of Mr. MacDonald the Banker's letter to some of the chief men of the Party then in town, they seemed all very anxious about the Prince's situation, and desirous that he should have some body with him, in whom they could confide; and proposed my going over. As this was a thing upon which they were very intent, I assured them, that there was nothing in my power that I would not do to forward the interest of the whole, but did not see how it was possible for me to undertake it, as I was not able to support myself with credit to him, without ruining my family at home, which was what I could not in honour do, nor did I believe they expected of me; and to send any person to be a burden upon the Prince would have a very bad look, especially as his circumstances would not admit of an additional expence: besides, it was to be considered, that as it would be impossible for me to be privately abroad, in all probability I would lose my Estate by the late act, which declared it treason to correspond with the Prince, or Duke of York.[1]

To this it was answered, that a sallary should be appointed by the Party such as would enable me to live with credit, and without putting the Prince to any charge; and as to my Estate, such a conveyance might be made, as to put it out of the power of the Government to touch it.

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* I was authorised to do this by the King's orders, as mentioned in page 97 by my late instructions from the Prince: and the situation of affairs rendered it indispensably necessary.

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[1] 17 Geo. II. cap. 39.

Though there were very palpable reasons for my not complying with this request, and among others the sallary's being withdrawn as soon as they saw nothing effectual could be done, and which I made no scruple to tell them I expected would happen, yet to shew that I would do every thing to promote the Cause, I agreed to go, provided there was a possibility of securing my estate to my children, and to leave no room to imagine I triffled with them, I offered to consult Mr. Macleod of Nuik, and pitched upon the Earl of Traquair (who was one of the promoters* of this scheme, and then present) to be with me at the consultation.

As they all professed an anxiety to have this affair finished, I made an appointment with Mr. Macleod next day; and in the evening his Lordship accompanied me to his house, where I told him the proposal that was made to me, with the conditions upon which I had consented, and desired to have his opinion if it was possible to make such a settlement.

After Mr. Macleod had said some obliging things upon my readiness to serve the party, he declared that he very much doubted if such a conveyance could be made, but he would consider seriously of it; and appointed the next evening at six o'clock to give his opinion.

Lord Traquair and I attended him at the hour, when he read and explained to us clauses of several acts of parliament; gave it as his opinion that no deed of conveyance could be framed to evade a forfeiture; and assured me in a very friendly and earnest manner that the thing was absolutely impossible (the truth of which has frequently appeared since 1746).

After leaving him, we went to the tavern, where we had appointed to meet the Duke of Perth, Lord Elcho, and

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* 'Tis amazing to think how fluctuating this man was. He could not upon my report after my return from Paris be persuaded of Bohaldy's falsehood. He soon after joins in opinion with those who did, and was the warmest promoter of my going to superceed him, and after his going to London changes again, and neglects the errant upon w^{h} he was sent. I have often conjectured that his neglect was as much owing to his Correspondence with Bohaldy and the love of money as to any thing else.[1]

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[1] This note is in Murray's own hand.

Lochyell, where his Lordship reported what had passed, upon which, with some reluctancy, they accepted of my excuse; and Lord Elcho and Lochyell, seeming greatly disappointed, expressed great eagerness and desire that some method might be fallen upon to have Bohaldy dismissed the service, and at last proposed that letters should be written begging the Prince to have him committed to the Bastile; but the Duke of Perth and the Earl of Traquair being against any violent measures, lest our friends in England might thereby be alarmed and intimidated, their proposal was dropt.

As I was aware that every thing I had advanced to the Prince would be boldly contradicted by Lord Semple and Bohaldy, and that persons capable of making so false a representation of my proceedings to the Party in Scotland, as they had endeavoured by Glengary, would not stick to transmit them to Rome in the same odious colours, I made out a Journal of affairs from the time I was first concerned, containing copies of all the letters received, with remarks upon them; and got Lochyell to compare them with the originals, and attest each singly. I likewise gave a full account of every step I had taken from the time of my leaving Paris till that day, with the written opinions of the principal people concerned in relation to the Prince's intended expedition into Scotland, together with letters upon that subject from the Earl of Traquair, Sir James Stuart,* and Lochyell, which I proposed to transmit to the Prince by Lord Traquair when he should set out for London, from whence he might be able to judge not only of the truth of what I had advanced, but likewise of the situation and inclination of the party, and to shew him that they were all unanimous against his coming without a force, except the Duke of Perth, who was always of opinion that if the English performed the engagements they were said to have come under, no foreign troops were necessary.

The Earl of Traquair, after repeated solicitations both by letters and personally, having postponed his journey for some months, returned to Edinburgh, and at a meeting in the tavern under the Piazzas of the Parliament Close, where were present the Duke of Perth, Lord Elcho, Lochyell, Glengary, and Sir James Stewart (but am not certain if the latter was there at the time) when I delivered the packet to his Lordship, with a full account of the contents, and begged that he might immediately upon his arrival at London dispatch it either by a private hand, or by the trading sloops (which sailed daily or weekly) to Boulogne, to Mr. Charles Smith, with instructions for him to forward it forthwith to the Prince.

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* Sir James will do me the justice to say that, having found me one evening writing the above mentioned paper, I communicated my design to him, shewed him what I was then about; and that he approved of it. Many of the letters were copied by Lochyell, as I had not time to do all myself.

His Lordship was likewise instructed to be very explicit with the English, and to receive a plain and distinct answer from them; to know what they would do, and expected us to act, provided the Prince landed in England in such a manner as was expected the spring before; what they were willing to do should he land in Scotland with a body of troops; and, lastly, what assistance they would give in case he came single: that by this means the Scots might be at no loss to know what they were to depend upon, and the manner after which they were to act, if once Masters of their own Country.

His Lordship took great pains to persuade the Company that nothing should be wanting on his part, and after some expressions of zeal for and attachment to the interest of the Royal Family, promised to forward the packet without delay; but as he thought things could not be represented to the Prince in too strong a light, he was resolved to follow soon after to France himself, to acquaint him with the situation of the Country and the opinion of his friends, using this very singular expression, that he would see the Prince, *though in a bawdy house.**

He set out post for London next morning, where, notwith-

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* The present Earl of Weems,'[1] and Laird of Glengary,[2] can vouch this. The latter has since repeated it to me in my house in London.

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[1] Lord Elcho's brother Francis, who, however, did not assume the title till after his brother's death in 1787.

[2] 'Pickle.'

standing his promised diligence, he did not arrive in less than fifteen days, and that after three months delay, notwithstanding the Prince's orders and the repeated solicitations of those chiefly concerned.

Mr. MacDonald of Glengary being now about to depart to the Highlands, I wrote a letter to Sir Alexander MacDonald, and in it inclosed one from the Prince, and gave them to this Gentleman, who undertook to deliver them; and Sir Alexander returned an answer, saying in general, that as soon as a proper plan was laid down, he would not only be ready to join himself, but endeavour to engage his neighbours.

I had taken many opportunities to shew such as were chiefly concerned that nothing could be done without money; and as I had the Prince's positive orders to endeavour to raise a sum, it was now necessary that some resolution should be come to upon that head; but seeing all my endeavours had produced nothing but an acknowledgment of the necessity there was for it, and expressions of regret that it was not in their power to be assisting that way, I resolved to set about it once for all by applying to such only as I imagined might be prevailed upon, and esteeming it not only needless, but below the Prince's dignity, to speak to those who had formerly refused, I thought it better to raise but a small sum, by confining my application rather to a few, than to attempt a number, lest by the refusal of one, and their whispering to each other, they should be encouraged to deny me.

I had already got a promise from Mr. Nisbet of Dirleton, whose compliance I judged might prevail upon Mr. Charteris,[1] to whom I had given some hints that such a thing would be of great service: but justly thinking his brother, Lord Elcho, the properest person to prevail, I proposed it to him, telling him what Mr. Nisbet had engaged to do, and that I likewise intended to apply to the present Duke of Hamilton, who seemed very well inclined.

His Lordship very frankly undertook to speak to Mr.

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[1] Francis, son of James, fourth Earl of Wemyss, and Janet, only daughter of Colonel Francis Charteris of Amisfield. He succeeded to the Charteris estates and to the earldom. He died in 1808.

Charteris: and said, he did not at all doubt but he would contribute, provided any others joined with him, but added that I needed not give myself the trouble to speak to the Duke of Hamilton,[1] for he and Sir James Stewart had already endeavoured to prevail with him to continue the yearly allowance which his father had formerly given to the Earl Marishall, but he would scarcely give them an opportunity to speak upon the subject, and that he was got amongst a mixed set of people, and did not appear to have a relish for things of that kind.

I had likewise occasion to talk with Sir James Stewart upon the same subject, whose opinion (I must acknowledge) I would at all times have been ready to prefer to any of my Countrymen. He expressed himself in much the same way with his Lordship, which I thought a very bad presage; for if they, who were his intimates, could not influence his Grace, there were small hopes of my doing it, who had been but a few months acquainted with him. However, as it was my duty to stop at no seeming obstacle, I resolved to make a trial, and for that purpose contrived to be more frequently with his Grace than I otherwise should; and having reason to believe I was not disagreeable to him, I took occasion to speak to him on the 23rd of February (O.S.), the Duke of York's birthday. Feb. 1745.

There had been a very brilliant assembly that night, where all the Gentlemen of the Party appeared, and the dancing being over, the most of them retired to solemnize the night at Walker's tavern, where having drunk pretty plentifully, they separated: and as I found his Grace had no inclination to go home, and thinking it would be a good time to speak to him, I proposed retiring into another room, which he agreed to.

After drinking some healths suitable to the day, I introduced the subject, and endeavoured to shew him how necessary it was to have a sum ready, should the Prince resolve to come over. Far from making any difficulty, he said that he heartily regretted the then situation of his affairs would not admit of his being so liberal as he inclined; his father having left very large debts, which he was resolved to pay; that he would contribute what was in his power: and desired to know, what people I had or intended to speak to.

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[1] James, 6th duke, b. 1724, suc. 1743, m. 1752, Elizabeth Gunning (afterwards Duchess of Argyll), d. 1758.

I replied, that I had already procured a promise from Nisbet of Dirleton; had employed Lord Elcho to speak to his brother; intended myself to speak to the Duke of Perth, and get him to talk to Mr. Murray of Abercairny,[1] and Mr. Graham of Balgowan; and that I would likewise apply to Lord Traquair, as soon as he returned, but considering the expence of the journey he had lately taken at the Prince's desire, could not expect much.

The Duke seemed pleased with the persons I had pitched upon; said, he would resolve on the sum he was to give in a day or two; and desired I might then come to him: so after a long conversation upon the situation of the country, and the Prince's designs, we parted.

Happy to think I prevailed, where there had been so small hopes of success, and that this would be a spur to others, who pretended more zeal and loyalty, I acquainted Lord Elcho, who, quite surprized at the Duke's answer, said, he had spoke to his brother, who had very frankly offered to give a sum.

I spoke next to the Duke of Perth, who without the least reserve declared, he was ready to give all the money he could raise, and the same day proposed to Lord Elcho, that if his brother would agree to give the like sum, he would mortgage his estate for ten thousand pounds Sterling; a noble offer, and only worthy of so good, and so great a man.

His Grace had likewise applied to Mr. Murray of Abercairny, who agreed to give £500: but whether Mr. Graham of Balgowan had been spoke to, I cannot now recollect, though I am certain no bill was granted by him.

The first time I waited on the Duke of Hamilton, he said, he had considered the affair I mentioned to him, and had resolved what to give; but desired to know how it was to be transacted, and to whom the money was to be paid: which, as it was a material circumstance, I declined taking upon myself to determine or advise, but left it to his Grace to do as he should think fit. Upon this he proposed to have a meeting with the Duke of Perth and Lord Elcho; which was brought about some days after, when it was agreed that the several Contributors should grant Bills for their respective sums payable to me at the Whitsuntide following.

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[1] James Moray of Abercairny, son of William Moray, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Graham of Balgowan.

The Dukes of Hamilton and Perth, with Mr. Charteris gave theirs for £1500 each; Mr. Nisbet of Dirleton engaged to give £1000; and Mr. Murray of Abercairny £500: but neither of the two last could be prevailed upon to grant Bills. Their reasons I do not pretend to assign, as they gave no other that I know of, but that they did not think it proper: nor can I allow myself to believe that it proceeded from any fear of discovery, especially on Abercairny's part; for though it was an affair of the utmost consequence to all concerned, yet so fond are some people of telling secrets, that soon after Mr. William Murray[1] (now Earl of Dunmore) asked me in a sly manner if such a subscription was not carrying on, and if the Duke of Hamilton had not contributed liberally.

A good deal surprized how the thing had taken air, I pretended to be quite ignorant of it, and asked how he came to imagine any such thing was in agitation: to which he replied with a simper (intimating he was of consequence enough to know what was going forward) that his friend Abercairny had informed him of the several persons concerned, and that he among others had subscribed £500.

It may be reasonably imagined that this Gentleman was not his sole confidant, people of that communicative temper seldom centering their confidence in one person: and had his indiscretion made his donation known, as the voice of the world has gone for some time, it is not to be doubted but the discovery would have been laid to my charge; but with how little justice is well known to the ministers of state in the year

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[1] William 3rd earl, joined the Prince at Perth, surrendered after Culloden, pled guilty of treason, pardoned, suc. his brother 1752, d. 1756.

1746, and to Abercairny himself, who in that case would not have escaped their notice.

Mr. Macleod's opinion (as already mentioned) that no conveyance could secure my estate from forfeiture, having prevented my going to France, the Gentlemen, who proposed that scheme, still continued very desirous that some person of confidence should be with the Prince, and Lord Elcho having given some hints that he was inclined to go, I thought it a proper time to encourage him, and therefore mentioned the affair at our meeting with Duke Hamilton, who was very fond of it: but his Lordship, after taking some days to reflect, declined it.

It would be stiffling my real sentiments (which I am determined not to do in this narrative) not to say that I always sincerely regretted Lord Elcho's not going over, as I am convinced it would have been of the utmost consequence to the King's affairs. The general run of mankind may venture to say of him what they please: but I have had the honour to know him intimately, and am persuaded he is as void of that fickleness of temper in matters of moment of which he is accused by some of his party, as he is of the cruelty and brutality laid to his charge by the other. He has very good natural parts, and is far from being deficient in acquired knowledge; has a very quick lively apprehension, and not ready to be led away with any airy superficial scheme: so that I am convinced, had he gone over, to say no more, things would not have been the worse for us.

Though I looked upon the Duke of Hamilton's contributing, the conversations I had with him, and his professions at this meeting, as pretty deep engagements, yet as his appearance in the field would have been of great consequence to the Cause, I thought it proper to draw some declaration from him before that Company, from which he might not so easily have it in his power to get off, as if he had made it privately to me: and with that view told him, I was then going to write to the Prince, and would not fail to acquaint him with what his Grace had done, and would be glad to know if he had any advice to offer, or if I should say anything from him in particular; upon which he desired I might not neglect to offer his humble duty, and to assure his Royal Highness that he would join him with all the force he could raise.*

It being now a considerable time since letters had been expected from Lord Traquair, some began to think he was about to return, and therefor declined writing, though it was nevertheless thought pretty odd that he had been quite silent and not even intimated that the packet was forwarded; and though I had wrote to him again and again, he had never vouchsafed an answer.

I acknowledge, his silence did not affect me so much as it did others, being one of those who imagined, that he had finished his negotiations with the English, and would shortly return. Indeed it seemed strange to me that he had not mentioned his having forwarded the packet, having very solemnly and voluntarily promised to do it: and at times the fate of my letter to the Earl Marischall made me uneasy; but never imagining that his evil spirit Bohaldy was with him, I was ready to blame myself for judging of him harshly, and daily looked out for his return.

The season of the year being now far advanced, and no accounts from France, I became vastly anxious, being thereby confirmed in my opinion that the Prince would come, as he would certainly have acquainted us, had he altered his resolution; or had he received the packet, giving his reasons why he was not dissuaded: which altogether made me quite unhappy to think we should be left entirely in the dark as to the English resolutions.

I expressed my concern to such of the party as were in town, and had a meeting with some of them, where it was resolved, that a letter should be wrote to his Highness, signed by the whole, and sent by express: and I was desired to write their sentiments, which I did immediately, as it was proposed to be sent by Mr. Ogilvy's ship, which we knew was to sail next day for Boulogne.

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* The Earl of Weems may remember this, and that when we were talking of the union and of the indignities imposed upon Scotland by the English since, his Grace expressed himself strongly upon the subject, and concluded by saying, let us now act as becomes Scotsmen, and set our feet on the backs of the English.

I acquainted his Royal Highness, that I had wrote fully to him by Lord Traquair, which I hoped had reached him some months before; but that having had no news from his Lordship, nor no answer from his Royal Highness, we were of opinion that the present situation of affairs made it requisite to write our sentiments: and then observed, that if he came to Scotland, it was absolutely necessary to have a body of 6000 men, in case the English were not as forward to join as we, and that they should land upon the East coast at any port from Peterhead to Dundee, to prevent the forces in the North from joining those in the South.

This letter was signed by the Duke of Perth, Lord Elcho, Lochyell, Mr. Nisbet of Dirleton, and me: and if I remember right, there was a postscript, likewise signed, begging of his Royal Highness, that Bohaldy might not be acquainted with the Contents of the letter.

I likewise wrote to his Highness, begging he would write letters to some of the principal people in Scotland, and send commissions to such as I thought might be of service, and particularly one for the Duke of Hamilton making him Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Clydesdale, Tweeddale, Air, Kyle, Cunningham, Carrick, etc., and one for Lord Ogilvy,[1] appointing him Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Angus and Merns.

Having finished the letters, we were at loss for a proper person to carry them, I therefore proposed that the Duke of Perth should prevail with Mr. (now Doctor) Drummond the Clergyman, nephew to the Laird of Logie: and as all approved the choice, his Grace went directly from the company, and sent for him. In the interim Lord Elcho wrote a letter to Captain Ogilvie of Leith, desiring him to delay his voyage for one day, that Mr. Drummond might have time to prepare himself, who (the Duke of Perth upon his return told us) had engaged to go, but to our great surprize he positively next Evening refused, without pretending any other excuse than the approach of the holidays, when he would be missed by the

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[1] David, eldest son of 4th Earl of Airlie, b. 1725, escaped to Norway after Culloden, became Lieutenant-General in the French service, pardoned 1778, d. at Cortachy 1803.

Congregation, though he might have procured one to officiate for him, and his being missed was a matter of no moment, being then Colleague to Mr. Harper.

Lord Elcho applied next to Mr. (now Sir) Steuart Threpland, who likewise excused himself: so I proposed it to Mr. Norvel of Boghall, who I had no reason to believe would refuse, being a man who had asked and obtained the King's commission, and one who upon all occasions expressed uncommon zeal for the interest of the Royal Family; but he also refused, saying he was not well.

Finding it would be difficult to find a person of any character, when refused by such as we had spoken to, I offered, if the Subscribers would consent, to get a person, who had formerly served me, whose honesty I could answer for, and who would religiously observe the instructions I gave him.

This being agreed to, I quickly dispatched John Macnaughton after recommending him to Captain Ogilvy's care, and charged him to take the name of Douglas, telling him what account to give of himself, in case the ship was visited by a man of war. I gave him a letter to Mr. Smith of Boulogne, desiring he would furnish him with what money he thought proper, and sent him to the Prince wherever he was; and likewise another letter to Mr. MacDonald the Banker at Paris, in case he should go thither, desiring him to give him what money was necessary, with a suit of cloaths and shirts.

Soon after this, I received a letter, which from the character alone I judged to be Lord Traquair's, consisting of three or four lines at most, saying that the Lady's friends seemed as well inclined to the match as before, but it was thought proper to have the wedding cloaths from France before the solemnity was performed. This, I solemnly protest, was the substance, and I believe pretty near the very words: for indeed it was too extraordinary to be forgotten.

I was no stranger to his intended marriage; so was quite at a loss to say whether this letter related to it, or to the business upon which he was sent; for he did not take the least notice of the packet, by saying it was or was not forwarded: neither did he give the smallest hint of his having been or intending to go to France, as he proposed; or about the money he was desired to procure; in short, nothing which could give the least satisfaction.

If it was to be understood upon the footing of business, nothing further could be learned from it, than that the English thought foreign assistance necessary; which the Scots never doubted. It was therefore giving us no intelligence, not even enabling us to judge if the landing of French troops in Scotland would be agreeable to them; which was one of the questions he was particularly desired to ask. His business was to procure distinct categorical answers to the several questions he was instructed to propose, to endeavour to raise a sum of money, to write to the Prince what he had done in consequence of his orders, and to return to Scotland to inform the party of his proceedings; but in place of doing all or part of this, these few above mentioned unmeaning lines were all the satisfaction his Lordship ever gave to either, having taken no more notice of the Prince, than if he had never been employed by him.

A few days after the receipt of this insignificant letter, I was informed of Mr. Blaw of Castlehill's[1] return from France, whither he had been sent about Christmas by the Duke of Perth with letters to the Prince. I was uneasy at his having been seen in Edinburgh, lest any of the servants of the government having learnt where he had been should get him secured; and whilst I was thinking how to get him persuaded to leave the town, I received a visit from him. He told me where he had been, and of a scheme he had formed to seize the Castle of Edinburgh, the particulars of which I have entirely forgot. He informed me likewise that he had left Sir Hector Macleane in Holland, whom he expected by the first ship. I represented the danger of his being seen in Edinburgh; and begged of him, that if he had any regard for his own safety, or the King's interest, he would go to the country and keep out of the way till all suspicion subsided, which he promised, and as I was informed did next morning.

Being at this time confined to the house, Mr. Macleod of

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[1] John Bleau or Blaw of Castlehill, near Clackmannan, cf. *Lyon in Mourning*, iii. 166, 167, and 180, as to his visit to France in Feb. 1745 and subsequent arrest in June and imprisonment for two and a half years. He was hanged for murder in 1767 at the age of seventy-five. Cf. Charles's *Transactions in Scotland*, II. 10.

Nuik made me a visit, and acquainted me that the Laird of Macleod was come to town, and desired to see me, having a packet to deliver from the Earl of Traquair. Being unable to go abroad, I begged he would do me the favour to come to me; and was overjoyed to think, that we should at last receive full satisfaction from his Lordship: but how great was my surprize in the afternoon, when Macleod delivered the same packet (which I had sent to London by his Lordship about four months before) without any intelligence, or any reason for returning it, only that he could not get a proper person to send it by to the Prince.

If this fact is maturely considered, it will be found to have been one of the most unaccountable that ever man was guilty of; and to what cause alone to attribute it, few people may be able to guess. The ways proposed to him to forward it were easy and safe: yet supposing it had been otherwise, and that he found it impossible, he ought not to have kept it so long, but returned it immediately. He knew the contents were of the utmost consequence, and of a more interesting nature than his Royal Highness had perhaps ever received. He declared as much in company the night it was delivered to him. He approved of the necessity there was to transmit it, promised to do it, and even went the length to say, that it was an affair upon which so much depended, that he would follow it himself to enforce the arguments it contained, with what further occurred to him: and he had not only declared against the Prince's coming without foreign aid, but wrote him a dissuasive letter, which made part of the packet. If he was really and sincerely desirous that the Prince should not come, he knew there could be no more sovereign prevention devised than the opinions of the heads of the Party: all which were in the body of the Packet.

If he was convinced, which seemed evident (unless he was acting with a designed treachery all along) from his outward keenness that I should go over, that Semple and Bohaldy had not acted a fair part, and that it was necessary to have them dismissed from the Prince's service, what more effectual method could be fallen upon, than to forward this packet, which contained copies of all their letters attested by Lochyell, with my remarks upon their several contradictions and inconsistencies?

If he had the Prince's honour and interest so much at heart as he pretended, surely nothing could be of more service to him, than to be let into not only the present state of his affairs, but the whole transactions that had passed for some years, of which he knew little but from the memorial I had given: nay, his Lordship knew, it was impossible for the Prince to learn these by another channel; and yet notwithstanding all, he retained it in his custody.

Could there be a baser neglect, a more barefaced breach of trust?

I may, and am confident all the world will, pronounce it a sacrificing of his Prince, and a betraying of his Countrymen, in the grossest manner.

Had he been averse to the employment, why did he not declare it openly and above board? There were none to controul him, or force it upon him; they could have fallen upon many other methods of conveyance: I would even have gone privately myself, had no other been found.

If he altered his mind after he arrived in London, the only part he could have acted with seeming honour, was to return it directly, that we might still have had time to send it over: but to keep it in his custody about four months, seems to have been a designed and studied trick.

He knew well, that if there was no landing in England in the Spring, the Prince resolved to be in Scotland early in the Summer. Why then did he keep it up till the month of May, when in all probability it could not arrive in Scotland much sooner than he?

If he imagined the contents were not sufficiently strong of themselves, and that the Prince might continue his resolution notwithstanding, why did he not either go himself, or represent this to the English,* and prevail with them either to send one of their number with the packet; or if it was thought dangerous to send it, to inform his Royal Highness by a private hand of the contents, and lay the sentiments of both nations before his Highness at one and the same time?

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* If they had declared against joining, Lord Traquair's silence was a means to draw the Prince into a hazardous and unsuccessful attempt, and leave his Countrymen in the lurch.

But as this is an affair of the greatest moment, and ought to be made as plain and evident as truth will permit, I shall give a short account of his proceedings about it, after he arrived in London.

It seems he thought the best way was to find a person here to carry it to Paris, and was recommended to a Gentleman of the name of Mackenzie, as one in whom he might safely confide. This young man cheerfully undertook to carry it: but told his Lordship, that his circumstances would not admit of his being at the expence of the journey, and therefore hoped he would be considered; and being asked what sum he required, moderately demanded forty pounds.

One would imagine that a man of Lord Traquair's figure and fortune, and above all one who professed to have the interest of the Party so much at heart, would not have made two words to the bargain, but dispatched him immediately: yet it is most certain that he absolutely refused, alledging the demand was extravagant.

To this the young Gentleman replied, that he was far from proposing to make a jobb of the journey, but was as desirous as his Lordship or any man to be of service to his Prince, and did his circumstances admit, would do it at his own charge; that it was not only the bare expence of the journey that was requsite, for being a Gentleman it was necessary he should appear as such for his own credit and the honour of these who sent him, and must therefore have a suit of Cloaths, which would take a considerable part of the sum, and as to his travelling charges they should be as moderate as possible.

In short, his Lordship still refusing, and the Gentleman willing to go in the nearest way possible, he higgled him down to £25, and desired him to prepare immediately for his journey: but when he was ready, his Lordship, without assigning any reason but the expence, told him he was not to go, and did not so much as offer him the smallest gratuity, notwithstanding the young man had been at the expence to equip himself, and was afterwards obliged to apply to Mrs. Oglethorpe,[1] who made a small collection to pay the debt: all which the young Gentleman himself, and Mr. James Leslie formerly his Lordship's Chaplain, now Tutor to the young Marquis Mezce,[2] with several to whom Mrs. Oglethorpe told it, can testify.

Being sensible, that by this neglect, his Royal Highness was left much in the dark as to the sentiments of his friends, and what a disappointment it would be to the whole Party, I thought it necessary that the packet should still be sent, though perhaps too late to answer the end proposed: yet it was doing the best in my power, and endeavouring as far as in me lay to make up for the other's fault.

After this first resolution, I had many doubts whether to forward it, or not. It occurred, that as the other dispatch sent by Macnaughton was in general terms, it might not be sufficient to prevent his coming, as he would esteem it rather a wish than an advice. It likewise occurred, that as the packet had not reached him, he could have no reason to believe his friends were averse to his coming, and had very probably already communicated his intention to the French Court,* and informed them of the strength he thought he had to rely upon; yet (allowing he was convinced it would be wrong (he could not with honour fall from his purpose,† as it would not fail to be interpreted to his prejudice, as proceeding from timidity, which would hurt him in his private character, or from the want of friends, which would be vastly detrimental to his interest, by lessening the idea they had of the strength of the Party. Yet in spite of all, I resolved it should go, and enlarged it with a scheme for seizing Edinburgh Castle, with

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* He would naturally have assured them of the whole Clans, notwithstanding what I had told him, trusting to my having communicated his intention to them, and receiving no intelligence to the contrary.

† For though he had shewed the contents to the ministry to convince them he had reason, yet there would have been some ready enough to put a wrong gloss upon it.

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[1] Anne, daughter of Sir Theophilus, and sister of General Oglethorpe (founder of Georgia). The legend that she was mistress of the Old Chevalier has no foundation in fact. Cf. *Blackwood's Magazine*, February 1898.

[2] Mezières Eleanor Oglethorpe, Anne's sister, married the Marquis de Mezières, and her son was wounded at Fontenoy.

the Battallion quartered in the suburbs, together with fort Augustus and fort William, with the small parties on the North coast, accompanied with a map of the Country, marking the different situation of the Clans, with their proper routs to Stirling, where I proposed they should all rendezvous: and when finished, which was in a few days after receiving it from Macleod, I gave it in charge to Mr. MacDonald the younger of Glengary, who was then going to France from the West coast.

There is one thing occurs to me here, and which I cannot forbear to mention, for though it may not perhaps be thought material, yet I am inclined it should be known, as a proof that my assiduity in the King's affairs did not proceed from self interest or ambition, and that the office I was afterwards invested with was so far from being my desire, that it was the most distant from my thoughts, and even disagreeable to me, as not suiting my genius: and that the application I gave to business of that kind proceeded entirely from a desire to promote the interest of the Party; seeing plainly, there was no other willing to take the same fatigue, and that if I had not, things would have been neglected. But to come to the point.

Besides the packet, I gave Mr. MacDonald private instructions, wherein among other things he was enjoined to apply to his Royal Highness, that in case of his coming to Scotland, he would name me one of his Aid-de-camps, a post infinitely more agreeable to me for many reasons than the one he did me the honour to confer upon me, as being more agreeable to my inclinations, giving less cause of jealousy or envy, and rendering me less remarkable, and my actions less liable to be criticised and canvassed by the army.

As I do not mention this by way of apology or alleviation of any thing that has been laid to my charge, but purely for the reasons above mentioned, I beg it may not be so interpreted, for I am far from thinking the office of Secretary was either above my birth, or services (at least endeavours to serve): on the contrary, I think there was none in the army fitter for it, or better entitled to it; and I have the vanity to say, that I was perhaps the only man in that station, whose actions were approved of by all. I say by all; for if there were any who found fault, their numbers were too insignificant to be minded, their consequence too triffling to deserve notice, or such as would have grumbled, whether there had been reason or none.

But, as this particular has been mentioned with no other view, than to shew that far from having used any intrigues to obtain it, it was the most distant from my thoughts, and what I would have refused, had it been in my power.

I will venture to say further still, that had I been nominated to the post I applied for, though the honour would have been sufficient for any subject, yet if some of the persons, who acted in that station, are recollected, to have been ranked with them would not have been more than adequate to my services.

But to return. As broad swords were greatly wanted, and very difficult to be procured, I made enquiry if any could be had in Edinburgh: and finding that an armourer had got betwixt three and four hundred blades, I bargained with him to mount them at half a guinea; which was of some service, for though I did not get the whole, Colonel Gardner having obliged him to provide some for his regiment, yet the rest came in good time, and shews there was no particular in my power that I neglected. I was even so minute as to provide several sets of brass moulds, and employed a gunsmith to pick up all the muskets he could find, and by his means procured a number: all which was conducted with so much secresy, that there never was the least whisper or suspicion of it to this day, though several boxes of them were carried to my house in the Country, and a part conveyed to Mr. Buchannan's of Arnprior for the Duke of Perth's people. I likewise bespoke a number of Targets at Edinburgh, which were made, and brought to the army the night before the battle of Prestonpans.

May 1745 About the end of May, I was acquainted by express that Macnaughton was returned: upon which I immediately went to Edinburgh, and received two packets from Mr. Smith of Boulogne, which had been sent from the Prince by Macnaughton; and which Mr. Smith had secreted, lest the other had been suspected and searched.

They contained the commissions and letters I had wrote for, and a letter from his Royal Highness, saying he was to set out from France in a short time with some money and arms, and expected to be in Scotland in the month of July; that he proposed to come to the island of Ouist, and would make such and such signals.

It will not be doubted, that this letter gave me great concern, as it was plain that had the packet, committed to Lord Traquair's care, been sent in time, his Royal Highness would not have attempted this enterprize so poorly provided. It likewise appeared, that though Mr. MacDonald arrived in France before his departure,[1] it was very improbable he would put off his voyage for the reasons I gave before: and though I did not doubt that such as had promised to join would still keep their words, yet I was afraid others might be backward, and that as soon as it was known he came without foreign assistance, it would hurt his affairs in the eye of the world.

I thought it likewise unlucky to be taken very ill of the ague, of which I had had two severe attacks that summer, and which now made me unable to bestir myself: but as it was absolutely necessary, that the Gentlemen of the Highlands should be immediately acquainted, I sent for Captain Graham of Braco, and begged of him to carry the Prince's letter to the Duke of Perth, and wrote to his Grace, begging him to send it by express to Lochyell, with directions to communicate it forthwith to Lord Lovat and Macleod, and desired his Grace would lose no time to make a proper disposition in that part of the country allotted to him.

The day after I dispatched this letter, I sent for Lord Ogilvy, and after putting him in mind of the strict attachment his family had always preserved to the house of Stewart, and how much it would redound to his honour to continue steadfast to the principles of his Ancestors and these he had hitherto professed, I told him the Prince would soon be in Scotland, and delivered him a letter and commission, appointing him Lord Lieutenant of Angus.

His Lordship seeming a little timorous and unwilling to engage, I said all in my power to encourage him; so having read the letter, he took the Commission, but said, though he accepted of it, yet I was not thereby to understand that he meant positively to engage: to which I replied that I was not vain enough to think any thing I could say would influence him, but hoped his own good sense, the love of his country, the principles of his family, and the honour the Prince had done him, would prevail with him to act a part which every body expected from him.

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[1] Young Glengarry did not see the Prince before he sailed.

After he was gone I reflected, that as he was young, should he communicate what had passed to some of his friends, especially his Lady's[1] relations, he might be dissuaded; or if he did not, yet it was possible he might overlook it as a matter of no great moment: so I sent for the reverend Mr. John Mackenzie, who had been his Tutor, and without telling him the particulars which had passed, I begged him to be frequently with his Lordship, to take every opportunity to inculcate the principles he had been taught, and shew him how prejudicial it would be to his character to take any steps opposite to what his family had hitherto done; observing that as the times then went it was very necessary, his Lordship being young, and just entering into the world, when men were most ready to forget their old way of thinking and adopt that of their company. Mr. Mackenzie, pleased to find me anxious about his late pupil, promised that no pains should be wanting on his part; and, I truly believe, was as good as his word.

The same evening I received a message from Sir Hector Macleane, by Colonel John Stewart, acquainting me with his arrival, and desiring to see me; but being unable to go abroad, I promised to wait on him next afternoon: and as soon as the Colonel was gone, reflecting that things now began to thicken, I thought it would be proper, in case of accidents, to put my papers out of the way; so after sealing them up, I committed them to the care of the reverend Mr. David Rae, letting him know the nature of them, and begging him to keep them concealed.

Next morning I went to Leith, and got a packet from Mr. Smith containing the letter and commission I had desired for the Duke of Hamilton; and upon my return to town went to wait upon Sir Hector Macleane, where I unexpectedly found

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[1] Lord Ogilvie married Margaret, daughter of Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall. She was imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh in June 1746, escaped to France in November of the same year, and died in 1757, aged thirty-three.

Mr. Blaw of Castlehill, notwithstanding I had desired him to keep in the country.

Sir Hector immediately acquainted me with the Prince's intended voyage, and the signals he was to make.

He said he was charged with a packet of letters to me, which was not to be opened till the Duke of Perth was present, and as he thought his going to Drummond Castle would be improper, desired me to write to his Grace to appoint a place of meeting, which I accordingly did that night by express, and by the return was desired to be at Linlithgow on the Wednesday following; but on the Tuesday morning[1] Sir Hector was most unfortunately taken into custody, and carried prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh.

People generally reflected upon Sir Hector for having appeared too publickly, without considering the remarkableness of his person, which made him liable to be taken notice of; but I am satisfied that, notwithstanding the excursion he made to Newhaven in company with Colonel Stewart and Mr. Hepburn of Keith, he would have been very safe if no innuendoes had been made to his Landlord, or had his Landlord been wise enough to keep his secret.

I will readily allow that he had done better not to have staid in town; but when I proposed his going to my house in the Country, he excused himself by saying that he had shoes and boots making, which he could not get done anywhere else, which would have been no good reason in any other man; and though I was much inclined to propose his having them sent after him, yet it would have been indelicate, as his natural lameness made it requisite to have them tried on; so that I was always of opinion his misfortune was chiefly owing to his landlord's blabbing to that worthless wretch Rutherford of Drury, who gave the information against him.

But to whatever unforeseen accident it was owing, I can safely say it was one of the greatest misfortunes that could have befallen the Prince at that time, as it might easily be made manifest that had he gone to the Highlands and joined his Royal Highness his army would have been much more numerous than it ever was: and if Macleod was capable of speaking truth, he would acknowledge that had Sir Hector seen him, which he was resolved to do, he would have had but one of two choices, either to turn out, as he had not only engaged to do to him when at Boulogne, but made him assure the King in his name, or be put to death, an alternative which Sir Hector resolved, and I fancy the other would not have chosen.

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[1] 5th June.

But to return to the day on which he was arrested. I was informed of it very early by my own servant, and immediately dispatched an express to prevent the Duke of Perth's coming to Linlithgow, which happened very luckily, as will be seen by what follows. About ten that morning, Mr. John Douglas, the Surgeon, came to see me, and talking of what had happened, amongst other circumstances said that two letters had been found in Sir Hector's pocket, one signed J. Barclay,[1] the other Barclay; and that one of them mentioned the writer's being ill of an ague, which prevented his waiting on him, but that he intended to take a vomit and the bark to enable him to go with him to Linlithgow on the Wednesday, where he would meet them. This Mr. Douglas alledged was the reason of his coming so early, imagining they were both written by me, the one had mentioned giving a description of my case, so thought to put me upon my guard in case it was, lest, as he expressed himself, a worse thing should befall me.

At first I endeavoured to laugh at it, seeming surprized that he should imagine the letters were written by me, and asked how he came by his intelligence: to which he replied, it was from Mr. Ross, the messenger. It immediately occurred that my safest way was to acknowledge it, and thereby put him upon his guard not to drop any thing to his acquaintances which might render me suspected, and which he might very naturally have done, if not put upon the secret. Besides, I thought, as this messenger was chiefly employed, Mr. Douglas might prevail with him to acquaint him should any other warrants be issued. So, having asked his word of honour not to mention to any body living what I was going to impart, I acknowledged myself the author of the letters, and begged he would see Mr. Ross, and engage him, in case he received a warrant against any body, to inform him before he put it in execution; and agreed, if there was one to apprehend me, he should immediately send me a key at whatever hour of the night or day it should happen.

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[1] Cf. p. 101.

To prevent any discovery by papers, in case I should be arrested, I sent for Mr. Macdougal, and made him dispatch a letter by express to Mr. David Scot of Houndhillshope in Tweddale, with the key of my Closet at Broughton, desiring he would go immediately to my house, where he would find a strong-box in the closet, which I begged he might carry with him and secrete, as it contained papers of a very dangerous nature.

I sent likewise for Mr. Allan Cameron of the Dutch Brigade, and proposed to employ some of his Recruits to rescue Sir Hector should he be sent from Edinburgh, but met with little encouragement from him.

I staid in town that day, and having considered that Sir Hector's being taken might discourage the Highlands, and the contents of the packet which was seized at the same time not being known, nor any person to give orders to observe the signals the Prince was to make, I resolved to go myself, and accordingly went next day in a chaise to Mr. Macleod's of Nuik, where I staid the day following; and being informed by him that Mr. Smith had orders from the King to pay some money to Sir James Campbell, and that it was proper he should have it as soon as possible, I wrote a letter to Mr. Smith by Mr. Campbell, grandson to Sir James, begging he would pay the money to him, which he did.

As that young Gentleman belonged to one of the additional companies quartered at Perth, and seemed very loyal, I proposed his joining with Lord Nairn, who designed to have raised some men in that country to surprize the troops at Perth, and prevent their joining or being joined with those North or South of that place, which he faithfully engaged to do, but afterwards failed in, and even acted with great violence on the other side.

The following evening, I went to Hamilton, and delivered the Prince's letter and commission to the Duke, which he accepted with great chearfullness, and said, he was ready to do every thing that depended upon him to forward the Cause: and having told him a scheme I had formed to interupt the return of the express which had gone to London upon Sir Hector Macleane's being arrested, and that I had no horse fit for the expedition, begged he would furnish me with one; to which he answered, that he had not one in his stable capable to undergo the fatigue, but had sent his groom that day to buy one from Mr. (now Sir) James Dunbar of Mochrum,[1] and if it was proper I should have it; but next morning, I found the groom had not bought the horse.

From thence I went to Sir James Steuart's, and informed him of what had happened with the letters and instructions I had received from the Prince.

Lord Cardross[2] (now Earl of Buchan) happened to be there at this time, and as he had professed a regard for the King's interest, Sir James proposed he should be present, as there was nothing of that kind but what he might hear: and his Lordship having joined us, I informed him of the contents of the Prince's letter, and read a copy of the King's Declaration and Manifesto, of which they both declared their approbation.

I then told them, as I despaired of being able to rescue Sir Hector Macleane, I proposed to interupt the return of the express which had been sent with the papers that were taken from him, imagining I might thereby learn the contents of the packet, or at least understand if the ministry had got any light into our affairs, and thereby be able to prevent any orders they sent being put in execution: and the same evening returned as far as Livingston, six miles West of Edinburgh.

As I had reason to believe my servant John Bain[3] (now vintner in Borowstounness) a very trusty man, and in whom I might repose confidence, I asked him some leading questions to know, if he would undertake a thing in which there was a good deal of danger and difficulty, and finding him willing to attempt any thing I could desire, I told him honestly, that it was an affair of the utmost consequence to me and many people, whom he knew I conversed with, and might cost him his life if taken in the attempt, so bid him consider seriously, but having answered briskly that he would risque any thing I should require of him, I gave him a letter to Mr. Macdougal,[1] with one inclosed for Captain Graham of Braco begging him to meet me at Calder next day.

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[1] 3rd baronet, an advocate, died 1781.

[2] Henry David Erskine, 10th Earl of Buchan, b. 1710, d. 1767.

[3] Cf. pp. 295 and 483.

I told him, that Mr. Macdougal would give him money, with which he should buy the best horse he could find in town, and then set out by the post road to Belford one stage beyond Berwick, and wait there the return of the express, and as soon as it arrived to pretend an excuse to be gone, to take his letters from him betwixt that and Berwick, tye the boy, cut the girth of the sadle and carry off the bridle, to drive the horse a little way along the sands, then cross the country to my house through Teviotdale, where he might take a fresh horse, and send the one he rode to Lord Kenmure's, and then continue his journey to Lochyell's house in Lochaber, where he would find me.

Next day, Captain Graham met me at Calder, and brought a letter which Mr. Macdougal had received from Mr. Scot, saying if he did not immediately send for his cask of Rum (meaning the box of papers) he would stave it, and positively preserve it no longer than that evening the 10th of June.

It will easily be imagined that this letter made me very uneasy, as the box contained the Cypher by which I wrote to the King and Prince, with all the letters I had received, and copies of such as I had sent, together with a short journal of all that had passed from the time of my being first engaged in the King's service, and likewise a full account of the whole, which I had made out that summer from my memory and the short journal.

I had the strongest inclinations to go immediately to that Gentleman's house the same night, but as it was above 20 computed miles distant, through a wild boggy country, the roads extremely deep by the excessive rains which had fallen for some days before, my horse jaded, and myself very weak, I found it would be impossible to get there in time. And indeed I could not allow myself to believe, that he would either be so groundlessly frightened as he seemed by his letter, or capable of breaking open a chest to destroy papers of that nature, especially as he had always appeared a friend and welwisher to the Party, and had been so cautious as to bury it in his Garden and planted Cabbages above it (as I have been since well assured). I therefore concluded, that Captain Graham should upon his return to town in the evening desire Mr. Macdougal to write to him by express, and beg he might bury the box (not knowing then that he had done so) and thereby free himself of any uneasiness he was under from having it in his house.

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[1] Murray's brother-in-law.

My principal view of desiring this meeting with Captain Graham was, to try if any method could be fallen upon to postpone the departure of the Dutch Recruits, there being then about 2000 men ready to sail from the Firth of Forth, many of them Highlanders: and as the Prince was soon expected, I had formed this scheme. There being many of the Officers well affected to the cause, I projected, that in case of his landing before their departure, they should either be persuaded to desert and join, or make offer of their service to General Cope, and when once armed, make themselves masters of Edinburgh and the regiment quartered in the Canongate.

If those who were quartered upon the coast of Fife were not brought over, they might march to Perth: but as this was an affair of the most delicate nature, I only proposed to protract their voyage, till the Prince landed, without mentioning my scheme of offering their service or deserting, lest a sudden proposal of that nature should have deterred them, and perhaps hastened their departure.

Captain Graham frankly promised, that nothing should be wanting on his part: but said, he was afraid, if the transports were once victualled, and the convoy arrived, nothing but contrary winds would detain them.

I went next day to Kippen, and from thence to Drummond Castle, where I staid till the evening following, and then set out for Lochaber: but being afraid lest my going at that time should create suspicion in the country people, being alarmed at Sir Hector Macleane's being taken into custody, and as they are naturally an artfull inquisitive people shrewdly suspected that there was more intended than they could learn, I went under a borrowed name, and pretended to be come from England to buy wood.

The second night I reached Keppoch's house, and after talking to him about the Prince's scheme (for Lochyell had informed him of the contents of the letter) and the situation of the Country, I begged him to get things in as much forwardness, as the time and circumstances would permit.

I set out next day to Lochyell's house at Achnacarry, but being known there by all the family, I stopped at an Inn about a mile from the house, and sent a Gentleman, who had gone with me as a guide, to acquaint Lochyell of my arrival.

He soon after met me in his garden, and told me, he had received the letter by express from the Duke of Perth, and sent it by his brother (the Doctor) to Lord Lovat, with whom Macleod then was, and expected he would return the next day.

Having asked him what was his opinion, he answered that he had not looked upon the letter as very material, not imagining the Prince was yet determined to come to Scotland, having had no prior intelligence from him for so many months, nor any accounts from Lord Traquair; which he could not allow himself to think would have been the case, had he been resolved to come over, as the English would have been informed of it, and acquainted us by Traquair what part they were to act.

I then repeated every particular circumstance which had happened from the time of his leaving Edinburgh, in the month of February, especially the fate of the letters sent by Traquair: and argued from thence, that his coming was certain, his letter being so explicit as even to mention the signals he intended to make, and likewise from his having sent Sir Hector Macleane before with dispatches, and orders about the signals.

I also observed, that though Traquair had failed us, yet there was no reason to doubt the English would appear: they had been long engaged in the affair, had given assurances the year before; and therefore it was not to be imagined they had so little regard for their own honour as to sit still, if he was once amongst them: nor was it to be doubted but their agents had informed him of every thing that had passed, though Traquair had said nothing to us. If this resolution to land in Scotland was disagreeable to them, they would most certainly have made remonstrances against it; and would likewise have acquainted us not to depend upon them.

I then freely gave it as my opinion, that considering his Royal Highness had advertised his friends here of his design so many months before, and though they had objected to his coming without troops, yet they nevertheless engaged to join him; so taking things in that light, I did not see how they could in honour excuse themselves: it was true indeed, that as the packet had never reached him, his coming could not proceed from these assurances; yet he knew very well I had informed him of his resolution, and as they had sent no positive message to prevent him, that, together with the many repeated offers of their service, was sufficient to make him rely on their assistance: that I looked upon myself as indispensably obliged, though no more bound than any of them, to join, and was determined to do it as soon as I should hear of his arrival, let what would be the event: and concluded by saying, that I would endeavour to influence him nor no man, further than was my duty, though I must be allowed to have my own way of thinking of every one who flinched after having so deeply engaged.

To this he replied, that he was extremely glad I was come, not having considered things in that light; and in case I had not, he should have thought no more of it, nor would he have given any orders to observe the signals, or receive him upon his landing.

He then acknowledged he did not see how any man of honour could get off, especially those who had been the first movers of the whole; for allowing that his coming to France, from whence this expedition proceeded, was owing to Bohaldy's having represented things in a wrong light, and as though he was their agent and might be disowned by them; yet it could be no reason for refusing to join the Prince, especially as he was to throw himself naked into their arms, and thereby shew the entire confidence he had in them : so, for his own part, he would not delay one moment to give him all the assistance in his power.

Next day Doctor Cameron returned, and informed us that he had taken an opportunity to shew the letter to Lord Lovat and Macleod together : that Lovat, before he had made an end of reading it, said in a passion, that he should not be allowed to land, and that if he did, by G—d no man should join him : that upon this, Macleod stopped him, desiring he would not be in such a hurry ; saying he did not look upon things to be so bad, nor was he to be used in that manner, and that they ought seriously to consider of it ; and that after much conversation, they proposed a letter should be written, dissuading him from landing.

This answer was so odd and unexpected, that Lochyell and I were at a loss what to think, especially of Lovat, who had been a chief mover of the whole, and had procured the conditions upon which he engaged to join : at least he had the assurance of his patent from Bohaldy ; and had been informed of the arrival of his Commissions of Lord Lieutenant and Lieutenant General, though Lochyell had delayed delivering them, as his Lordship was very apt to be careless about his papers, and to communicate his greatest secrets to Frazer of Gortuleg, a man of very bad character, and by no means fit to be trusted with any thing of that kind.

Lochyell was of opinion, notwithstanding this strange behaviour, that considering how deeply he was dipt, and his eager professions of readiness to appear in arms, this was only a sudden sally, and that he would nevertheless join, when he saw his neighbours take the field.

He declared he could not believe that a man at his years would still continue to act the double part, but was rather inclined to think, that he would take this opportunity to clear himself of all the aspersions the Party had thrown upon him, and end his days with credit, as the only way to persuade the world of the truth of what he often asserted, that if he had a mind to open his breast, he could vindicate himself against the many heavy charges laid against [him], and prove that he had all along acted from a principle to serve the Royal Family.

He likewise further gave it as his opinion, that his Lordship had already gone such lengths, that, did things come to an open rupture, his appearing seemed to be the only chance he had to save himself.

As to Macleod he did not at all hesitate, or in the least doubt of his joining, both from his behaviour at Lovat's, and his voluntary engagements at Edinburgh, when there was neither force nor obligation upon him, nor any great pains taken to persuade or entice him.

Though I had not so favourable an opinion of Lovat as Lochyell, and had great doubts of his future behaviour from this answer, yet I said little for fear of discouraging him.

I only observed, that his appearing, after he saw his neighbours in arms, would not be doing much to the purpose: that he had always bragged, if old Lovat turned out, all the Highlands would follow his example, as thinking it a going game: that the part of the Country he had engaged for would all be disheartened, finding him sit still; which would be a vast loss to the Prince, as a good appearance and brisk attack in the beginning was every thing in undertakings of that nature; and therefore desired, he should either see him, or write to him in the strongest terms possible.

As to Macleod, since he had seemingly behaved so well, I thought it would be proper for me to see him: so proposed to go to Glenelg and meet him there before he got to the Island of Skey to engage him to employ proper people upon the Island of Wuist to observe the Prince's arrival and answer his Signals; and from thence to cross the Country and endeavour to have a meeting with Young Clanronald.

This being agreed upon, it was next resolved to send an express to M'donald of Cappoch and Steward of Ardsheil and likewise to apply to Glengary who for very substantial reasons had not hitherto been let into the secret. I set out next morning in company with Doctor Cameron, Lochiels brother and John M'donald[1] son to the Laird of Scotus, and the evening following we reach'd that Gentleman's house in Knoydart,

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[1] Son of Æneas, his brother Donald fell at Culloden.

Here I acquainted his Eldest son with the reason of my journey, and as he did not think it advisable for me to go to Glenelg, lest I should be discovered by the Officers of the garrison at Bernera, and thereby create suspicion either of M'leod or myself, proposed my staying at his father's and leaving it to M'leod to appoint some other part of the Country where we would be less liable to be observed.

This advice was too just to be rejected, so I sent this Gentleman to acquaint M'leod with my being so far on my way to meet him together with my reasons for not comeing further and to beg him to appoint a place where we might have an interview. He returnd next evening with M'leod's compliments, saying he could not see me there without giving the Country occasion to suspect something more than common was in agitation, but desired I might come over to the Island of Sky where he was obliged to go next day.

To have comply'd with this request would manifestly have contradict the pretext upon which I came into the Country, and given reason to every body to suspect my errand, as none who came to purchase woods would go in search of them in that Island: besides, the Country was already sufficiently alarmed by Sir Hector M'leans being in custody, and as the inhabitants are naturally inquisitive, had I gone thither (which I could not have done unknown to y^{m}) it might have made a noise, and prevented my return to the low Country; so I concluded to go back to Lochiel and send Mr. M'donald to M'leod. Next day we took our different routs, having first enjoined him to tell M'leod that I was greatly disappointed in not seeing him, to give him my reasons for not comeing over, to inform him that the Party seemed ready to appear upon the Prince's landing, to know his resolution, to beg he might appoint proper people to observe the signals, and finally directed Mr. M'donald to follow me to Lochiel's house with his answer. In a few days he returned, and said that having executed his Commission, M'leod desired him to acquaint me, that he thought it would be proper I should write and inform His Royal Highness, that some of his freinds were of opinion he ought to return, but at the same time desired him to assure me, that did his Royal Highness persist in his resolution to Land, he would join him as he had promised, and if the letter was sent he would take care to have it delivered: he likewise promised to appoint a proper person to observe the signals, and concluded by saying, that tho he was hopefull his neighbour Sir Alexander M'donald might be prevailed upon to come to the same resolution yet he could not take it upon him to answer in his name.

Tho' I was far from thinking that it would be consistent with the Prince's dignity to return, could he be prevailed upon to do it, yet no blame might be laid to my charge, nor give any one occasion to say I had neglected to acquaint him with the sentiments of his freinds, I wrote a letter giving him an account of the Situation of the Country with Lord Lovat's and M'leod's Sentiments, of which after making a duplicate I show'd them to Lochiel, and delivered both to Mr. M'donald, desiring him to carry them to M'leod and prevail with him to employ two persons lest one should miss him.

As it was necessary for me to make as short a stay as possible my family being then at Edinburgh, and Clanronald being at a considerable distance, I found it would be very inconvenient to waite for a meeting with him, so beg'd Mr. M'donald that after he had seen M'leod, he would go to him, and let him know in what Situation things were, and that I was convinced he was too well enclined to require any entreaty to serve his Prince.

Having thus finished what was thought necessary in that part of the Country, Lochiel proposed I should have a meeting with M'pherson of Cluny on my way South, and use all means to gain him: not that either of us doubted his inclinations, for he was deeply engaged, and had alalong professed himself as much a friend and adherent to the house of Steward as any man in the Highlands, but having been made believe so often that things would come to a Crisis, yet still disappointed, he at length accepted of a Company in the Highland Regiment which was then raising;[1] so being openly engaged on the Side of the Government, it was necessary to be at some pains to remove any Scruples he might have of encurring the name of

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[1] Cluny was gazetted to Lord Loudon's Highland regiment on June 8th, 1745. Cf. Mr. Blaikie's *Itinerary*, p. 10.

Deserter, and now having done all in my power in Lochaber I left Lochiel's house in Company with Mr. Cameron of Dungallon * and went to Badenoch where I procured a meeting with Cluny at an Inn where he was busied in raising men for his Company.

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* This gentleman surrendered himself some time after the battle of Culloden to Gl. Campbell and was sent prisoner to the Castle of Edr. He had fortunately been of a party which I had sent to S^{r} James Campbell of Arkinlasses house in Stirlingshire to protect it when the Army marchd South, and as he was a sweet blooded young fellow and behaved very civilly the protection was attributed to him whereby he procured the interest of that family and of almost[1]

[Here the MS. breaks off.]

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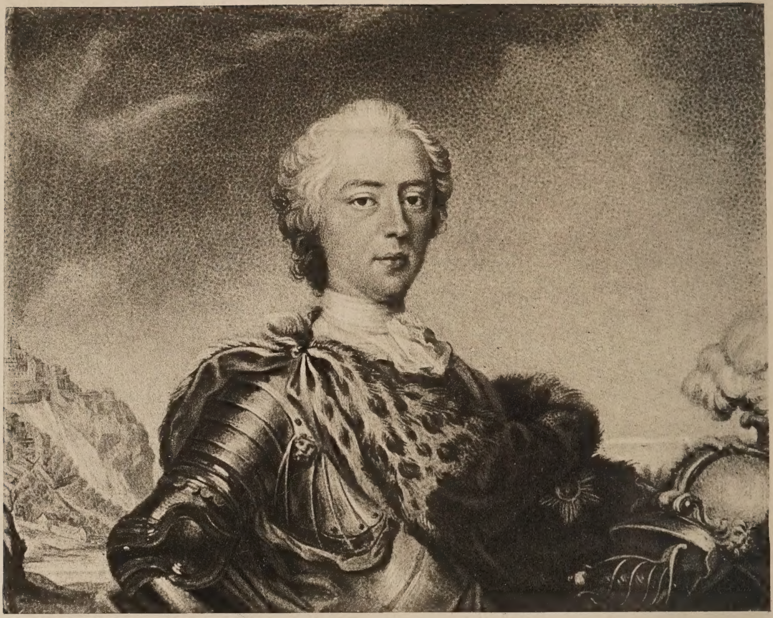
[1] This note is in Murray's handwriting.

PART II

THE EXPEDITION
FROM THE PRINCE'S LANDING TO HIS ARRIVAL AT DERBY



Walker & Boutall ph. sc.

PRINCE CHARLES, æt. 24.

From a miniature painted in Paris, formerly the property of James Edgar, Secretary to the Chevalier de St. George, now in the possession of the Hon. J. D. Edgar, Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons.

PART II

THE EXPEDITION FROM THE PRINCE'S LANDING TO HIS ARRIVAL AT DERBY[1]

On the day of [2] the P landed from on board a French frigate in Loch [3] in the Country of Arrisick, belonging to Mᶜdonald of Clanronald, and took up his residence in the house of one Angus Mᶜdonald a Substantial farmer in these parts and descended from the family of Clanronald. His first care was to have the frigate sail to a small bay in the Country of Moydart, about a mille from Mᶜdonald of Kinlochmoydart's

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* After the Engagement betwixt the *Lion* and *Elizabeth* the Chevalier, firmly resolved upon his voyage, made all the Sail he could for Scotland, and the day of made the Isle of N. Wuist, where he went a Shoar and received letters from Mʻdonald of Boisdale which had been brought by Mr. Murray of B. some weeks before, when in the Highlands, where he went to acquaint the Chevalier's friends with his intended Landing and the Signals he was to make upon the Coast. Mr. Mʻdonald took the liberty to object to his undertaking, and advised him very strenuously, tho' in a manner not over polite, to return to france; but the Chevalier, far from altering a resolution he had for so long before determined upon, gave no Ear to what was offered, and Stiffleing his resentment at so unexpected and unmannerly a Solicitation, sailed from thence the , and arrived in Loch Naan upon the Coast of Arrisag the , where he went ashoar and took up his quarters in the house of one Ang. Mʻdonald, a Substantial farmer and descended of the familly of Clanronald.[4]

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[1] Before compiling the *Itinerary* (Scottish History Society, vol. xxiii.) Mr. Blaikie examined Murray's MSS. Murray's dates were in several instances found to differ from those of other contemporary writers. The fact that Murray has left even the date of the Prince's landing blank in his MS. seems to indicate that after the lapse of years his memory was uncertain, and when he does give a date it must therefore be received with caution.

I am content to refer readers of the *Memorials* to Mr. Blaikie's *Itinerary*, knowing that whenever Mr. Blaikie has discarded Murray's guidance he has done so with good reason.

[2] July 25, 1745.

[3] Lochnanuagh.

[4] This seems an alternative first paragraph. The MS. gives them in parallel columns.

house, where there was greater conveniency of landing the Stores he had brought along with him than at the place where he had come ashore. It was likewise attended with many other advantages as to Situation, first in being nigh to this gentleman's house who was a leading man in those parts and from whom all reasonable assistance was to be expected. Secondly, it was Centrical to the M^c^donalds and M^c^leods of the Isle of Skey, the M^c^donalds of Knoydart and morror[1] on the one hand and people of Suenart and Arnamurchan on the other, and pretty nigh opposite to the most of the Islands from whence he had reason to expect assistance, and lastly but two milles distance from Loch Sheil by which he might transport his Stores and heavy baggage within twelve milles of Fort William, formerly called Inverlochy, from its Situation att the mouth of the River of Lochy, which emptys its self att this place in to an arm of the sea. He had no soonner given orders for the frigate to sail for the above mentioned bay, and to put the arms and amunition ashore, than he gave immediate intelligence to M^r^ Cameron of Locheil of his landing, desiring to see him. This Gentleman, whose zeal and attachment to his interest had always been as conspicuous as any of his predecessors, did not hesitate one moment to answer his Summons but repaired thither immediately and assurred him of his readiness to join him with his followers, notwithstanding he was of opinion that he had comed in too private a way to give great hope of Success should any of the persons fail who had engaged to join him, which was not impossible they might do upon pretence of his having no seeming assistance from abroad, and upon the whole advised that he should for some time lay quiete till he knew what force he might depend upon. But told him that it would be necessary he should for some time keep private, till his friends had put themselves in a Capacity to join him, which they could not do immediately, being unprovided with many things necessary of such an enterprise, that there was great scarcity of provisions in the Country the former year's Crop having failed them and that as none of the heads of Tribes had been let into the Secret it would be necessary to have them Conveened and proper instructions given them to assemble their followers and depends, all which would not be done on a sudden. But the Chevalier easily forseeing the bad consequences that must attend a delay, a proceeding which did not att all suite with his enterprising genius, and who was perfectly well instructed in the nature of the Highlanders, knew how dangerous it was to give them time to reflect upon the dangers of the undertaking. And alledged that his affairs would admit of no delay, that the generality of mankind ought not to be allowed time to reflect on the dangers they were about to undergo which often rendered them cautious if not timerous and unfitt to act with that vigour and resolution that such an undertaking required. Too mature a reflection might make them cool and languid and prevent many from joining who would otherwise appear and if once in the feild let their inclinations be never so strong would nevertheless be ashamed to go back; besides, it would be impossible to keep his Landing any time a Secret, which might enable the government to take such measures as effectually to prevent his Scheme and oblige him to return to france; but in all events they would thereby have it in their power to assemble their troops and did they march into the Country they would so surprise, disperse, and overawe the inhabitants that they would be with great difficulty brought into the feild. The success of his enterprise depended chiefly upon expedition, and the news of a sudden juuction with a bold march Southwards would not only surprise but greatly intimidate his Enemys. Upon the whole whatever their numbers were their safety depended upon an immediate declaration. The Chevalier had another and more powerfule reason to enduce, which would have created a Coolness destructive of all his designs, and att the same time being sensible that in every undertaking of so hazardous a nature the outmost expedition was to be used to strick a terror into the Enemy, and prevent the salutary measures that time would enable them to take. It being impossible to keep his Descent long a secret, att the same time he had another reason to enduce him to a speedy appearance which tho private and not proper to be communicated to his freinds was nevertheless the most ergent of any. Tho the French Court had not thought proper to assist him openly by sending over forces alongst with him, yett they was acquainted with his designe and the assurances he had justly given them of the number of freinds he had in the Country (at least such as had professed their readyness to join him, tho they afterwards shamefully betrayed him) rendered an immediate appearance necessary not only to confirm the truth of what he had advanced, but to encourage them to send him assistance with the greater dispatch. For these, and such other good reasons, he rejected all proposals of this kind and as the most effectual means whereby to enduce to a speedy appearance he had his arms, ammunition etc. landed with all possible dilligence, and furthwith dispatched the frigate whereby all hopes of his return vanishd, picked his real freinds to give the more speedy and immediate assistance, and confirmed those who were in doubt, being ashamed to break their promise and incited by his superior resolution. And here I must be allowed to observe that nothing has so great an effect upon brave and generous minds as when a person appears to despise their own private safety when in competition with the good of their country. Had the Chevalier seemed in the least daunted by the apparent caution of his freinds, or agreed to their not raising in arms for some time and keep'd the ship hovering of the coast for a retreat, it is more than probable that the interest L[ord] L[ovat], S^{r} A[lexander] M^{c}Donald with M^{c}C[leod] had with the others, together with the many dangers that would have occurred to them every day would have oblidged him att last to return after a fruitless attempt and if not rendered him despicable in the Eyes of foreigners would att least have enduced them to believe that he had no freinds and had been foolish enough to undertake a thing of such vast consequence to himself and country without any proper encouragement, so ready are menkind to judge and conjecture of the actions of others tho entirly ignorant of their motives. This slip made Locheil with M^{c}Donald of Keppoch, Clanronald, Stewart of Ardsheil with principal gentleman of Glengarys familly to agree to have their people in arms in two weeks after and the Rendezvous was appointed att Glenphinnen, a small place att the head of Locheil upon the day of .[1]

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[1] Morar.

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[1] 19th August.

After the Chevalier had made some few days stay in Arriseck, where M^{c}donald younger of Clanronald had joined him, he sett out for M^{c}donald of Kinlochmoyderts where he had ordered his stores, and att the same time dispatched young Clanronald with letters and instructions to S^r Alex^r M^{c}donald and the Laird of M^{c}cleod to acquaint them with his designs and desire them to raise their followers with all diligence possible and to know what number of arms they would require and desiring their opinion in regard to his future motions. If the first of these two gentlemen had not been bitterly enveyd [inveighed] against by the Chevaliers party for not joining of him, I should have esteemd it sufficient only to have said that he disapproved of his undertaking as desperate and therefor did not think himself under any obligation from principle alone to join him however weak a reason it must in its self appear to every man of real principle whose indispensible duty it is in such like cases to give all the assistance in his power to the Person he esteems his prince; yett as I have no other view in writting this narrative than to give a distinct and true account of an affair that has made so much noise in Europe, it would be unfair to the world, as well as unjust to the memorys and characters of some individuals, not to observe the different motives that enduced them to act the different parts they did,—and to show the world how unjust they are to envolve one man in the same infamy and reproach with another when nothing so much to blame. I must therefor do S^r Alex^r M^{c}donald the justice to say that the winter preceeding the Chevaliers landing when a letter was conveyed to him from him desiring his assistance in his intended expedition he denyed making any possitive promise but said how soon he saw a well concerted scheme he would readyly not only to join him himself but endeavour to procure the assistance of as many of his neighbours as he could, and I can say with certainty that from that time he came under no further engagement; att the same time that I do him this justice, I hope the world will not from thence infer that I in the smallest degree approve of his future behaviour. I should be sorry to have so bad an opinion of mankind as to think any of them cappable of attempting an apologie for him.

But to return to what passed att the meetting betwixt that gentleman the Laird of M^{c}leod and Clanronald. After our young Ambassader deliverd his letters and enforced his instructions with what arguments occurrd to him, S^{r} Alex^{r} told him in a few words that tho nobody wished better to the Chevaliers cause than he did, yett [he] must be excused to think that his scheme had not been well concerted, that he saw no probability of Success and therefor declard once for all that he would not join but was of opinion that he ought to return, to which Clanronald answered that, that was what the Chevalier had declared he never would do but rather try his fate with a hundred men, and then acquainted him with his own resolution to join him whatever might be the consequences. The Laird of M^{c}leod, who has since rendered himself so famous by his unprecedented behaviour, conscious to himself how solemnly he was engaged by frequent promises, did not then care to resile, but took occasion upon S^{r} Alex^{r} leaving the room to tell Clanronald that he was heartily sorry that his freind could not be prevaild upon, and tho he disaproved of the Enterprise in the manner it was now undertaken, and could wish that the Chevalier could be perswaded to return, yett never the less, if he continued firm in his resolution to stay, that he would join him, tho it would be impossible for him to gett his people together in so short a time as was proposed, many of them being in the Isles att a considerable distance, and begd to hear from him so soon as he had returned to the Chevalier, together with his fixed resolution. Upon the Chevaliers arrival att Kinlochmoydart's house he dispatched him [*i.e.* Kinlochmoidart] to the D[uke] of P[erth] to advise him of his landing, and orders to acquaint Mr. M. of B. to come to him ; but before he could reach Perthshire the Duke was gone of to the north with a design to transport himself to France, having little before made his escape from M^{r} Campbell of Inveraw, Cap^{t} of an Independant Company of Highlanders, and here it may not be amiss to give an account of that story, which made so much noise till dround in the superior sound of the Chevalier's landing.

In the beginning of the month of June S^{r} Hecter M^{c}lean was taken into custody att Ed^{r}, and, as was given out, a letter found upon him signd Barclay, mentioning an appointment which he, Barclay, had procured for him att Linlithgow with the D., by which the justice Clerk,[1] it seems, understood was meant the Duke of Perth, and which the ministrey likewise seemed to agree in, having sent orders to have him apprehended. The justice Clerk did accordingly ishue a warrant to have him seised, but as he had bafled all their endeavours to apprehend him the year before, several parties haveing been sent to his house and other places in the country for that purpose, they were now resolved to use more artfull means to gett him into their hands. With this view the warrant was given to Cap^{t} Campbell of Inveraw, whose company was then quartered att a small village called Menethell,[2] about two miles from Drummond Castle. Cap^{t} Campbell, that his comeing to the Dukes house might give him no cause of suspition, apply'd to S^{r} Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre, who had a little before gott one of the new raised independent companys, to introduce him to the Duke. S^{r} Patrick, to fulfil his engagement, sent his compliments to know if the Duke intended to dine att home att the distance of two three days after, when he intended to waite of him and bring Cap^{t} Campbell along with him to dinner. The Intimacy in which the D. and he had always lived did not permett him to suspect any bad design, so returnd his compliment, and that they should be very welcome. Accordingly upon the day appointed they came to the house, when they were very kindly received, and Cap^{t} Campbell, to make himself still the surer of his prey, had ordered his company to march from their former quarters to a place called Drumond Earnoch, upon pretence of scarcity of provisions, with directions to stop in one of the enclosures behind the house, that he might have an opportunity of perswading the Ladies and the D. to see them when drawn up, and then secure him. They nevertheless rejected the proposal, tho made to them several times, and att last sitt down to dinner, which when ended Cap^{t} Campbell desired to speak with the Duke in another room, his company still continuing under arms, as I mentioned before. How soon they were together, the Cap^t told him that he was very sorry to have received such disagreable orders, but that he was under the necessity of obeying them, and oblidged to tell him that he was now his prisoner; to which the D. answered, without showing the least concern, that there was no help for it, since it must be so, but desired he might first allow to speak with his freind Sir Patrick, to which the other readily aggreed, and upon going to the dinning[-room] where S^r P. was, the Duke, in complisance, put Cap^t before him, and took that opportunity running out att a private door into the wood, upon which Campbell called out, by G—d S^r P. he's gone, and they immediatly left the house, and sending a number of the solgers to search the wood, road of themselves to endeavour to intercept in case of his having left the wood. He by this time had got clear of the Park, and having accidentally mett with a little Highland horse, gave the woman it belonged to some money, and without a sadle, having no bridle, but what in Scottland they call branks upon its head, made the best of his way to a neighbouring gentleman's house, and on the road observed the Cap^t and Sir P. not fifty yards from him, making streight to the village of Creif, where they imagined he would go. Having escaped in this surprising manner, and the time appointed for the Chevalier's landing being some weeks past, despairing of his arrival, and sensible how dangerous it was for him to stay longer in a country where he was become a kind of outlaw, he determined to go over to France, and with that view went to the north, where he was bussied in procuring a ship to transport him, when Kinlochmoydart came and procured one of his own servants to be sent in queste of him.

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[1] Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, b. 1692, d. 1766, nephew of Andrew Fletcher of Salton; succeeded Erskine of Grange as Lord Justice Clerk in 1735.

[2] Muthill.

A letter was immediatly dispatchd to Mr. Murray of B., then att his own house, where he had been for some weeks very much upon his guard against a surprise, haveing gott intelligence * that a warrant was ishued to apprehend him, and had sleepd for three weeks with loaded Pistoles by his bedside. He received the letter on Saturday morning the of Jully, and after having conveyd away

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* How far this piece of intelligence was well founded I cannot aver.

two *large Boxes*, containing the Chevalier's Manifestos,* which he had procured to be printed some time before in Edinburgh, and secured a parcel of Arms he had likewise privately provided, sett out in the evening, and sleep'd two three hours att a gentleman's † house about sixteen milles of, who he acquainted with the reason of his journey, and instructed him to go and acquaint some of the Chevaliers freinds with his arrival, and to desire their advice upon some particulars, with instructions likewise to forward to him a portmanteau full of the Manifestos. He than sett out early in the morning, and after staying several hours att a relations house, he crosed the River forth att Higgansneuck, and went to Fairntown, the seat of L[ord] J[ohn] D[rummond], uncle to the D. of P., where he was told that Kinlochmoydart was then att Mr. Buchannan of Arranpriers,[1] about ten milles distance. Thither he went without sleeping, and after talking to Mr. M^{c}donald, who was charged with a sum of French money to gett changed, the Chevalier having no guineas, he dispatch'd a gentleman ‡ to a freind of his att Ed^r to have it changed, with other private instructions, but tho his presence in the Highlands was very much wanted, he nevertheless found it necessary to stay there some days. There was a gentleman in that Country who had had considerable offers made him, provided he would play the spey upon the D. of P., which, tho he was far from inclining to accept of, yett would not seem entirely refuse, but chose rather to appear their freind, whereby to gett into their confidence. As there was great reason to believe that the servants of the Government at Ed^r had been advertised of the Chevalier's landing, it was judged necessary to blind them as much as possible, and no body was found so fitt as the above

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* *N.B.*—Tho M. M. procured these manifestos to be printed at Edr. and severals concerned in it, yet who was the printer of the others still remains a secret.

† *N.B.*—This gentleman, with those he was to apply to and the advice they gave, is as much a secret as the former.

‡ *N.B.*—This gentleman with his freind at Edr. who procured the exchange of the money, and the person who did change, are equally unknown to ye government.

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[1] Arnprior

gentleman, who had been in Town with the then [Lord] advocate[1] and S^r^ J[ohn] C[ope] a few days before, in relation to the D. of P., who they still imagined to be in that part of the country where the Independant Companys were searching every corner for him. M^r^ M., to effectuate this scheme, att first hinted att by Arran, sent for M^c^g.;[2] and after seeming to put great confidence in his attachment to the Chevalier, assured him of his being landed, and showed him of what consequence it would be to his interest could a methode be faln upon to deceive the Ministry for a little time, that he had formed a scheme which he was the only person could execute with suitable address, being in favour with the Advocate and G[eneral] C[ope], and did he accept, he might depend not only upon his favour, but ample acknowledgement of reward from the Chevalier, but upon the wholle he would refer all to his superior judgement. Mr. M^c^g., far from being unsusceptable of flatterry, irregardless of his own private interest, readily assented, and had a paper dictated to him to the following purpose:

That he M^c^g. upon his return from Ed^r^ had gott intelligence that the Chevalier with some others had landed from a ship in the country of Arreseck, upon which he immediately went to one M^r^ D[rummond] of Cow who had formerly been Steward to the Duke of P., and was in great favour with all his adharents, and that this gentleman far from suspecting of him had told him that M^c^D[onald] of Glen[garry] the younger, and M^c^D[onald] the Banqueer att P[aris], had landed in the west with leters from the Chevalier to the gentlemen in the Highlands, and that they had sent an express for M^r^ M.* who had sett out from his own house the Saturday before, and was to meet with them somewhere in the country of Rannoch, that the Chevalier was

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* Mr. M. thought it necessary to put in this particular concerning himself to enduce them to believe the wholle, it being in their power to know the truth of his journey in a few hours.

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[1] Robert Craigie, born about 1685; Lord Advocate 1742-1746; Lord President 1754-1760.

[2] James More MacGregor or Drummond, son of Rob Roy. Cf. Mr. Blaikie's *Itinerary*, p. 7.

then actually incognito att S^{t} Omers in Flanders, and that M^{r} D. was exulting prodigiously that the government had such bad intelligence. And then instructed him to make them the following proposal. That, as in all probability the Cheifs would not be upon their guard, if they would give him orders to the Commanding officers of Fort William and Fort Augustus to have what parties he should demand from their Garrisons, he would engage to seise Locheil, Glengary, etc. The view M^{r} M. had in making this proposal was to concert matters, so when he gott to the Highlands, that in case M^{c}g. procured the order, a body of men might be concealed nigh both the forts so as to be able to render them masters of them when weakened by the Parties drawn of by M^{c}g., and in all events, if that should not succeed, they would have it in their power to make the parties prisoners. Having dispatched M^{c}g. with particular instructions to see no body but G[eneral] C[ope] and the Advocate, and to value himself much upon his intelligence and dilligence to return soonner than they could reasonably have expected, with a view to draw them the more easily into his Lure, he than judged it necessary to give timeous intelligence to some of the Chevalier's frends in the low country who he could the most depend upon. For this purpose he wrote a letter to a Gentleman of that Country, as if having orders from the Chevalier so to do, but being oblidged to leave that Country before the gentleman could come he left a list of the persons to be acquainted with directions, not only who were proper to advertise the other but those who were the most likely to prevail with their friends to be in readiness when an opportunity should offer to join. He likewise wrote to some people who he had previously engaged to give money, begging them to have their several sums ready. He then concerted a scheme with a Gentleman in the neighbourhood who was a very resolute and enterprising genius, to to make the D. of Ar[gyll] prisoner, who it was then imagined intended to go to his house at Inverarray, And lastly, engaged Arran to send a small vessel with some hundred bolls of oate meal to where the Chevalier then was, the Country being very much stretned att that season.*

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* Upon the whole of this storey it is necessary to observe that till this day ye government is ignorant of any of the particulars or the persons

Having thus settled matters there in the best manner the time would allow off, he sett out about four in the Evening for Fairntown, where he sleep'd all night, and next morning in Company with Kinlochmoydart begun their journey to the Highlands, and the third day about dinner time arrived att Achnacarry, Locheils house, having sleepd the night before att Kappoch. The day following they reached the head of Lochsheil, where they stayed all night, and next afternoon gott to Kinlochmoydarts house where the Chevalier still was. The Chevalier had been all this time busied in incitting his freinds to gett their people together, and to have his arms and amunition, &c., convey'd from the place where they were landed to his own quarters, which notwithstanding his own continual care and industry, was a great whille of being accomplished, so superiorly indolent and Idle are the people of that part of the Country. Mr. Walsh the gentleman who commanded the Frigate had met with two ships loadened with oat meal off the Island of Skey, which he sent in to the Bay from whence he saild to provide the Chevaliers army, but notwithstanding the absolute unpossibility there was to procure bread for the men in that season of the year and the easy access there was from the place of landing to the Loch of Sheil, he could not procure one Boll of it to be carried to the place of Rendezvous, so that in spite of all the care he could take of two ship loads of oat meal and flouer, infinitely more than his army could have destroyd

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concerned, save he who carried the message. Had this been inform'd of by M., there would have been no occasion to streach the law to so unprecedented a lenth as in the case of the unhappy Arran Prier, whos superior good sense alone seems to have been the cause of his fall. A great deal more could be said to prove how much this gentleman, as well as numbers of others yet unknown, was in M.'s power, but as these transactions with Arn. preceded the Chevalier's landing they would be improper to mention at this time, tho' when a more favourable time offers the whole proceedings of the party from ye year 1738-9,[1] at which time M. was first employed, will be made publick to the rash judging world, it will then appear, as they say in Scotland, who's arse is blackest with who was the most able, dilligent, and honest servant, and who deserves the most regard from the Party.

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[1] From this it appears that Part I. was written subsequently.

durring their stay in the Highlands, there were only about Sixty Bolls ever went out of Clanronalds Country.*

As Mr. M. had been long employd in his affairs and was the best acquainted with the dispositions of the people, he was immediately upon his arrival desired to say what he thought was the most proper step to be taken. He accordingly † gave in a list of such persons as he thought ought to be wrote to, either to persuade them to join who had already previously engaged themselves, or to such who had not, for prudential reasons, been lett into the secret, but might possibly join, or give money, with some others as a polite perswasive to act a neutral part. He likewise advised that a person should be sent over to Holland, not only to sound some of the Dutch officers of the Scotts Brigade,‡ but in case they was found inclinable to serve the Chevalier, to have proper Authority to make such agreement with them as should be thought necessary, and as there was then one of these Regiments in garrison at Sleuse,[1] it would have been no difficult matter had any number of officers been gaind, to have made themselves masters of the ships in the Harbour, and transported themselves to Aberdeen or any other convenient port in the north. He proposed likewise that the person so sent should have authority (in case the Govern^{t} of England made a demand of the six thousand Dutch

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* This particular, which may seem of no great consequence, would not have been mentioned here had it not been to show the unjust complaints made by that Clan, as if they had been the chief sufferrers from the Chevaliers expedition, when as, in fact, they were the people cheifly benefited by it.

† Of above thirty letters, some of them to people immediately in the government's service, others pretended freinds to them, it has not appeard yt M. mentioned one, so we shall only leave the world to judge what a scene such a discovery must have made; nor would we have mentioned this particular fear of giving suspition, had not the behaviour of these particulars towards M. been so remarkably ungratfull.

‡ *N.B.*—It don't appear that any of the gentlemen in the Brigade have been hindered in their preferm^{t}, which we must allow would not have been the case had M. mentioned them to the Ministry, and that he could mention we are not to doubt, as he never would have made the proposal without giving a list of those the most proper to apply to.

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[1] Helvoetsluys.

stipulate by Treaty) not only to make an offer in the Chevaliers name that in case they would continue neuter, that he would confirm all treaties with them that had been entered into from the Revolution, but make a formal demand of the Scots Regiments as his Subjects, with liberty to freight ships and transport them or march them under proper passports where ever he would. Upon the whole, the Chevalier did not object to his proposal anent the Dutch, but for good reasons did not think it proper to be execute att that time, but ordered him to make out letters for the several people he had mention according to their several ranks. The letters being made out with all possible dilligence, Kinlochmoydart was ordered to carry them, about twenty-four in Number, and was preparing to sett out the next morning, but from what unaccountable motive, I cant say, he refused, and att the same time had the childish vanity to ask to be named an Aid de Camp. It is easy to believe y^{t} such a behaviour would strick the Chevalier to find a person not only refuse to carry his orders after having agreed to it, but att the same time to demand an employment he had neither a tittle to, nor indeed was in any way cutt out for, but the Chevalier's unparraleld good nature and humanity, together with his good sense, which made him sensible that it would not be proper for him to disoblige anybody, especially in the beginning, enduced him not only to overlook the seeming neglect, but even to gratifie his ill judged vanity by granting his demand. This, however, made it difficult for him to find a right person to carry his letters, till he was at last oblidged to employ M^{r}. M. who, though very much against his inclination, readily complyd and sett out next day, having left the Chevalier very much taken up in writting of letters and sending expresses to hasten the march of his freinds to the Rendezvous which was now fast approaching.

The second day, in the morning, when about seven milles from Locheils house, he observed five persons on horse back who he took from their dress to be officers of the Independent Companys, and they, on the other hand, imagined him, from being in reed cloathe, to be an officer of the Garrison of Fort William about three miles distant. This mutual mistake made both suspitious, but as he was all alone, his servant and two Camerons who were alongst with him having faln a good way behind, he intended to have passed w^{t} out taking any notice, when one of the gentlemen desired him to stop, upon which he immediately run aside, thinking to gett into a bog where he could not be followed on horse back, but judging that impossible he stopp'd whille the other, with his pistole coked, asked him who he was, where he was going, and desired a small sword he had gott in his hand; whille they were parlying together in this manner another came up, and pulling the cape of his coat from his head proved to be Glenbucket,[1] to whom he had a letter in his Pocket, and who was then upon his road to pay his Duty to the Chevalier.

He had not parted w^{t} them above half an hour when he observed several people running towards the River of Lochy and throwing away their plaids as they run, which he att last came to understand from one he mett by the road, was owing to an alarum being given that some of the people who belonged to Cappoch had attacked two companys of G^{ll}. Sinclairs Regiment upon their march from Fort Augustus to Fort William. These two companys had been quartered att Perth and were ordered by G^{ll}. Cope to reinforce the Garrison at Fort William, but Cappoch having gott intelligence of their march only two hours before, was resolved to stop them tho he had then almost none of his people assembled, but to endeavour by stratagem what he could not accomplish by force, sent M^{r} M^{c}donald of Tirrendrish, a near relation of his own, & who was afterwards Major to his Regiment, with Eleven men and a Piper to a little Inn att* Highbridge to waite their comming till he should gett some of his Clan together. M^{r}. M^{c}donald, to make the best of the small number of men, had placed them behind the Inn to waite for the approach of the enemy, and so soon as they appeard upon the opposite

* Describe the place.[2]

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[1] John Gordon of Glenbucket.

[2] This is evidently one of Murray's notes intended to remind him to add the description when revising his MS. Unfortunately he has not done so. There are several instances of similar omissions throughout the *Memorials*.

bank above the Bridge he ordered his Piper to play, and rushed out from behind the house with a loud huzza. By this sudden and unexpected attack y^{e} troops were struck with such an unaccountable panick as with one consent to run of without so much as taking time to observe the number or quality of their enemy, tho to do Cap^{t} Scott justice he endeavourd all in his power to prevail with them to return, but as his brother officers did not show the same spirit or inclination to curiosity his entreates were of no effect. They continued to retreat, or more properly to run, for above five or six milles before the Highlanders came up with them, for tho it was in their power to have overtaken in a very few minutes, yett the smallness of their number would have rendered their undertaking abortive, so chose rather to keep following att some distance till joined by their Chief, who had by that time gott together about twenty men and overtook them. They now began to exchange fires, and the 2 companys continued retreating and fireing till their whole ammunition was exhausted without so much as wounding one of the Highlanders, who, by this time, were encreased to about the number of forty-five or fifty att most, and these not half armd. Immediately after the last fire, which the Highlanders received, as near as could be computed, att about the distance of ten or a dozen paces, Kappoch, with his sword drawn, run up to them and told them if they did not surrender they should be cutt to pieces, upon which they immediatly laid down their arms. Cap^{t} Scott was wounded in the Shoulder, a Serjeant and three or four men killed, with about a dozen wounded. Locheil, who had got a message from Kappoch acquainting him with his design, had gott only five or six people and run up the opposite side of the Loch Lochy, but did not come up before they had surrendered.

It would be easy to make several usefull remarks from this triffling encounter, but as I intend brevity so far as the subject will allow of, I shall first observe of what little signification even the best troops are without officers of Conduct and Resolution. Had these few men (raw and new raised as they were said to be) had a gentleman att their head who knew his business, they could not have been surprised. They were sent to reinforce a garrison, and to march through what might have been properly stylled an Enemys country, and consequently ought to have been upon the watch by advancing a Serjeant and twelve men in case of accidents, but in place of this they march'd all in a Confused heap without regard to order or discipline. Had the other officers been as desirous to repair that first fault as Cap^t Scott was they had soon discovered the weakness of the Enemy, and must have arrived att Fort William before Cappoch could have come up with them, or even supposing that he had whille they was att the distance of two three miles from the Garrison, the noise of their fire alone must have drawn out a party to their assistance, if they had not immediatly dispatched one on horse back to aprise them of their danger, which they might easily have done had they once pass'd the Bridge, as the handfull that opposed them must have retired to the right to favour a junction with their Cheif and thereby leave the high road open to them. And indeed I cant help thinking that never accident of this kind showed more the extraordinary effects of fear than this, they had marched about an hundered milles and owened themselves greatly fatigued, yett after all upon seeing a triffling Enemy Idly throu away their fire without doing the least execution, and run twelve mille with incredible speed. About seven o'Clock in the Evening they were brought prisoners to an Inn att Achnacarry and used with all possible humanity, Cap^t Scott as was carried by men to Locheils house not being able to sitt on horse back and treated more like a freind and brother than an Enemy and prisoner. An express was immediatly dispatch'd to Fort William to desire the Surgeon of the Garrison might be sent to dress M^r Scotts wound, with Locheil's pass for his safe return, but the Governours humanity was not to be moved by the distress of a Brother officer, so refused to allow him. Locheil shocked with the old man's Barbarity gave orders for M^r Scotts being transported to the garrison, haveing first taken his parole.

Some short time before the prisoners were brought to their quarters M^{c}g.[1] arrived from Ed^r having executed his commission with so much address as not only to have render'd G[eneral] C[ope] and the Advocate dubious wether the Chevalier was landed if not made them think it was really false, but had procured the orders to the Governours of the several forts to give him what parties they could spare when he should demand them, together with an order on the Commanding officer att Fort Augustus for £50 pound. So that had these two Companys been three or four days longer of marching, it is not unlikely that att least one or other of the two forts would have been reduced, but the action of that day which now rendered the wholle design no longer a secret oblidged them to lay aside all further thoughts of any such atempt. Mr M. att the same time finding the war openly declared which wd necessarly keep all the Country alert, judged it improper for him, being a stranger in those parts, to proceed on his journey. The Highlanders, to whom he must have made himself known to be able to gett out of the Country, would have by their whispers discovered his journey and made it difficult for him to escape the troops on his way through the shires of Nairn, Murray, Bamf, Buchan, Aberdeen, Montrose, Angus, the Mairns, Perthshire etc., having letters to deliver in all these several Counties, so that he judged it more proper for him to go to the rendezvous with Locheil and there fall upon some more proper methode to forward the dispatches he was charged with.

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[1] James More MacGregor.

The Chevalier was now preparing to come to the Rendezvous att Glenphinan the 18 of Agust and according arrived there the 17th in the evening with only three Companys of Clanronalds followers.* The next day[1] Locheil joined him with seven hundered and fifty men besides double officers and Mcdonald of Keppoch arrived in the afternoon with his Regiment, consisting of about three hundered. In less than an hour after the whole were drawn up, and the Royal Standart display'd by the D. of A[thole] when the Chevalier made them a short but very Pathetick speech. Importing that it would be no purpose to declaim upon the justice of his Father's tittle to the Throne to people who, had they not been convinced of it,

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* Capt Switenam had been taken two days before.

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[1] Really the 19th.

would not have appeared in his behalf, but that he esteemed it as much his duty to endeavour to procure their welfare and happyness as they did to assert his right, that it was cheifly with that view that he had landed in a part of the Island where he knew he should find a number of brave gentlemen fired with the 'noble example of their predecessors, and jealous of their own and their Country's honour, to join with him in so glorious an enterprise, with whose assistance and the protection of a just God who never fails to avenge the cause of the injured, he did not doubt of bringing the affair to a happy issue.'

After this ceremony was over, he retired to his quarters, which he had taken up in a little barn att the head of the Loch. He ordered an account to be taken of what arms were a-wanting for the few troops he had now gott together, and had them distributed according to the report that was brought. Having continued there till the 21st, durring which he dispatched expresses to the people of Glencoe, Glengary, and the Steuarts of Appin, to join him upon his march towards Fort Augustus; and, att the same time, others to the low Country to procure intelligence of the motion of the Enemy. Durring the time he remained there, a Gentleman of the name of M^{c}Leod * came from the Isle of Skey to offer his service, and tho he did not plainly say that his Cheif would not join, yett talked big of the numbers he would bring along with him did he delay appearing in time, but lett the Chevalier to understand that nothing was to be done without money; but, tho it was well known that he was a man of no interest, and that a little money seemed to be the load stone which chiefly attracted him, the Chevalier, determined to encourage every body, lett him have his demands, but from his and his cheif's future conduct, it may not be uncharitable to believe he had been sent there as a Spey, and made the offer of his services a Cloak for his Villane. Locheil and some others, tho beginning to have a very unfavourable opinion of M^{c}Leod and S^{r} Alex$^{r's}$ conduct, would nevertheless lett no opportunity slip of endeavouring to persuade them into their Duty, for which purpose they wrote them a Conjunct

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* Commonly called Black John M^{c}Leod.

letter reminding them of their avowed principles and wonted profession of attachment to the Chevaliers Familly, with the engagements they had come under to assist him, and concluded by telling them that now was y^{e} time for them to act a part which must conduce either to their Eternal honour or Eternal infamy. This letter, tho quite well adapted to M^{c}Leod, was nevertheless not so fitting to S^{r} Alex^{r}, who really never had come under any possitive engagements, but the hurry the subscribers were then in ought to have been a sufficient excuse with him for their involving him in the same degree of honour or dishonour as from their future actions, must redound to his neighbour and would be no just reason for his openly appearing in arms against a party whose principles he had always professed as he afterwards did, having as was said pled the affront he had received in that letter for his excuse. But granting that some few individuals of the party had used in the most unjust and oprobrious manner whatever, yett could that be no valid reason for drawing his sword in opposition to a person he had always owned as his Prince. But that he really alledged this by way of excuse is what I have just grounds to doubt, as I shall make appear by the sequell of this story.* Everything now being prepared for the Chevaliers departure, upon the 21st he moved from the Place of Rendezvous to the head of Locheil about nine milles from Fort William, and as the difficulty of finding horses and the badness of the roads in this Country were equally unsurmountable, of twenty large swevel guns he made twelve be buried in a bog about a mille from the place where he first erected his Standart. He had no sooner arrived att the above mentioned place than he received intelligence of G[eral] C[ope] having moved north ward and att the same time had a Coppy of the proclamation sent which had been ishued by order of the Lords Justices afixing thirty thousand pound upon his head, a Coppy of which here follows.[1]

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* It was likewise judged necessary by the principal gentlemen there that a paper should be made out whereby every person of Rank, who already had, or in time might join the army, should oblige themselves by their subscribing of it not to desert the C. or one another upon any pretence whatever, which was accordingly done by Mr. M. and signed by great numbers.

Upon seeing it he was heard to say y^{t} tho it was true that a reward had been likewise sett upon his father's head in the year 1715, that yett he imagined that in proportion as the world grew in Politeness they had done so in humanity, that it were unjust to call the ancients Rude and Savage, &c., when no example could be given of their taking so mean and unmanly a way to gett ride of their Enemy. That he should have been far from ever thinking of such a device to exterminate the E[lector]s familly did his success depend upon it, but att the same time he could not in justice to him self gett by[2] offering the same reward in his turn. Tho if he could allow him self to think y^{t} any of his friends could be so abandoned as to be guilty of so execrable a deed for the sum proposed that he would alter the sum to thirty pound instead of thirty thousand, and then ordered a proclamation of the same nature to be drawn which was signd and published two days after in the terms as is here insert.[3]

The two days he continued here were employd in preparing such carriages as the Country could afford, to transport his amunition and baggage, and in bringing up some arms from Arrisek that had been landed there and could not sooner be conveniently removed. The night of his arrival he dispatched expresses to Ardsheil and Glencoe acquainting them with the accounts he had received of G. Cope's Motions and ordering them to meet him att about ten milles from half way betwixt Invergary and Fort William so as he might be able to give the G^{ll}. a meeting if he should persist to march further into the Country. From hence he marched to Fasfairn,*[4] and the day following after making a short halt in sight of Fort William, continued his rout and encampd all that night att a place called Moie,†‡ about four milles from Achnacarry, and

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* Here he lett the prisoner officers go upon there paroles.

† Here M^{r} M. was named Secretary.

‡ Here M^{c}lean the chairman was let go.

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[1] As this proclamation is to be found in the *Scots Magazine*, 1745, vol. vii. p. 396, it is not necessary to reprint it here.

[2] *i.e.* avoid.

[3] See Browne's *History of the Highlands*, vol. iii. p. 36.

[4] Fassifern, the residence of John Cameron, Lochiel's brother.

almost oposite to ,[1] where he expected to be joined the next day by the Steuarts of Appin and M^{c}Donalds of Glencoe. As he did not propose going any further the day following than the above mentioned place of junction, he did not quite his Camp till noon, but had no sooner foirded the River of Lochy than he received certain intelligence that G^{ll}. Cope was upon his march to Fort Augustus, and would probably reach it in four days time. Upon this intelligence he sent orders to Col^l O'Sullivan, who was charged with seeing the ammunition and baggage sent across the river by boat, not to losse time, but to advance, with only a few barrels of powder, ball in proportion and all the arms, after securring the Baggage in the best manner possible, and, to give nobody a handle to complain of the loss of their baggage he ordered all his own to be left save one portmanteau with Linnings, and ordered to follow him to Invergary where he intended to encamp that night. After these orders given which were punctually obeyd, he persued his march, and arrived late att Invergary where every thing was prepared for him in a very decent manner by a son of the familly, the old gentleman himself being then in Perthshire with the present D[uke] of A[thole].

It may be thought strange y^t in the beginning of a Campagne which was like to prove very fatigueing he should make a forced march and under night in a manner on the Eve of a Battle, but the nature of the people must be considered who are accustomed to fatigue & were then very much elevatd with the news of G^{ll}. Cope's being so near, and he wisely esteemd it better to give them one entire day's rest immediatly before the engagem^t he expected, than to make two days and a half's easy marches. In persueance of this resolution he had taken to meet G^{ll}. Cope upon the hill of Corriarick, he made a halt all the next day att Invergary, and sent some people to procure further intelligence. Durring his stay att this place a paper was produced, drawn by

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[1] Moy is at the mouth of Glen Gloy down which the Prince marched from Fassifern, and is opposite to High Bridge—General Wade's bridge over the Spean. I am informed by Mr. Colin Livingstone of Fort William that opposite to Moy is a place called Mucomir ——, *i.e.* Moy (or plain) at the meeting (of the Spean and the Lochy). Whether the blank should be filled up by High Bridge or the less easily spelled or remembered Mucomir must remain matter of conjecture.

Mr M. att Glenfinnan for reason suggested by Locheil and which may not be so proper to mention here,—whereby the subscribers in the most solemn manner bound themselves not to lay down their arms nor to make their peace without the consent of the whole, which after being read was approven of and sign'd by all the gentlemen there present.

The same day Mr. Frazer of Gortuleg came as he said by L[ord] L[ova]t's orders to offer his humble duty to the Chevalier, with apologys for his mens not being in readiness, and desired two Commissions which he had been assured were granted him some years ago by his father.* Mr M. was employ'd to ask for the Commissions, which had been delivered to the Chevalier by Locheil after his landing, having been in his Custody some time before. The Commissions having been left behind in a trunk with the other baggage, the Chevalier ordered one of Lieutenant Gell to be made out for him, and att the same time direct Mr M. to write him a letter of Compliment and appology in his name, promissing the orriginal ones should be sent him by the first occasion, and enclosed sent him a warrant which he had desired and undertook to perform as a thing that would conduce to the Chevalier's interest, Authorising and requiring him to seise upon Mr Forbes of Culloden, then President of the Session in Scottland, which had he execute with equal ardor he then would have made believe he intended, must have been of

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* As this particular has been attributed to M. alone as flowing from him, and that it would not otherwise have been known, it may be necessary first to repeat the fact literally as it happened and leave it to the world to judge how far M. was not his freind, and slurred the affair over in such words as perhaps few was cappable of knowing yt information already given and so as in law to be really nothing against him. Mr. Fraser here named was in fact sent immediatly by L. L—t with a message of Compliment to the Chevalier and apology that he could not have his Clan ready, the time given being so short and his Country so much exposed to the Garrisons of Inverness and Fort Augustus, but that he wd use all possible dilligence to raise ym, and to enable him the more he desired yt the Commissions of Lt. Gll and L. Lieutcy promised him by ye [King], his father, might be sent him, and at the same time represented yt as Mr. Forbes of Culloden, ye President of the Session in Scotland, was a very great Enemy to his cause and ye most able of any person in ye north to obstruct his interest and his L—ts views desired a warrant might be sent him to take him dead or alive, and, Frazer was by his orders directed to procure an audience of ye Chevalier by Locheil's means wh he accordingly did and delivered his message in ye above terms. The Commissions were not to be found upon which one of L. Lt was actually made out by Kelly, ye warrant for seising Presedent Forbes wrote by M.'s own hand, but not in ye terms demanded, it being only to apprehend his person and keep him in safe custody till further orders, together with a letter in ye Chevalier's name apologising for not sending the original Commissions and promissing them so soon as found, with thanks for his good intentions, which two with ye Commission M. made up in a packet and delivered them wt his Compliments to L. L—t into Mr. Frazer's own hand. What a different effect must the above Storey have had if told by M. in a distinct manner, from ye uncertain triffling relation

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he gives of it, first pretending ignorance wether the Commission was delivered or what it was; 2dly, pretending uncertainty wether he write the letter or not; and 3rdly, not taking ye least notice of ye warrant for apprehending ye Precedent, but ye case really was yt ye whole Country knew and L. L—t himself, tho' too late, was convinced that Mr Frazer informed ye Presedent with every thing he knew, and was often known to go to his house in the night time and return from thence to L. L—t who was unable to keep any secret from him, so if had M. totally deneyd any knowledge of that affair it would have given ye ministry a satisfactory proof of what they in part suspected, that he was putting them off with general Storreys of no Consequence either to them or his party, and it wd have been a loseing of himself to save ye Characters of a few who had been ye cause of all their misfortunes and who were well known to ye ministry by letters they had taken after ye Battle of Culloden, long before they had any prospect of finding who they imagined to be dead for Six weeks before, but to put the affair in its true light and to enable the reader to judge unerringly we shall here insert the Story as M. tells it in the trial pages. The ministry were in possession of a letter wrote by Drummond of Balhaldy to the Chevalier long before M. was taken, wherein he says that he had transacted his affairs for some years with D. of B.,[1] L. B.,[2] Sr W. W.,[3] and Sir J. H. C.,[4] by means of D. B—y,[5] tho M. denied possitively his ever having heard that ye noble D. was in the least concerned, so false was the possitive assertion of his being ready to name a noble duke when interrupted, but that was no more ridiculous than ye long list he was said to have had in his hand which ye freinds of the government were too wise to contradict being in hopes that on the faith of his having discovered all those he knew yt they would foolishly discover themselves.

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[1] Duke of Beaufort.

[2] Lord Barrymore.

[3] Sir Watkin Williams Wynne.

[4] Sir John Hinde Cotton.

[5] Dr. Barry.

the outmost advantage to the Chevalier, as it would, if not effectually, in a very great degree prevented any opposition from the northern Clans. This was the first time that L't had taken any notice of the Chevalier,* for tho he was amongst the first he wrote to after his landing, yett his L-p, according to his wonted cunning, seemd to take no part in his affairs, being determined to see what turn things would take, and join with the winning side, as he had done in 1715—and That this was his resolution will appear past a doubt from what follows.

This same day the Chevalier's small army was augmented by about four hundred of Glengarys followers, the Steuarts of Appin and M^{c}donalds of Glencoe, and would have amounted to the number of eighteen hundred men had all Keppoch's people returned, but the most of them having had liberty granted them to be absent for one day as they pass'd by their own homes, numbers of them deserted, not from any reluctancy they had to the undertaking, but on account of a private quarrel they had with their Cheif.† Notwithstanding this disappointment, the Chevalier determined to give G^{ll}. Cope battle, and Locheil received an express from Mr. Frazer of

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* Not long after the Chevalier Landed he sent a Special messenger to L. L—t to acquaint him with his arrival and how much he depended upon his junction, interest, and advice, to which L—t only answered in a squint way to Locheil complaining of his age and infirmities, with how well he wished ye familly of Steuart in general, and how unable he was to serve them; yet when he sees the Chevalier at the head of a body of men resolved to attack general Cope, uncertain of the success he sends to demand his Commissions, with a double view in case of the Chevalier's success to plead his attachment to him, and should ye government succeed to show of how much consequence he was by proving that they had courted him with a Commission which notwithstanding he would not axceept of. Thus we se ye double part he acted, but don't find that M. takes ye smallest notice of any such message or answer, tho it is well known that the person who carried the message to him was then prisoner in the Burrow.

† N.B. Numbers of them were Roman Catholicks, and he being a very strict Protestant did not think it prudent that their Preist should accompany them, so that to his ordering him home was oweing the desertion.[1]

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[1] Cf. Mr. Blaikie's *Itinerary*, p. 10 note.

Foiers,* one of the most leading men of L[ord] L[ova]t's Clan, promissing to meet him, with two hundred of his tribe, att the pass of   , upon the hill of Corriarick. The next morning the Chevalier marched to some small villages about three milles from Fort Augustus, where, after haveing seen his men Cantoned, and proper guards placed, he took up his quarters att a little place called [Aberchalder], resolving to march early next morning by a bye road to evite the Cannon of the Fort, and to get to the top of the hill in good time, expecting to meet G^{ll}. Cope about noon. He here received intelligence by some deserters that Cope was on his march, which confirmed him in the expectation of engaging as he first proposed, but these deserters had quit the army betwixt Dalnacardoch and Dalwhinny, so were not so much to be depended upon, but the report of some who had been sent a purpose seemed to put it past a doubt, he having no reason to imagine that Cope intended to shun † him, having had intelligence some time before that he had orders from above to seek him out with all possible dilligence before he should be able to gett any considerable number together.

Thus full of Sprites in hopes of a successfull action next day ‡ early he entered the hill of Corriarick, and tho disappointed of the 200 Frazers promised by Foiers, he did not seem under the least apprehension, well knowing how necessary it was to keep a good countenance, and that his gaining an advantage in that part of the Country would draw severals of the neighbouring Clans,|| who were

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* N.B. This old gentleman was extreamly desirous to, and certainly wd have joind, but L. L—t gave strict orders that none of his Clan should stirr.

† N.B. It has been given out by general Cope's freinds that he had possitive orders from the ministry to seek out the Chevalier and give him battle, but it is most certain that this gentleman sent up a plan to the ministry wherein he proposed marching north, in answer to which he had it left entirely in his own power to execute the plan proposed or alter it in wt Shape he pleased.

‡ Augst. 27th.

|| N.B. The M'pharsons, M'intoshes, and Farquharsons had L. L—t then in their eye as an unerring judge, and would not move seeing him quiet.

then att a loss to know what part to act to declare openly in his favours. He had taken care in the morning to order Mr. M., with M^c^donald of Lochgarry, to ride on before to reconoitre the Enemy and give him notice of their approch, being a good deal surprised that he had received no intelligence from the day before in the Evening, which wether it was owing to the carelessness of the person sent or the negligence of the persons employ'd to send I cannot say, but when the two above-named gentlemen had gained the tope of the hill, where they expected to discrey the Enemy, not a Creature was to be seen, upon which they agreed to go down, but with caution, in case of being surprised by anyadvanced parties. Having now gott almost half way down to the plain, they could observe some men in arms att a distince, which they att first took to be G^{ll}. Cope's advanced guard of Highlanders, and were about to retire to a higher ground to have a full view of them, when M^{r} M^{c}donald of Lochgarry said he did not take them to be the Enemy, and proposed going a little nearer—which having done, and made signs of freindship to them which they answered, they went up to them, and found them to be deserters who had left Cope the day before,[1] and gave the following short account, that a Council of War had been held over night in the G^{lls} Tent, and next morning, having marched a little way on the read to Garvamore, they were made to wheel about and march of from their rear to Ruthven, upon which they had deserted together with several others who were then att Garvamore, in all about forty. Intelligence being immediately given to the Chevalier, who was now gott to the tope of the hill, tho he seemd att first uneasy to be so disapointed from want of proper intelligence, he never the less stiffled his Chagrin, and encouraged his people by telling them that the Enemy could not have given a stronger proof of their pusilanimity and bad conduct, and that they ought to look upon it as a presage of their future Success against an enemy who durst not venture to attack them when but a handfull, and those not compleatly armed. After talking a little in this manner he continued his rout, and arrived att Garvamore about two in the afternoon, where he ordered a guinea to be given to each of the deserters. Having marched about fourteen milles in a few hours time he ordered some cattle to be killed for the men, his own dinner to be gott ready, and the deserters and people of the Country to be examined about the motions of the Enemy, desiring the Cheifs to attend him in an hour to Consult what measures were proper to be taken. The deserters in the interim being known to many of their Country men, had represented G^{ll}. Cope's army as very much fatigued and freightned, and att the same time magnified the great quantity of Carriages, baggage horses, &c., that attended him, w^{h} so enflamed the whole that there was nothing to be heard but a continued Cry to be march'd against the Enemy. This news was no sooner brought to the Chevalier than he ordered his dinner to be delay'd and Called the Cheifs to him, when being inform'd of the surprising desire the men had to be brought to action, he maid the map be laid before him and seemd to think that by the certain accounts he had of G^{ll}. Copes having marched that morning from Ruthven, it would be impossible to come up with him before he reached Inverness, but nevertheless said he should be glad to have their opinions upon the matter, and to know what Scheme either had or could be proposed, saying that the disapointment was as greivous to him as any in the army. The most of the gentlemen present seem to acqueesce in his opinion that it was now almost impracticable to come up with the troops, but that a proposal had been made to them by some of their officers to pick out 500 of their best men and dispatch them immediately the Short way through the hills to the pass of Slochmuich where they might arrive the next morning before G^{ll}. Cope, and amuse him there till such time as he the Chevalier came up with his rear by the great road by Ruthven. The proposal att first view seemd very reasonable, but when he came to calculate the distance which was about 24 milles the Short way, and near thereby by the high road he did not think it prudent to attempt it. Had he gott certain intelligence of S^{r} John Cope's motions the night before, or even in the morning, h might have march'd by the pass of through the country of Stratherick and meet the G^{ll}. with his whole army att Slochmuich ; but now that he had marchd fourteen milles very smartly the men must be so fatigued before they could come up with him that their Spirits would be greatly exhausted, and did they meet with more resistance than they look'd for would be a means of ruining his affairs att once. He likewise objected that in case the five hundered pick'd men should be too warm to be restrain'd from attackling him in front before he had time to come up, and did not meet with immediate success, it was more than probable that the fatigue of their long march w^{d} render them to feble to sustain a rude attack which would be equally destructive of all his measures. And lastly, he wisely forsaw that as the highlanders were uncappable of keeping up a regular fire, they would be oblidged to come to blows with a body five times their number, which could not possibly be attended with success;* for these and other good reasons he determined to lay all thoughts of it aside and send the Cheifs, who were all satisfied with the force of his arguments, to quiet their people who were quite intoxicated with the Scheme proposed by their officers, which they att last accomplished with the outmost difficulty.

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[1] Cf. Cope's *Trial*, and the *Itinerary*, p. 90.

As in a narration of this nature a man that writes fairly can only give an account of the procedings of that party with whose most secret views and actions he had access to be acquainted, it might be thought presumption in him to judge of the motives of the Enemy for having acted the part they did. But I hope the reader will so far gett over this Scruple as to excuse the writter when he only intends to satisfie his Curiosity by laying before him the Situation of the Country and examining how far either party acted a part consisting with their several interests, and in conformity to the Rules prescribed by the best generals in all ages. With this view then hopeing that a digression in its self so interesting, wont be disagreable, tho perhaps a little tedious, I shall endeavour to show the errors in Mr. Copes conduct which will abundantly demonstrate the superior abilities of his antagonist. And to sett the afair in the clearest light I shall venture to go so far back as his march from Stirling, taking a short view of the then situation of the Island in regard to its military situation.

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* *N.B.*—There is nothing more obvious than that had L. L—t. joined with the same alacrity as others it w^{d} have been impossible for G^{ll}. Cope to have made his march to Inverness, as he would have had both the Frassers and M^{c}intoshes to have obstructed his passage by Slochmuich, which would have given time to the Chevalier to have attacht him in Rear, and there by gained a compleat victorey. It would be weak to say that it happend better for the party at Gladsmuir, as that depended upon fortune alone which might as well have rendered it otherwise, it an't fair to judge by Consequences.

There was att this time in Scotland not much above 3000 men, garrisons excluded, and these not the best troops in the service, which must be allowed to have been a body not so infinitely superior to the Chevaliers little army as to put the fate of a whole Kingdom upon the precarious footting of a successfull rencounter with them. Of all the troops than in the pay of Great Britton, there was not above 7000 in England, a body no more than sufficient to protect the Sea ports against Smuglers, far from being cappable to prevent an insurrection in that part of the Country had any such been intended by the Chevaliers freinds in that part of the Island, and that he had encouragement from them the Government could not be so weak as to doubt of, as they could have no reason to imagine that he ever would have made such an attempt trusting to the force he would raise in Scotland alone, tho I shall in due time endeavour to show that had he not been betrayd his Scots freinds alone could have sett him down att S^t^ Jameses. That this was the situation of the millitary force then in the Island I imagine will be easily allowed me, and that the sending any part of the troops then in England to strengthen those in Scotland, would have been a most impolitical step in the Regency will less bear a dispute, especially as that step was really not taken. These premises being granted, I must then be allowed to say that S^r^ John Cope ought not to have crossed the River Forth, but with his Cavalry. In the first place, all the time possible was to be given the Government to have such a body of troops brought from Flanders as might be able to protect them against any insults from insurections att home. In the next place, if S^r^ John's intelligence was good, which could not well be suspected, he must know that the number than in arms was very inconsiderable, and that, so long as he was entire, there was no great prospect of their increasing. Thirdly, if they was join'd as before the battle of Gladsmuir, their acquisition was of no avail, being composed of men of aggeurier[1] and of little other use than to make a show and to disburthen the Clans of too fatigueing a Duty. Fourthly, the longer he delay'd comeing to action, so much the more did he lessen that inconsiderate spirit and ardour so natural to irregular and undisciplined troops, and which no people on Earth possesses in a higher degree then these he had to deal with. Fifthly, he must thereby have given time to have landed some battalions in the North, who, join'd to the Clanns in the interest of the Government, would not only have prevented any further rising in these parts, but putt the Chevalier betwixt two fires, and either have made his people retire home to preserve their cattle & effects, which they are naturally enough inclined to do, or if they had comed to action must infallibly have over power'd them with numbers. Sixthly, it w^d^ have been no difficult matter for him, before the Chevalier had comed so far South, to have drain'd Perthshire all their superfluous oatmeal, and rendered impossible for him to subsist without the utmost difficulty. And lastly, had y^e^ Chevalier in all events pushed southwards, he could have opposed his passing the Forth, and fought him upon his own terms, when it is more than probable he must have gain'd a Victory over a parcel of people not att all accustomed to dispute the passage of Rivers, far less to force them. That S^r^ John, for the above reasons, did not act the prudent will appear obvious, though, to do the gentleman justice, perhaps it was not his own sentiments that enduced him to take that part, as it is alledged he acted according to orders from above, where they seem to have been, and are to this day, ignorant of the situation of the Country. It may be alledged that it has always been a fixed maxim in every state to crush Rebellions of that nature in the bud and by open force, I shall grant it, but that it ever ought to be attempted but by a force very much superior to the insurgents, and such a one as gives a kind of certainty of Success, ought to be maxim as much fixed as tother. But lett the G^lls^ march into the highlands have proceeded from whatever [cause], I must be allowed to observe that his future conduct did not seem to quadrate in any degree w^t right reason. Having once gott the lenth of Dalwhinny, it may still seem as strange as it did than, what could possibly enduce him to evite comming to action in the manner he did ; that it might not have been proper for him to hazard a battle upon the Hill of Corriarick, I won't deny, as the Chevalier was able to gain the tope of the hill before him, and consequently the advantage of the ground, where, if he had been beat, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for him to have saved any part of his troops, as it is naturale to believe that those who escaped would have been made prisoners by the Country people, who were all their Enemys, but that the only alternative he could fall upon should be to march to Inverness seems quite unaccountable. Had he encamped upon the plain about two milles south of Dalwhinny, he would have difficulted y^e Chevalier very much, for by this means it would have been almost impossible to bring him to an action, which was what the Chevalier wished for, except upon very advantagious terms, and he had Athole in his rear from whence to draw provisions, whereas the Chevalier had no bread for his people, nor was it in his power to procure [any]. The garrisons of Fort Augustus and Inverness put a stop to any being sent him from the Aird,[1] and he could not spare parties to bring it from Murray through the Grant's Country, nor, indeed, would the people of Strathspey or any of the neighbouring countrys have supplyd them, dreading the consequences that might follow should G^{ll}. Cope prove Victorious, so that the Chevalier, necessitate for provisions, had only one of three courses to take. The first, to risk an action at a disadvantage, which, proving unsuccessfull, must have totally ruined his affairs, and therefor not to be attempted. Secondly, to march into the Country of Rannoch to procure a junction from Struan Robinson's followers, and from thence to proceed to Apnadow[2] on Tea side to favour a junction w^t the D. of P.'s people, who, it was not probable would have joind when S^r J. C. was yett entire, or lastly, to endeavour to gain Perth by the way of Minaziz[1] and Dunkell, which would have been very difficult, as in that case G^{ll}. C., by timeous intelligence, might have gaind the pass of gillikranky[2] before them. The first of these would have been extreamly impolitick; the second could be attended with little advantage save that of procurring greater abundance of provisions—unequal to the advantage G^{ll}. C. would have reap'd by being able to bring his Dragoons to act in conjunction with him, and giving time for the monroes and others in the north to join him. And the third would have been attended with great fatigue, want of provisions, and a great uncertainty of Success; and both the last with the disadvantage of presenting their flank to the Enemy upon their march, yett in spite of all, the General, as was afterwards known, called a Council of war, and there giving ear to idle and false reports of the number and strength of his Enemy, determined upon a shamefull escape (I can give it no better name) to Inverness, which produced many good effects to the Chevalier. It in the first place gave his Army extraordinary spirits to see their Enemy, conscious of his own weakness, fly from them. It in proportion dejected the troops under his command, encouraged a great many to join so soon as they came to know how the affair was, and left them masters of all the low Country where to find provisions, money, and all necessarys.

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[1] *i.e.* unwarlike.

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[1] The Ord, in the south of Ross-shire and Cromarty.

[2] Appin is a portion of the parish of Dull, near Kenmore, on Tayside.

I shall now return to the Chevalier, who, quite surprised with the unexpected retreat of his Enemy, immediatly called a Council to consult of what was the most proper course for him to take, and soon determined to march south and make the most of the advantages given him. It was, nevertheless, very grateing to him to be oblidged to leave G^{ll}. Cope behind for many reasons, three of which, not to be tedious, I shall only mention. In the first place, it must not be forgott that, so soon as the Chevalier received intelligence of the Enemy's march, and that they intended to pass by the Curriarock, he immediatly dispatched an express to the D. of P. to acquaint him with his designs, and orders to have all his people in readiness to intercept the debris's of the Enemy if beaten, now that no action had happined he knew that many false reports would be spread before the truth could really be known, which might prove a stop to their joining him when gott South for fear of the Enemys return that way, which was afterwards found to have been a very just conjecture. Secondly, if S^r^ John Cope should make any stay in the north he would thereby either prevent his freinds from Rising or oblidge him to return and fight him which would greatly fatigue his troops; and thirdly, did he take a resolution of marching into Lochaber and comite any hostilitys in the country, it would either draw the people home to protect their propertys or oblidge him to return to their resquey. But as he was resolved upon all occasions to act with that resolution his undertaking required, and to despise any seeming difficulties which could only serve to intimidate his own freinds, without mentioning his own Scruples, ordered the March for to-morrow by 5 o'clock.

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[1] Castle Menzies.

[2] Killiecrankie.

As the Cheifs were of opinion that the Barracks at Ruthven ought to be taken, not only to have the country free, but upon account of the quantity of oatmeal y^t^ might be found there, it was proposed to attempt it by stratagem the night following, but the Chevalier upon enquirey, finding it was flanked, and he having no cannon nor conveniency for making of Scaling Ladders, judged it more proper to let it alone as a place of no consequence and unequall to the lives of those who might fall in the attempt. This wise precation was nevertheless disaproven of by the Cheifs, who, by their entreatys, prevaild with him to agree to the undertaking unsensible of the regard he had to their safety when in competition with a paultry Barrack. Next day, whille upon the march, it was agreed that Col^l^. O'Sulivan, with Locheils Brother and some hundred Camerons, should direct their march so as to arrive att Ruthven some time after it was dark, and after taking possession of the Stables, which are but a few yards from the Barrack, put some combustible matter to the back door or sally port, if it may be properly so called, whille they keept a close fire upon the garrison.* A little after this had been determined, one

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* Cluney made prisoner and carried to Perth.

Cameron, a deserter, and who had been Corporal in one of the Independant companys, proposed that he should, by taking a circuit, with ten or a dozen other deserters, who were all in the same livery, come to the fort as if detached from G^{ll}. Copes army as a reinforcem^{t}, and after getting access make himself M^{r} of the Barracks. This scheme, which was the most prudent, was immediatly orderd to be put in execution, and they directed to post themselves att a particular place upon the road to receive their orders from Coll. Sullivan, who was at the same time sent with the detachment in case the others should not have been admitted, but from what error or mistake in the orders it proceeded I cannot say, yett after having waited several hours without any orders, the Corporal marchd of and joind the main body att Dalwhinny very early next morning. O'Sullivan and Docter Cameron, together with one Gordon who pretended to be well acquainted with the place, having gott there under night, took privately possession of the stables and made a parcel of combustible stuff be sett on fire att the door * whille they keept a closs fire upon the centinels on the wall, but as there were two steps up to the door it made it tedious for the men to fix the barrel in which the combustible matter was, so that after some fruitless attempts and having three of their men very ill wounded, they were oblidged to abandone the place and rejoind the main body early next morning att Dalwhinny. The Chevalier, who had employed that evening in sending dispatches to his freinds in the northern Counties, was not att all disapointed att the miscarriage having been against the attempt from the beginning as a thing unlikely to succeed, but expressed his concern for the loss of the brave fellows, who he said deserved a better fate.†

He then proceeded on his march and encamped that night ‡ att a place called Dalnacardoch, about six miles from Blair Castle, and sent letters to some of the gentlemen of

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* G^{ll}. Cope destroyd their corns, and refused to pay the damage : the Chevalier paid his.

† Here Locheil dismissed 150 of his men, not inclining to have any but who were compleatly armed.

‡ 29th.

Atholl, to whom the D. write att the same time desiring they would meet him the second day after att his house of Blair, where the Chevalier marched next morning,* and on the road was extreamly pleased with the sight of the people of the Country; men, women, and children who came running from their houses, kissing and caressing their master, who they had not seen for thirty years before, an Instance of the strongest affection, and which could not fail to move every generous mind with a mixture of greif and joy.† His troops were here very commodiously quartered, there being a number of small villages in that part of the Country, and here was the first time y^{t} the men could properly be said to have had bread from the time of their rendezvous att Glenfinnan, having eat nothing but beef roasted on the heath, without even bread or salt, durring their march thither. Having halted there three nights to give the D. time to settle matters with his vassals, he proceeded to Dunkell,‡ another seat of the D^{s} of Atholl, having receiv'd certain intelligence that G^{ll}. Cope was then encampd under the cannon of the Castle of Inverness.||

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* 30th.

† Coll Roy Steuart, who had come by the way of Holland from France in a Scotts vessel and landed in East Lothian, joind the army here, and was the next day dispatched north with dispatches for L. L—t, and instructions to manage the Grants Country and Raise what men he could. *N.B.*—We don't find that M. takes the least notice of the instructions Coll Steuart received in regard to L. L—t nor the answers returned, nether does he seem in the least acquainted with L. L—t haveing sent this gentleman to Rome every particular of which he was acquainted with from L. L—t himself.[1]

‡ Sept. 2nd.

|| *N.B.*—What an unaccountable figure must it make in future ages to read that whille a [Prince], born in exille, with a handles of undisiplined militia, was marching full carrier to the Capital of the Kingdome, the Commander-in-Cheif of the Country should be flying for safety with an army of regular troops, vastly superior in number, under the cannon of a garrison. *O Tempora! O Mores!*—but, alas, virtue and true courage is only to be found amongst these barren roks and mountains where effeminacy, bribery, and corruption are yet alliens.

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[1] This note is all written in the same hand, and is not, as might appear, compacted of a note by the author and a later commentary.

The same night[1] that the Chevalier halted at Dunkell, Locheil entered the Town of Perth, having marched above 30 milles, and the day following, in the morning, proclaim'd the Chevalier, while the young Chevalier dined at the house of Nairn,[2] and enterd Perth in the Evening on horse back, att the head of his troops. This being the most centrical place in the Country he determined to fix his residence there till such time as he should learn the motions and designs of his Enemy. For this purpose he dispatchd expresses to the north, to be acquainted with S^{r} J. C. motions, to Ed^{r}. to know what was passing there, and to know their sentiments, and likewise to his freinds in England. From thence he was informed that the Enemy were amarching towards Aberdeen, and from Ed^{r}., that associations were carrying on against him, and mighty preparations making for the defence of that Capital, which was treated by his freinds with that contempt and disdain which so Idle and foolish a design deserved, and the Authoris of it rediculed, as by their future conduct they demonstrated that they had justly merited.*

Parties were sent to Dundee, and some other adjacent places, to seise upon what arms and ammunition could be found, which was executed with the outmost order and discreation, so far were the Highlanders from committing the unheard of outrages and devastations that had been industriously and falsely laid to their charge. All the wrights then in the town were ordered to make Targets for which they were paid, and passes and protections granted indiscriminatly to all that asked them.† It was here

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* Insert here the applications made by the Citty to the K. and ministry, with the preparations they made for the defence of the Citty.[3]

† *N.B.*—Notwithstanding the many false allegations of the Chevalier's having oppressed this Town, as well as others, by contributions y^{t} are now abundantly disproven, yet it may not be amiss as a further proof for such who either have not given themselves leesure to examin into the truth of the assertions or who are to much prejudiced to be perswaded by hearsay to insert the letter wrote by the principal magistrats upon that

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[1] September 4th.

[2] Lord Nairne's house in Strathord.

[3] Murray does not provide us with these. They must be sought from other authorities.

that the Chevalier was first joind by the D[uke] of P[erth],* L[ord] G[eorge] M[urray], Oliphant of Gask, elder and younger, L. Strathallan,[1] L[ord] O[gilvie] with several other gentlemen of familly and Estates, not by a parcel of Papists and men of desperate fortunes, as some little fawning cringing scoundrely fellows have advanced, who have attempted to write an account of this affair, with no other view, as their writtings plainly show, but to engratiate themselves with the M[inistr]y, and to procure a few comfortable meals in their stinking garrets. While the Chevalier continued here, the D. of A., who he had left att the Castle of Blair, was bussied in raising his followers, which so soon as they

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subject, dated at Perth ye 14th of Sept^{r} 1745, three days after the Chevalier left it.

'As to the report of Provost Patrick Cree and me being carried prisoners by the highland army as hostages for pay^{t}. of other 500 pound than what was payd, I must do that army justice, as I would wish to do to every body, by declaring that this report was without all foundation. We were, indeed, carried the lenth of Tullibarden and there liberated. The reason for taking us with them was not told us; 'tis true they were much displeased with the town in general, as wanting in respect. There was no money levied off the Inhabitants, for the 500£ that was payd was ordered out of the Town Common Good. signed D. SANDIEMAN.'

* James D. of Perth was about 34 years of age, six foot high, of a slender make, fair complection, and weakly constitution, had a good genius for emprovement in w^{h} he spent much of his time, and fired with an extraordinary love for his Country, gave great encouragement upon all occasions to manufactors of several kinds, but his unparaleld affection for the Exiled familly of Stuart made him bend the most of his thoughts towards their interest, and to accomplish that end he laboured with unwearied zeal, not only inciting others, but upon every occasion condescending to execute himself these offices which people of his Rank often, from a mistaken notion of grandeur, employ others to do for them, by w^{h} means they frequently miscarry or are discovered. His pocket was not only open to that interest, but to every one in distress, and if erring in any thing, it was in being too liberal; as he was bred in France till the age of 19, he never attaind to the perfect knowledge of the English language, and what prevented it in a great measure was his overfondness to speak broad Scotts. His judgement of things was very just and good, but his Ideas were so various, and crowded so fast upon him,

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[1] William Drummond, 4th Viscount Strathallan, fell at Culloden.

had certain accounts of L[ord] G[eorge's] * joining, succeeded to his wish. L. Ogilvey sett about raising his men, and L. P.[1] write from the north that nothing prevented him from marching south w^{t} the gentlemen of these parts but G^{ll}. Cope's being in the Country.

The Chevalier having certain intelligence that Cap^{t} Rogers had been sent south by G^{ll}. C. to provide ships att Leith to transport him to the firth of Forth, and that these transports were actually providing for him, called a Councill of War to consult of what was proper to be done upon that occasion. He urged that the bad consequences of the Enemy being entire, and in possession of the north, were obvious, for it not only prevented his frends in these parts from joining him, but made those of the south much cooller than probably they would have been (which plainly demonstrates that had Mr. Cope, together with those by whose advice he seems to have been all along directed, been acquainted with the Country, or cappable of any conduct, he w^{d} have continued there, and either effectually have prevented any further rising, or oblidged the Chevalier to march north to him). That in case the Enemy gott south, it was not impossible but they might be

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which, together with the want of the Language, made him a little prolix and rather over tedious in his discourse. He was very affable and of easy access, being void of all ceremony, tho' no man knew better when any one faild in the respect due to his birth. He was Roman Catholick, but far from being bigotted, never introducing the subject, and if introduced rather choosing to shunn it; full of disinterestedness, of undaunted courage, the most examplary, humanely, and universally beloved. In short, never was man possessed of more shinning qualities, nor attended with worse fortune.

* *N.B.*—The joy is scarcely to [be] imagined which the news of L. G.'s joining occasioned amongst the vassals and followers of the Atholl familly, the cautious part which he had acted for many years never having given them any reason to believe that he had any inclination that way, had made them give him up as a person lost to their cause; but when they found his behaviour had proceeded from policy and not from principle, it was like all unexpected benefits, it created a double pleasure, and made them exert themselves with uncommon alacrity.

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[1] Lord Pitsligo, who, however, did not join the Prince till the beginning of October.

joind by some of the troops ordered from Flanders before he could bring them to an action, and so become infinitely superior to him, as it would be impossible for him to gett the numbers together that he expected in so short a time, and that upon this account it seemd necessary for him to have matters ordered so as to be able to give them a meetting immediatly upon their landing, before they could be reinforced. The uncertainty of the place where they might debark, appeared to some of the Council a difficulty not easily to be surmounted; for tho there was time sufficient to gain any part of the coast the length of Berwick before it was possible for the Enemy to reach it, yett the intelligence by sea could not fail to be good, so that did they march the length of Dumbar, or anywhere nearer to England, the Enemy in that case, in place of landing thereabouts and risking an immediate attack before they could be recoverd from the fatigue of their voyage, would naturaly, if the wind permitted, run up to Leith and take possession of Ed^r^, before it was possible for them to prevent it. And, on the other hand, it would be equally in their power to land att Berwick, and join themselves with the troops coming from Flanders. Whereas could it be certainly known att what Port they intended to land, their march might be so ordered as to cover their designe, and be able to fall upon them in a few hours after they were come ashore. To prevent this difficulty, and to procure the immediate rising of their freinds in the north, it was proposed to march north from Perth, and attack S^r^ J. on his road to Aberdeen. Tho the Chevalier seemd of opinion that he might by forced marches gett to Aberdeen before him, and that his army would be augmented on his march, yett he was too quick sighted not to discover the ruin he might bring upon his affairs by that step; for so soon as the Enemy discovered his intentions, they had only to post themselves on the side of the River Spey att Gordon Castle, till they had drawn him within a day's march, and if they than did not care to risque a battle, they had it in their power to retire again under the cannon of Inverness, whille the two Regements of Dragoons then att Stirling would have marchd to harrase his rear, so that he must thereby have very much fatigued his troops, and losed a great deal of time, w^{t}out any probability of success. Having thus convinced them of the inconveniencys attending their scheme, he demonstrated the advantages of marching south to waite for the Enemy there, and of what consequence it would be to render himself Master of the Capital before it was possible for the Enemy to come to its relief, and therefor gave orders for the march of the army to Dumblain against Thursday the 11th of Sept^{r}. — M^{c}pherson of Cluney had been alalong keept prisoner from the time he was taken att his own house as the Chevalier marchd to Dalwhinny, but being att last prevaild upon to engage, was sent home to raise his Clann.

The day fixed for their departure, the Chevalier sett out on foot att the head of the Clanns, took up his quarters that night att Dumblain.* He halted here the 12th, and the next day, the 13th, he passed the firth att the foord of the Frews without any opposition from the Dragoons that had been encampd att Stirling, and camped that night att Touch. Att passing the River, he expressed a good deal of surprise to find that he had mett with no opposition, and demanded what for officers they had gott in Brittain, who were cappable of abandoning so advantageous a post. The River runs very still, and in a deep channel, not fordable for several milles above nor below but att one place, and that commanded by the Castle of Stirling, so y^{t} had the two Re^{t}s of Dragoons first cutt the banks of the River, and then entrenched themselves with two or three piece of cannon, they would have made it very difficult for him to pass, and in all events could have had their horses so near as to have made a safe retreat had they been oblidged to abandon the post, and must have cost the Chevalier a good many men; for tho he had the higher bank, he was without cannon. From Touch he marchd † by the Town of St. Ninians, and as he passed some few shott was fired from Stirling Castle, but tho the balls fell very nigh him they hurt nobody. The army made a halt of some hours near to

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* Sent to Glasgow.[1]

† Ye 14th.

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[1] *Sic* in Murray's own hand: he probably means that a messenger was sent to Glasgow, but the letter asking contributions from Glasgow is dated from Leckie where the Prince stayed the night of the 13th, while the army was at Touch.

Bannockburn, and had provisions brought them from Stirling and the Places about, whille the Chevalier dined att S^r H. P.,[1] and gott intelligence that the dragoons had retired to Linlithgow, and were encampd betwixt the Town and the Bridge, about half a mille to the westward. So soon as the Army had refreshed themselves he continued his march, and encamped about a mille and a half east of Falkirk upon the high road to Edn^r and took up his quarters att the House of Kallender. The Earl of Kilmarnock, haveing dined that day in the Enemy's Camp, which he left about six in the Evening, and all the Country about agreeing that they were still there, the Chevalier determined to attack them before day, and with that view, provided himself with guides and ordered a detachment[2] of five hundred men to be ready on a minutes warning. Having supped, he retired as if going to bed to prevent any intelligence being given of his designe and went privately to the camp where he put himself at the head of the detachment, and marched with a view to pass the river of [Avon] att a foord half a mille above the bridge and attack the dragoons in flank, but before he had marched above half way he gott intelligence of the Enemys having retired towards Ed^r and encamped att Kirkliston Water upon the accounts of his aproach, so that he took possession of the Town of Linlithgow about six in the morning y^e 15th, where the rest of the army joined him about noon. It happening to be of a Sunday, the Chevalier ever carefull to show the world how much he was determined to keep up to the engagements in his Manifesto, encampd his army to the eastward of The Town, and discharged any of the men from entering save a very small guard he keept with himself in the Palace, ordered the bells to be rung, the church doors to be open'd, and gave orders to assure the magestrates in his name that they should not be disturbed in their worship, notwithstanding of which the Minister either left the Town, or declined preaching, to enduce the ignorant vulgar to believe that if he had, he would have been insulted and persecuted. In the

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[1] Sir Hugh Paterson, uncle of Miss Walkinshaw.

[2] No other contemporary authority gives this incident. Mr. Blaikie in the *Itinerary* (p. 13 *n* 6) states that Murray is corroborated by local tradition.

Evening he encamped* about three milles from the Town and sleepd himself in a small farm house in the rear of his army, having ordered the whole to be under arms next morning by five a clock. How soon all was ready in the morning,† the Chevalier drew up his army six in front, making them close their files as much as possible, the Country not allowing him to march in two collumns, and advanced in the greatest order, not a man offering to quite his Ranks, being ready to receive the Dragoons in case they should venture to attack them. He continued his march in this manner till he came to Todshall, a gentleman's (Mr. Horn) seat upon Newliston River, where he made a halt for two hours and sent out parties to reconnoitre the Enemy, who retired to the Colt Bridge, about a mille from Edin^{r}. About two in the afternoon he advanced to Corsterphan, three milles from the Capital where were numbers of people mett him from thence, chiefly from curiosity, and then filled of to the right and encamped at Gray's Milles, 2 milles distant from the Citty to the south west, having sent a summons to the Provost and Majestrates requiring them to open their gates and receive him into the Town, a copy of which may not be amiss to insert here.[1]

This summons being read, it was agreed upon by the Provost and Majestrates to depute some of their number to the Chevalier to know what terms were required of them, and to gain a little time to see how matters would turn out. Accordingly Baily Hamilton, etc. came to Bells milns about att night. After notice had been given of their arrival, and that they were brought into the Chevalier's quarters he ordered M^{r} M. to go to them and know their errand. They told him that they was deputed by the Majestracy and Town Council to the Prince to know what was expected from them, to which he answered that his Master required no further than that they

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* It is to be observed that the officers, L. G. M. as well as the rest, sleepd att the head of their several Corps without other covering than their plaids.

† 16th.

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[1] Murray does not give this, but it may be found in Browne's *History*, vol. iii. p. 58.

should open their gates to his army and delivre up the arms of the Town and garrison, with the ammunition and Military Stores than in the Town, in which case the liberties of the Citty should be preserved, and all necessary protection given them. They answered that in regard to the arms of the militia they could not take upon them to be responsible, as they were not in their power, having received them from the Castle, but upon the whole desired time to return and consult with their brethern. After M^{r} M. had made his report to the Chevalier, he aggreed that they should have two or three hours to bring back an answer, but grant them no further respite, having good intelligence that they desired no more than to dallie of the time till they saw how far it was possible for them to be relieved by G^{ll}. Cope. The deputies had no sooner liberty to return, than the Chevalier sensible that they meditated to to gain time and tire him out by a trifling treaty, and exasperated to think that they should have the impudence to pretend terms for the surrendery of a Town quite defenceless, proposed to send a Detachment to render themselves Masters of it by force, in case y^{e} deputies did not return at the time appointed with a resolution to surrender. With this view he ordered Locheil to putt his people under arms to be ready to march upon a minutes warning, and ordered M^{r} M. to be their guide, as he was well acquainted with all the avenues to the place, giving strickt orders to behave with all moderation to the Inhabitants, and that the sogers should not be allowed to taste spirits, and to pay for w^{t}ever they got, promising them two shillings each so soon as they rendered themselves Masters of the place. The detachment had immediately orders to march, and was commanded by Lochiel and Col^{l}. O'Sulivan taking the road by Merkistown and Hopes Park, where they passed without being observed by the garrison in the Castle, tho so near as to hear them distinctly call their rounds, and arrived at the nether bow Port without meetting any body on their way, and found the wall of the Town which flanks the Pleasants and St. Marys wind mounted with cannon, but no person appeared. Locheil ordered one of his people in a great coat and hunting cape to go and demand entrance att the gate, whille he was ready to have followed him in case he had obtained admittance, but the fellow being refused access, and it now being clear daylight, M^r M. proposed to retire to a place call'd S^t Leonards hills, and after securing themselves from the cannon of the Castle, to waite for orders from the Chevalier where to attack the town, that tho they had it then in their power to force their entry by any of the houses in S^t Marys wind which makes part of the Town wall, yett their orders of moderation were so severe that they could not take it upon them to demolish any of the houses without liberty given. This retreat being thus agreed to M^r M. went to the rear of the detachment to make them march and guide them to the place proposed, but before he had time to get so far, the Coach which had returned with the deputies came down the High Street and oblidged the Guard to open the Port, upon which Locheil took the advantage and rushed in, the guard immediately dispersing. Thus did the Chevalier render himself master of the Capital without sheding a drop of Blood, notwithstanding all the mighty preparations and associations entered into for its defence.

But as no one incident that happened durring the whole course of the war made so much noise, and as the Chief Magistrate not only suffered a long and painfull Confinement, and att last was brought to a Trial as if guilty of negligence in the administration of his office, breach of trust, and secretly giving up the Citty it won't perhaps be disagreeable to the reader to know the fact, as in truth it was. It is not to be imagined that I intend what follows as a vindication of that Gentleman's Conduct, that would be needless after a judicial acquittal, and to take pains to vindicate the only man in the Citty who from the trial appears to have exerted himself the most to barr y^e Enemys entry, would be extremely idle. It is rather with a view justly to reflect upon his conduct together with all those who had foolishly adopted the Don Quixote fancy of defending a place not only open almost on all hands, but a place that in forty eight hours time might have been starved. And to make the affair as clear as the nature of it will allow, I shall endeavour to give a short description of the Citty, and than suppose y^t the Volunteers had keept to their first resolution of defending it, and that the two hundered Dragoons had been admitted to assist in the defence, and lastly endeavour to show what must have been the Consequences.

The Citty is surrounded from the Castle upon the South Side till the Cowgate Port, with a pretty high wall flank att particular distance though not att proper ones, the wall is thine and in very bad repair from the Cowgate Port to the nether bow Port, along S^t Marys wind the houses compose part of the Town wall, and from thence to [1] Port at [Trinity] hospital by Leith wind the wall is in good repair, but then, it is to be observed that the hospital on the north side makes likewise part of the wall, and can easily be taken possession of by the College Church[2] without being much exposed to the fire from the walls. From thence, westward to the new port the wall is much the same as on the South Side, and from the new port, the north Loch stretches itself to the foot of the Castle. I shall first observe that a body of men, three times the number who were then in the Citty, would not have been sufficient to defend it for these reasons, first, they was composed of a parcel of raw undisciplined fellows, numbers of whom had never seen nor heard a gun fired. Secondly, they had no officers to head them who were better versed in military matters than themselves, and consequently could not have been brought to the several attacks that would have been made, and thirdly, the gentlemen volunteers themselves, from whom most was to be expected, were infinitely inferior in courage to their Enemy.

But to put the impossibility of a defence past all doubt I shall observe the methods proposed to attack the place by which means it must infallibly have faln into the Chevaliers hand, in a few hours time. Upon the South Side there is a house belonging to one Nicolson, a little way from the Potter-row Port, and but a few yards from the wall, it was proposed to have taken possession of it, and whille the walls were cleard by the fire from the higher windows of the house a Sap would have been carried on to the foot of the wall and a few barrels of powder would have made breech for a dozen to enter a-breast. On the north Side again a strong diversion would have been made by the Phisick garden to render themselves master of the Sluice upon the north Loch, whille a party attacked the hospital att the foot of Leith wind, and all these carried on whille the principal attempt would have been made in S^{t} Marys wind by taking possession of the houses on the east side, and setting fire to those on the west, which notwithstanding all the efforts of the Garrison, must have been reduced in a few hours time, and either oblidged them to surrender at Discretion or occasiond a great deal of bloodshed. Thus in less than half a days time would the Town have been reduced, with the wholle garrison made prisoners without terms, and a number of lives lost to no purpose under the heavens, but to please some hotheaded ignorant fools.

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[1] Edgar's Map (1742) gives no name to this gate, which it shows to the south of the Hospital and exactly opposite to Carthrae's Close. There seems to have been another gate just at the back of Trinity Hospital before you came to the New Port further west. If the gate had a name it seems odd that Murray should have forgotten it.

[2] Trinity College Church.

I shall now observe the behaviour of the Highlanders after their getting possession of the place. After making a short halt att the Cross,* Col^{l} O'Sullivan posted a gaurd att the weigh house,[1] sent gaurds to the several gates, and drew up the rest of the men in the Parliament Close till proper places should be pitched upon for their quarters, and tho they remained there from Six till eleven in the morning under arms, after the fatigue they had undergone, before the Keys of the outer Parliament house could be got and straw found, yett was they keept in such good order by y^{e} Cheif that not one of them offerd to quite his ranks, and were so far from committing any abusses that they took nothing but what they paid for, the people brought them plenty of bread and drink, nor did one of them taste Spirits, haveing been charged by Locheil before their entry.

The Chevalier with the main body made a Circuit about the Town, and entered † the Palace of Hollyrood house by the Kings port about twelve att Noon amidst the acclamation of

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* Att this time the garrison in the Castle having gott intelligence of their entry fired some shot by way of defiance.

† Sept^{r} ye 17th.

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[1] The old weighhouse was in the Lawnmarket.

vast numbers of people of both sexes. The same day the Chevalier was proclaimd over the Market Cross, and the two following declarations[1] read by the heralds in there robs when was present a great Concourse of people of the best fashion in the place, not a few women[2] only, as some of the Grub-street writers on this affair would make believe.*

The Chevalier had no sooner taken possession of Holly-rood house that he sett about giving all proper orders for supplying his little army with all necessary, made a quantity of bread to be provided, and ordered the Town Arms to be given to such as either had none or whose arms were bad, tho notwithstanding the great noise that has been since made of the advantage he reapd from these arms it is undeniably certain that one half of them were good for little, and that of the whole of his army there was not two hundred men without Musquets, so that his future success at Preston was not in the least owing to any advantage he reap'd from having acquired possession of Edinburgh. No more men were quartered in Town than were necessary for its preservation, and a small gaurd att the Palace, the rest of the Army was quartered att Duddingston, to be ready to march to G^{ll}. Cope so soon as his motions were known.

The day following a proclamation was ishued requiring all the Inhabitants of Ed^{r} and the Country adjacent to delivre up all the arms and ammunition in their possession, the Chevalier wisely judging that it would be very improper to leave any arms in the hands of the Country people who tho they than had not resolution to oppose him openly, tho some, perhaps, inclined it, might nevertheless in case of any disaster take the advantage cowards ever do over a broken Enemy. In y^{e} afternoon a Drum beat up for Volunteers when a good many entered the D. of Perths regiment. On thursday the 19th, in the evening, the Chevalier had certain intelligence that G^{ll}. Cope had marched that morning from Dunbar, and was to encamp that night att Haddingtown, upon which he

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* Here ensert the declarations.[1]

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[1] See Browne's *History*, vol. iii. p. 65.

[2] Mrs. Murray's presence at the ceremony explains the acerbity of the writer.

immediately gave orders for the gaurds of the Citty to retire early next morning, and he went himself that night to Duddingston. Upon the accounts of G^{ll}. Copes march which was again confirm'd that night, he expressed a great deal of satisfaction to some of his officers, being always suspitious that the G^{ll}. would retire to Berwick till such time as he was joined by some of the troops expected from Flanders, and assured them that he would not lett the first good occasion slip to fight him when he did not in the least doubt of proving victorious.

In obedience to the orders given on the morning of the twentieth the gaurds retired from the Citty and joined the Army att Duddingston, and brought alongst with them some Surgeons, with whom the Army was then very ill provided, and some Coaches and Chaises were likewise ordered for the Conveniency of the wounded, so certain was the prospect of a battle, and even a successfull one.* Thus all things being prepared about

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* *N. B.*—Coll^{l} Roy Steuart and Cap^{t} George Hamilton who had gone so far as Musselburrough to procure intelligence of Mr. Copes March happend accidentally at a Publick house to be mett by Mr. Robert Cunninghame, son to Major Cunninghame of Stirling Castle, and Mr. Francis Garden who taking Steuart and Hamilton for officers from their dress joind company and were enquiring about the highlanders. Coll^{l} Steuart immediatly suspecting them alledged they was Rebells, whilst they to convince them of his error assurred that they had been in the highland Camp the Evening before, return'd to Haddington to give G^{ll} Cope Intelligence and were now upon their return to learn further of, therewithall showing Mr. Copes pass, upon which they were immediatly seised and Carried prisoners to Dudiston and from thence marched in the rear under a gaurd of Atholl men to Carberry hill above Preston where Mr. Cope was encamped and dismissed how soon the army had orders to march east ward by the Town of Tranent. This would not have been mentioned had not Mr. Cunninghames immoderate freight made him represent the best usage in the most hideous Colours, and, as was afterwards known, to have retained his panick after his arrival at Jedburgh 30 milles distant, where as soon as released he went without sleeping to such a degree as not be easy till he had got to Durham, but as the representations of his sufferings and the dangers he had endured procured him a post in the army and the favour of a great man, it is now to be hoped that he knows the difference of the front and rear of his Regiment.[1]

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[1] This is a more plausible account of the capture of the future general and judge than that given by the Quarterly reviewer quoted by Browne, vol. iii. p. 71.

nine in the morning, after receiving an exact account of the number* of the enemy taken at Haddington, the Chevalier putt himself att the head of his small army, drawing his sword, said with a very determined Countenance, Gentlemen, I have flung away the Scabbard, with Gods assistance I dont doubt of making you a free and happy people, M^r^ Cope shall not escape us as he did in the Highlands, and then began his march, ordering the few horse, he than had, not above fifty in number, to advance att some small distance in front, and to detach a few to discover the Enemys march. In this manner, with the Camerons in front, he marchd in good order crossing Musselburogh bridge by Pinkey park wall, by this time the party of horse sent intelligence y^{t} G^{ll}. Cope was nigh to Tranent from which the Chevalier conjectured that he would engage him on the muir to the west ward of that Village, and therefor quicken his march to prevent his gaining the Brow of Carberry hill before him, but before he had near reached the Top of the hill he was told that Sir John had marchd to the left, and posted himself in a low ground betwixt Preston and Seaton. This naturally lead him to imagine that he intended to avoid comeing to action, & made him determine, if possible, to attack him the same day. With this view he advanced to the hill and drew up his army opposite to G^{ll}. Cope who was formed in the low ground before mentioned in two lines, with the two regiments of Dragoons on his wings. So soon as the Chevalier had taken a view of the Enemy he judged it impossible to attack them in the post they was then in, having a deep ditch in their front which runs along the high road where he must have sustained great loss before he could pass it, but being determined that att no rate the Enemy should give him y^{e} slip a second time he ordered a detachment to take possession of the Church yard which commanded their Camp on the left, and as that seemd the only side where it was possible to come att them, he enquired if there was none in the army acquainted with the Country to know if the ground would allow him to attack them upon the left. There happend to be a gentleman† in the army of that County who told him that there was only one pass on the left whereby not guarded he could come to them, upon which he ordered it to be reconnoitred, and finding it neglected he ordered a detachment of five hundred men to be posted upon the high road to the west of Preston to prevent the Enemys retiring by that road to Ed^{r}, and recalling the detachment from the Church yard he marched his army eastward by the town of Tranent, and drew up in one line opposite to the flank of the Enemy who upon that motion made a half wheel to face him, expecting, as it was imagined, that he than designed to attack them, and which L. G. M—y proposed as the Highlanders were then full of Spirits, and, above all things desirous to engage, but the night being than far advanced the Chevalier thought it better to delay comeing to an engagement till next morning, not knowing what might be the Consequence of a rencounter in the night should the Enemy if beat rallie and come upon him whille in Confusion and not able to gett his people together, knowing how difficult it was to keep irregular troops together in a body after an action, so resolved to delay it till early next morning, and ordered his Army to halt upon the ground about three or four hundered yards from the Enemy, and to continue under arms to be ready to march upon a minutes warning. They accordingly lay close in order of Battle the whole night without the least whisper or noise to be heard, whille G^{ll}. Cope made Some Fires in his Camp and threw a few Shells, which did no hurt. Having continued in this position for some time, he was inform'd that the detachment of five hundered Atholl men which he had posted upon the west side of the Village of Preston had rejoined the army; this made him very uneasy least the Enemy had filed off during the night by that road and taken possession of the Citty of Edin^{r}, to prevent which and to intercept the runaways had enduced him to make that disposition. He at first seemed resolved to make them return, but when he reflected that their march, if discovered by the enemy, might induce them to believe it was the whole army and occasion them to alter their disposition or occasion any confusion or distrust amongst his own people, he judged it safer and better to put up with the disappointment and continue the rest of his plan, tho he could not help complaining that his orders had been neglected in so material a point.

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* *N.B.*—This was the most exact account of Mr. Copes numbers y^{t} the Chevalier had then received, about 2700.

† Mr. Anderson [of Whitburgh, cf. Notes to *Waverley*].

Nothwithstanding this *faux pas*, he kept in very high Spirits the rest of the night, laying on the ground without any Covering but his plaid, and in the morning about an hour before daylight made his army, guided by the gentleman above mentioned, march from the left in three Collumns, making the left of the first line the right of the army for the attack,* which motion tho perhaps irregular was yett necessary, and executed with so much order and Silence that the small body of horse posted in the rear knew nothing of their march; the officer on duty, either through forgettfullness or that he thought they could be of no service, neglected to give them orders to march. In this order he marched to the Enemy, passing a deep bog w^t out the least observation. The right, composed of the M^{c}don^{ds} of Glengarry and Clanronald, was Commanded by the D. of P., and the left, Commanded by L. G. M., which had made the right the preceeding day, consisted of the Camerons and Steuarts of Appin. The third Collumn, which was made up of the Atholl men, was commanded by My L[ord] N[airn]. So soon as the two first Columns had passed the bog, they formd and march'd straight to the Enemy, who by this time had formed and presented themselves in the same order of Battle they had appeared the day before. By this time the third Column had likewise passed and formed themselves about four score yards in the rear of the first line; rather too near, if the ground would have allowed of a more regular disposition. The left, when pretty near the Enemy finding themselves outwinged, made a motion to front the artillery, which occasioned a gap in the Center, but marching up briskly, they recived one fire of the Cannon, which did little hurt, and than receiving a fire from the foot, they gave a loud huzza, returning the fire, upon which Gairdners dragoons run off, and the Highlanders, throwing away their musquets, attacked the foot with incredible impetuosity, who immediately gave ground. Upon the left of the Enemy the resistance, if such behaviour merits the name, was much less, for before the D. of P. was within three Score yards of them Hamiltons Dragoons began to reel and run of before they could receive his fire; the foot likewise fired to soon, and almost all turned their backs before the Highlanders could engage them with their Swords. In a few minutes the rout was total; the Dragoons on the right run of by the high road through the Town of Preston, and those on the left by the Shore towards the east; the few of the foot that saved themselves escaped by Preston Park, the wall of which had been broke down the day before by G^{ll}. Copes orders. All the baggage of the army was placed in a yard upon the left of their army, guarded by two Companys of L. Lowdons Regiment, where so soon as the action was over Cap^{t} Bazil Cochran of Coll. Lees[1] was sent by L. G. M. to tell them that if they would immediatly surrender as prisoners of war they should be used as such, if not, they would be immediatly attack'd and no quarter given, upon which they readily gave up their arms.

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* *N. B.*—As the Several clans could not well be distinguished, as to precedency or their ranks by Seniority Sustained without Creating disputes, which might, upon the Eve of a battle, prove detrimental to the Common interest, the Chevalier, who was ever watchfull of the least thing that prevents Cavil, proposed while at Perth that the Several Cheifs should amongst them selves agree of the posts they was to have in the line of Battle and offered as the most equitable way that they should draw lots, which they readily agreed to. The M^{c}donalds of Glengary, Clanronald, and Ceppoch as choosing to fight together drew one lote, which proved to be the left, the Camerons and Steuarts inclining likewise to be in a body drew one lote, which fell out to be the Right, the Center naturally fell to the other Corps who did not pretend to any precedency, thus this affair seemd to be amicably adjusted and the Several commanders Contented till the morning before the Battle at Gladsmuir that the M^{c}donalds whilst at Didiston being informed of their destination objected against it to a man notwithstanding y^t their Commanders acquiesced in the lote that had faln to their Share, but as Glengarys son was young and a second brother, his people who were the most forward had ye less regard to his Authority, so that after a very long dispute Locheil, unwilling to create any differences that might the least obstruct his Masters interest, generously offerd that in case no action happened that day which did not seem probable he would willingly quite his post the next to the M^{c}donalds notwithstanding the agreement, in persueance of which ye M^{c}donalds marchd from the left next morning and formed the right of the whole.

Att first one would have imagined that few or none of the troops had excaped the Slaughter, they lying in heaps along by the Park wall, tho in less than a quarter of an hour nine of ten found their feet, for to evite death numbers threw themselves on the ground, the greatest part not so much as wounded; nor was there ever more mercy showed upon any occasion, notwithstanding the many false and malicious Storys that have been alledged to the Contrary, not a Creature having been refused quarter so soon as they asked it. Instances have been given, such as M^r^ Sandilands, son to Lord Torpichen, M^r^ Myers, a volunteer, and Steuart of Phisgill; but the two first, yett alive, cannot say they ever asked quarter, and therefor cannot complain of their usage; and as to Cap^t^ Steuart, nothing but a mistaken notion of honour was the occasion of his death, having been several times offered quarter by a gentleman * of his own name who had engaged him, which he was so far from accepting that he gave him bad names and oblidged the gentleman, tho with regrate, to kill him in self-defence. The many Storeys spread about Col^l^ Gardners death were equally groundless; that gentleman, picqued to see the shamfull behaviour of his Regiment, seemed determined not to survive the odium that might thereby have been thrown upon him, and by his obstinacy occasioned his own fall. But these Storys are not to be wondered at, when people were cappable of Continuing to believe them att the distance of ten months after, and to hang an innocent man † as author of the Coll^s^ death when it was well known to many that this person was on horse back att the distance of some hundred yards from the Spott where the Col^l^ fall by some of the foot.‡ In this action on the side of the Chevalier there were not above three or four officers killed, and these people of no distinction, with

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[1] Lee's regiment, the 44th, now the Essex Regiment.

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* Donald Steuart Ensign in Ardsheils Regiment a very brave resolute honest man who dyed of the wounds he received at the Battle of Culloden.

† John M^c^naughton watch maker an honest inoffensive creature who was executed at Carlile as the person who had killed Col^l^ Gardner.

‡ Locheils Regiment.

N.B.—Amongst the first who called out for quarters to an officer of the Camerons was Coll. Lassels, and was by him ordered into the rear of the Regiment where he should be taken care of, but instead of waiting till the affair was over he put a white Cocade in his hat and rode of to Berwick, how this gentleman will account for his proceedings I don't about thirty private men and seventy or eighty officers and Solgers wounded; whereas of G^{ll}. Copes, according to the best Computation that could than be made, there were seven or eight officers with about three hundered private men killed, and betwixt four and five hundered wounded, with almost the whole taken prisoners, of whom there were eighty three officers.

So soon as the action was over the Chevalier gave orders to have the wounded dressed and carriages provided to take them of the field, which was executed by his Surgeons* w^t all the care and expedition imaginable, to the great loss of the wounded of his own army, who from being neglected till most of the troops were taken care of, their wounds festered, being all gun Shott and mostly in the legs and thighs. He breakfasted on the field, but not amongst the dead and within hearing of the groans of the wounded, as has been falsly asserted by little ignorant Scholl master[1] who has pretend to write the history of an affair of which he could be no judge, but when people will act above their Sphere they must be allowed to stuff their performance with whatever suits their confined fancy best, tho att the expense of truth.

But before I proceed any further in this little history, which becomes now more interesting (the face of affairs in Scotland being entirely altered), the Success of that day having rendered the Chevalier entire master of that Kingdom, save the forts of Ed^r and Stirling, with the four small garrisons in the north, I shall make some few remarks upon the procedure of both armies with all possible impartiality, and than leave the world to determine which of the two Commanders merited most the name of general. In speaking of the difficulties that occurred to the Council att Perth, when consulting of the course than most proper to be taken, no methode seemed to them more

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know, but I imagine it will be difficult for him to account for his having a white Cocade in his pocket if not that he had previously determined to Change Sides should Mr. Cope be worsted.

* *N.B.*—They had but few of their own and they not to be easily distinguished from the other officers prisoners.

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[1] Andrew Henderson, author of *The History of the Rebellion*, published at Edinburgh 1748. He was a master in the High School of Edinburgh and in Watts Academy.

proper for the Enemy to disapoint their main Scheme, which centered in coming to blows, than their landing att or near to Berwick, and there waite till joind by the troops coming from Flanders. M^{r} Cope seemd att first to have had this in view by landing att Dunbar, a place att no great distance from the border, but what reasons Could induce him to alter his mind,* if that really was his plan, is more than any person of the most accute genious has hitherto ever attempted even to Conjecture, if not that his orders from Superior powers more versant in matters Military than he oblidged him in spite of Common Sense to lay aside his own plan to confirm to his instructions, nothing could be more obvious than that his marching north was risking the whole Kingdome of Scotland upon the Success of a rencounter with the Chevalier att the head of an army very nigh equall to his in number, and infinitely Superior in resolution, whereas had he either marchd to Berwick, or encampd himself att Dunbar, in such ground as where the Chevalier could not have brought him to a battle, he must have in a few days been joind by a body of troops very nigh equal in number to those under his Command, and more accustomed to fire, which would in all humain probability oblidged the Chevalier to have sought his own safety by retiring north. But after resolving to give the Highlanders a meetting, as if that one blunder had not in its self been sufficient, *quos deus vult perdere*, etc., he determines to use all methodes to intimidate his own troops and give, if possible, more courage to his Enemy. Having marchd the first day to Haddington, than where it was impossible for him to have found better and more advantagious ground to fight on, with the River on his left, a deep hollow way with some farme houses on his right, and the Town in his rear, yett he was in too violent a hurry to think of taking any such advantage, and waiting there for the Enemy, who would undoubtedly have sought him out, but marches on next morning with great Composure, without knowing the Chevaliers progress, nor where he might be oblidged to engage. He had the good luck, however, had he known how to manage it, to gett the lenth of Gladsmuir, a fine open heath where he could see about him for a Considerable destance, and where his Dragoons had not only room to act, but, if broke, to railley again and again if necessary. Thus one who is att all versant on the art of war would have by any means chosen when to encounter with undisciplined militia, who, tho they should att first gett the better, are seldom able to withstand the attack of regular troops when rallied in the Confussion their own advantage generaly throws them. But G^{ll}. Cope, not carring to risk an action in a ground where he wrongfully imagined he should fight upon equall terms, sought out a spot just large enough to put his army in order of battle and strongly fortified by nature, so turns to the right and encamps on the low ground betwixt Seaton house and Grange[1] park wall, with a large ditch and some enclosers in his front, Cokency glass work on his Rear, a marsh upon his left, and Grange park wall on his right. It must appear obvious to every body, however ignorant of these matters, that this proceedure could have no other effect than that of discouraging his army. There were, we may suppose, abundance of them quick euough to reflect that their general either wanted conduct or did not think himself a match for his Enemy, otherwise he had never pent himself up in such a Corner, and either of these two apprehensions were more than sufficient to dishearten his army. It would be tedious to sho y^{e} many advantages G^{ll}. Cope had it in his power to have taken from the nature of the country and the Troops he Commanded. Could he have prevaild on himself to have marchd an hour or two earlier and taken possession of the banks of the Messelburray River from Inveresk to Pinkey, it would not have then been in the Chevaliers power, lett his genious have even been better than he showed it, to have attacked him without very great loss, and indeed the outmost probability of an entire defeat. But to return to the G^{ll}. att Preston, I may be allowed to affirm that he could have no other view in taking up the ground he did than from a notion that the Chevalier would attack him in front, a very unaccountable conceit, for sure he had no title from what had passed to flatter himself that the Chevalier was less master of his business than himself, att least could never imagine him so weak as to fight att such a disadvantage. If from reflection during his march he thought he had been to blame in not waiting till joined by the troops expected from Flanders, and now thought of rectifiing his mistake by pitching his Camp in a ground where he could not be brought to fight but upon his own Terms, he ought to have reconoitred the ground with great Care, when the morras by which the Chevalier marched to him the next morning could not possibly have escaped him, which had they gaurded only with two or three peice of Cannon and two hundered men he might have continued there as long as he could procure provisions by sea, and oblidged the Chevalier either to march back to Ed^r^, or to benume his army by lying out in Cold frosty nights. But what appeared the most extraordinary of all was his ordering Preston Park wall to be beat down to show his men the manner of making their escape, for nothing seemed more obvious than that he expected to be beat by that Strange Caution.

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* *N.B.*—It has been alledged that Mr. Cope was unwilling to march north to Ed^{r}, but that the representations, complaints, and entreaties of many people of Rank who had fled to him upon the Chevaliers entering the Capital enduced to take that part, but it is to be hoped Mr. Cope had better reasons for his proceedure than the advice or entreatys of a parcel of people who, however distinguished they were as to Rank, were nevertheless totally ignorant of the art of War.

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[1] Not Prestongrange, but old Purton House, now the site of Miss Murray's, late Schaw's, Hospital.

It presented itself in quite a different light to the Chevalier, and was one of the reasons that induced him to order the detachment of 500 men to gaurd the end of the Village, imagining that the Enemy intended in the night to file of by that gap to the west and take possession of the Capital, and how it came to escape the G^ll^. I dare say cannot well be accounted for. The execution was quite easy, for so soon as the detachment retired from their post, of which he could not, at least ought not, to have been ignorant, he had only to send his baggage in front, and, when once gott Clear of the village, march with his whole foot, leaving fires with the two Regiments of Dragoons, who might safely have staid till morning, when by making as quick a retreat as they did on the 17th from the Colt Bridge, would soon have gott out of reach of the Highlanders. That this was a Capital mistake must be obvious to every body who will give themselves leave to consider of the Consequences that must naturally have followed. In the first place, it would not then have been in the Chevaliers power to have render'd himself Master of Ed^{r}, nor to have in any great degree Streitned S^{r} John in his provisions, for allowing that he could have destroyed the milles upon the River of Leith, S^{r} John could always have keep't a free communication with the Town of Leith, and have received plenty of all necessary by Sea. Secondly, as he had few horses, he could not have raised the publick money of the adjacent Counties. Thirdly, it would have very much lessened his Character as an officer, and thereby weakend his party; and lastly, not being able to bring his army to an action, would have tyred out his men, impatient of delays, and enduced numbers of them to return home, and be in all probability oblidged to march back to Stirling, which would have enabled S^{r} J. to repair his former blunder of Crossing the Forth, in short, many more reasons might be given to show how necessary a Step this was, but the innumerable advantages that accrued to the Chevalier by his antagonists oversights are a sufficient demonstration of the truth of what I have said.

Some hours after the action, the Chevalier quitted the feild and went to Pinkey house, having given the Strictest orders to have the officers used with all imaginable Civility. The dead to be buried, and all the arms secured. The whole baggage of the army was taken, and amongst the rest the military Chest, hid under a Stair in Cockeny house, amongst a parcel of old broken barrels and other lumber, where was found betwixt two and three thousand [pounds] with the Generals papers, the rest of the money, as is alledged, having been convey'd by Sea on board a man of War in the Road.

Next day the Chevalier came to the Palace of Hollyroodhouse, and being told that rejoicings and bone fires were intended for the victory, he gave possitive orders against it saying that he was far from rejoicing att the death of any of his fathers Subjects, tho never so much his Enemys y^{t} he pittied their unhappy way of thinking, which had drawn so many misfortunes upon the Country, and ended in their own fall, and that he should think it unnatural in his followers to make publick rejoices upon the deaths of their own Country men.* And so great was his care to prevent any thing that could in the least seem like a want of humanity, as if his orders had not been Sufficient, he made the following proclamation.[1]

He likewise sent a message to the Prysbiterian ministers, desiring them to preach as usual and that they might depend upon meeting with no disturbance; but they, determined by any means to procure grounds for calling out Persecution their favorite Plea, Sent a deputation of their Number to S^r^ Thomas Sherridan to enquire if they might pray for K[ing] G[eorge], the oddity of the demand surprised S^r^ Thomas a good deal, and it is natural to imagine he would have given them a very Short and desisive answer, but the Chevalier resolved to give them no grounds for Complaints, was pleased to direct S^r^ Tho: to tell them as from himself, their deputation being to him, that he could not pretend to give them that Liberty, which in its self would be a flatt Contradiction, but that he would venture to assure them that no notice should be taken of any thing they said, which tho it must, by every impartial person, be allowed to have been an unheard of instance of humanity and good nature, yett they, nevertheless, refussed to comply, pretending fear of insults and the like.† And whilst I am talking of the Clergy, I cant help taking notice of an incident that happend soon after. One M^c^vicar,

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* *N.B.*—Upon receipt of the news of the battle of Culloden at Ed^r^ publick rejoicings were ordered and such who either from a natural reluctancy to joy on the day of the fall of their freinds and Relations did not put out candles or whose houses were only inhabited by Stwarts had their windows broke and were mobb'd, paintings in Some windows Such as victorey trampling Rebellion under foot and justice plunging her naked Sword in her Bowels; bone fires in every Corner of the Citty and what is still more remarkable that day twelve months observed as a day of Jubilee: we shall leave it to the reader to make his own reflections upon the conduct of one and tother as to this particular.

† *N.B.*—Every where as the D. of Cumberlands army march'd north all the Church of England meetting houses were by his orders burnt to the ground and the Clergy men obliged to abscond.

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[1] This proclamation is dated 23rd Sept. from Holyrood, and is signed J. Murray. See *Scots Magazine*, 1745, vol. vii. p. 441.

Minister of the west Church, who was the only one of them who continued to preach, lett fall some things in his prayer reflecting on the Chevalier which, when he was told of, as there are always people bussy enough to carry complaints, he did not in the least seem to mind it, but said that he looked upon the fellow as an honest fool and would have no notice taken of him.[1]

The Army was now cantoned in the Citty, Suburbs, and villages adjacent, but not in the oppresive manner that has been taken in Towns when there was less occasion for it, only publick houses and people of low rank was burthened with them. To ease the inhabitants they was numbers made to lay on Straw in the Trone Church and Lobbie of the Parliam^{t} house. The Burgesess and people of fashion were not harrassed with common fellows for their guests.* The Chevalier being sensible upon the report that was brought him of the Arms taken att the Battle, that they did not amount to near the number that must have been taken, judging that the Country people, who had floked into the field, must have Carried them off, ordered the following proclamation to be isshued, requiring them to delivre up whatever arms or Slings they had in their Custody.[2]

As many people have pretended to find fault with the Chevaliers not marching immediatly after the Action att Preston, to Berwick, it may not be improper to give some few reasons for his Conduct to satisfie the more ignorant, for to those of more knowledge the thing will appear to have been, if not impossible, at least improper.

That it was not either for want of knowledge or inclination in him is well known to those to whom he declared his mind. He not only proposed it, but for some hours Considered Sereously of it, and for undeniable reasons resolved against it.

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* *N.B.*—When the army under G^{ll} Haley came to Ed^{r} ye Spring following they were quartered in the gentlemens houses within the Citty by Sixes and Sevens at free quarters, and every Inhabitant oblidged to furnish Sheets and blankets for their use, few if any of which were ever returned, so Superiorly honest are the Reed Coats to the Highlanders.

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[1] This refers to the well-known story of Mr. M'Vicar's prayer, that the young man who had come seeking an earthly crown might soon be given a heavenly one.

[2] This is also signed by Murray, and is dated Sept. 30th. This may be found in the *Full Collection of Proclamations*, published in 1745.

There was small ground to doubt that if he had marchd some hours after the affair was over he might have reachd that place the night following, when without any Scruple we may conclude that the Panick Copes flight had struck the inhabitants with, would have given him easy access to the garrison, that the Dragoons would not have fought is plain, and that the few Dutch then landed were too much fatigued* with their voyage to have made any resistance. Indeed letters att that time from Berwick represented Consternation as inconcievable. But what made him lay aside all thoughts of it att that time was, first, the Smallness of his army, which in whole did not consist of above 2700 men, with which had he been in possession of Berwick he could not possibly have keept the Communication open with Edinburgh, for to imagine y^{t} he ever would have attempted to have marched further is out of the question, that would indeed have given his Enemys just grounds to have called it a Don Quixote expedition. Had L. L.—t and the L. of M^{c}l—d keept to their engagements & joind him with their frends and followers, that he could have marchd to S^{t}. James's, is more than reasonable to believe, but to have advanced into England with such a handfull, would have been sacrificeing himself and his freinds to no purpose under the heavens. Secondly, the troops, both Dutch and Brittish, would have taken possession of Ed^{r} and Newcastle, thereby put him betwixt two fires, and made it difficult for his freinds who were comeing from the North to join him, and rendered it impossible for him to transport the Stores that afterwards landed from France, as he could not have favourd their passing the Forth where they did, nor would he have had a detachment Sufficient to protect the Convoy against the troops that might have been landed att Leith, so that had he gott into possession of Berwick, all he would have done was to have Stay'd a Couple of days to nail up the Cannon and destroy some few of the fortifications, all which Could have been soon supply'd and repair'd, as he could not have Spared a number Sufficient to defend it after his return to Edr., the only proper place to waite for a junction, find provisions, provid things necessary for his army, find recruits, horses. &c., and raise the publick money. And lastly, it is well known how difficult it is to assemble an irregular army after an action, that his was a good deal dispersed, tho keept in better order than ever any highland army was before is certain, and I am of opinion, that had he determined to march to Berwick he would not have had above 1500 men to follow him, by which means the others would have had an opportunity to run home, to which they are too much given, even when Victorious, and had he faild in the attempt from the Smallness of his numbers, the bad Consequences that must have attended it are too many and to obvious to be hear mentioned.

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* Extract of a letter dated at Berwick Sept^{r} ye 25th. 'Col. Herschol is landed here from Holland with 722 dutch forces: they seem mostly papists, use the popish Ceremonys, and ask where they hear Mass. They are tollerable men but much fatigued. Since G^{ll} Cope arrived here with a part of 2 Regiments of Dragoons from the battle in East Lothian we have been in the outmost Consternation, some gave out that they were attackt by 16,000 men, 10,000 of which were French in highland dress,' etc.

The great Scarcity of Silver Coin proving very incommodious to the Inhabitants, as well as the Army, by the banks being carried to the Castle, and some of the inhabitants haveing made loud and repeated Complaints of it, the Chevalier to conduce as much as in him lay to their ease and Conveniency, ordered the following Proclamation to be made invitting them to return.[1]

Tho one would have imagined that the most malicious person whatever could not have dared to find fault with the above Security which alone tended to the interest of the Country and to those chiefly concerned, yett has there been people weak and wicked enough to put a bad Construction upon it, which if it had not been to show how industriously ill-natured men will be, should have been passed over as a thing beneath notice. The following Proclamation was likewise made, Signd by L. G. Murray, prohibiting all abusses from the Army which had an affect so Contrary from what was given out that there is no instance in the history of any times in whatever Country where the Soldiery either regular or irregular behaved themselves with so much discretion, never any riotes in y^e Streets, nor so much as a Drunk man to be seen.[1]

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[1] See *Scots Magazine*, 1745, vol. vii. p. 442. Cf. 'Campbell's Diary,' Scottish History *Miscellany*, vol. xv.

As I study brevity as much as possible I would not insert these proclamations, if not for two reasons, first to do the Chevalier and his army the justice every good man ought, lett his principles be what they will, & in y^e next place for the satisfaction of the reader who may either be ignorant that ever any such were ishued or might not have an opportunity of finding them else where.

All this time M^r Kelly who had for many years been Confined to the Tower of London, as concern'd in what was Called the bishop of Rochesters plot in the year [1722], and had made his escape in the year [1736], being one of those who landed with the Chevalier, was sent by him to France with dispatches, which he carried from the north Coast by the way of Holland, and not as our School master[2] would ignorantly and improbably have it by ridding post to Dover, which Shows the man's good sense to imagine that it was possible for any body att that time to traverse the Country without being discovered, especially so remarkable a person as Kelly. A party was sent att this time commanded by M^r Hay of Restalrig to Glasgow, to demand a loan of money from them, but the Chevalier took care that the party should be so inconsiderable as might plainly evince to the Inhabitants that he did not intend to have it by force but in freindship,[1] with ample Security for the pay^t^ when affairs were Settled, w^h^ was all they could reasonably demand, and the Sum taken was so inconsiderable, as plainly Showed he meant them no hurt, and that he did [not] come as a Conqueror to levey Contributions, but as their Master to desire a loan, he soon hoped to repay them. The Sum taken was so inconsiderable as £5000 [2] pound a very triffle to so rich a place. 25 Sept. Till wednesday the 25th the Communication to and from the Castle was undisturbed, nor did the Chevalier post gaurds upon the hill from any other view but that of Caution to prevent any Sallies from the garrison, but for what reason could never yett be learnt, they begun to fire upon the Town without any Regard for the lives of the innocent Inhabitants.* It has, indeed, been pretended that the Highlanders were making approaches, but that really was and has since been known to the world to be false, and it may be justly asked what would be their fancy to make approaches, they had no Cannon but those taken att Preston, small feild pieces that could Scarcely have broke open the gate fare less had any effect upon the walls—but the case seems to have been that they were determined to do mischeif and so alledged any thing however frivolous for their excuse. The Chevalier much surprised what could be their reason for this unexpected proceedure made enquire if any of the highlanders had fired upon the Castle contrary to his orders, but finding no such thing had happened was a good deal irritated, but gave no further orders save that they should keep a Stricter gaurd than formerly, and not to allow any Stores or numbers of people

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[1] FORBIDDING ABUSES BY THE ARMY.

ABBAY, 23*d September*, 1745.

These are declaring that it is his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's Will That it be proclaimed immediately over the Market Crosses of *Edinburgh*, That if any soldier or officer, in his royal highness's army, shall be guilty of any abuse in taking, pillaging, or disturbing any of the good people of Edinburgh or in the country, by forcibly taking away any of their goods, without making a fair Bargain, and Payment made, shall be punished, whenever taken up, and found guilty of the above offenses, by a court-martial and shall suffer death, or whatever other punishment the court-martial shall think fit to inflict upon them; it being his Royal Highness's unalterable resolution to protect the country in the full Enjoyment of their Rights and Privileges. It is also declared, That no officer or soldier shall, of themselves, seize or take any horse (upon any Account whatsomever, except any horses belonging to the enemy in time of action in arms against his royal highness) without a signed order from a general officer, Signed by his royal highness's order, by me GEORGE MURRAY.

One of his highness's lieutenant-generals.

[2] Henderson.

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* The Chevalier having been inform'd that numbers of the Citizans who had unthinkingly taken arms for the defense of the place, and upon his taking possession of it had deserted their homes for fear of punishment and were then either in ye Country or Secreted in Town, wh was not only detrimental to y^r^ particular famillies but to the trade of the place in general, pittying their weakness and moved by that Compassionate temper so natural to him did of himself order a Speciale indemnity to be ishued pardoning what had passed, which to all men of Sense and reflection must demonstrate a Singular humanity notwithstanding the iddle gloses y^t^ have been put upon it by ye vulgar.

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[1] Cf. *Itinerary*, p. 18.

[2] The sum first requisitioned was £15,000; but £5000 in cash and £500 in goods were what was actually received.

to enter, not knowing what Scheme they might have in hand. Intelligence was brought about this time of the preparation making in England to raise an army there to march northwards and join with those landed, and to Land att Berwick, Sheils, holly Island, &^{c}, and y^t orders was given to the Several Lords Lieutenants to raise and arm the militia, upon which the Chevalier not only dispatched several of his officers to raise all the recruits in the Country who had been before left behind fault of arms and time to be provided with necessarys, but wrote to the principal people in the Highlands inviting them to join him, amongst others S^r Alex^r M^{c}donald, M^{c}leod and L[ord] L[ova]t to whom there were no less than three people Specially ordered, Viz., M^{c}donald of Kinlochmoydart, Frazer[1] and [Barrisdale],* all with letters from the Chevalier Seeming to excuse his not having joined him before by attributing his delay to want of time, and as there was but little hopes of either of them appearing, M^r M. sent a letter to Kinloch,[2] with orders to give it out wherever he went that the two gentlemen from the Isle of Skey were actually in arms, and either readie or upon their

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* *N.B.*—Tho it is well known that Mr. M. was the person that made out ye dispatches for L. L—t to all the three, and that had he told as he well might the contents of their Several instructions as well as of the letters he wrote to his Lordship with the answers he received to them it would have amounted to almost as much as all that was advanced against him upon his trial, but so far from that he pretends want of memory (tho known to be possessd of a very happy one) and only owns his having Spoke to Frazer, but dont recollect possitively if he write alonst with him. To have pled entire ignorance of the fact would have been Childish, knowing that Frazer had told every thing he knew and could have gaind our Credit. And indeed it is just matter of wonder how he could so far impose upon the ministry as to make them believe he was sincere in the insignificant account he gives. But what is Still more extraordinary tho M^{c}donald of Barrisdale was sent to his Lordship as the most fit person to work upon, and that by M. advice and direction, and that the ministry by the means of Robert Fraser[3] became acquainted with a good deal of what passed and seemed to lay most Stress upon that than on any other particular, yet we find M. never takes the least notice of it nor so much as pretends to have known of his journey.

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[1] Hugh Fraser 'an attorney in Edinburgh,' secretary to Lovat till 1744. Cf. *Lovat's Trial*, pp. 81 and 108.

[2] *i.e.* Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart.

[3] Secretary to Lovat after 1744.

march, whereby to encourage others who tho very willing might nevertheless be desirous to delay joining till they Should See these three principal Clans openly declared, he likewise write to some people in England, but recived no answer either by word or writting.

The Chevalier had made a demand upon the Town of Ed^r for Shoes, tents, and Cantens, with some few Targets, and to disburthen the inhabitants of the Town and Suburbs as much as possible, formed a Camp att Duddiston, about a mile and a half to the Eastward, keeping only proper 29 Sept. gaurds in the Citty and Palace, with Some few att Leith. As the Castle had Continued to fire without the smallest Shew of reason, the Chevalier gave possitive orders upon y^e 29 to allow none to go in or come out but such as could Show passports, not with any view, as has been childishly alledged, to reduce it, the Chevalier was too good a Solger as ever to propose reducing the place by blocade, his plan of operations were to well concerted to think of any Such undertaking, nor would it, indeed, have been consistent with his honour either as a [Prince] or a Solger to be foil'd in such an attempt. He had no view of loitering so long, but was determined to proceed into England so soon as he had a Sufficient force to favour the raising of his freinds there, and lastly tho he had reason from what he had till then mett with to have a very poor opinion of the Capacity of the Commanders, yett he could not allow himself to believe that they could be so Scandalous as Surrender the fort for want of fresh provisions, and he knew well that there was then three months provisions for the Solgers, so that had things come to the worst they had only to turn out a parcel of fools and silly women who had run there to save themselves from they did not know what, upon the whole, Since the Garrison had behaved so foolishly and Show'd so little regard to the well being of the Inhabitants, as it was but Consistant with his Charracter and humanity to y^m to Streten them as much as possible. The 30 Sept. following day[1] G^ll. Guest who had for some time commanded in Cheif in Scottland, but upon the Chevaliers marching towards Ed^r, unable to undergoe the fatigues of a Campagne had betaken himself to the Castle for safety, wrote a letter to M^r

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[1] The *Caledonian Mercury* says the 29th, the same date as the Prince's order.

Steuart, the Provost, in a very blustering military Stile, intimating that did the highlanders Continue to obstruct the Communication betwixt the Citty and Garrison, he would in Conformity to the orders he had received from Court be oblidged to Cannonad the Town. Upon this a metting was had amongst the then magestrates, and a deputation Sent to the Chevalier, representing the miserable consequences that must thereby ensue to the inhabitants, and praying him in a most earnest manner to recall his orders, and leave the Communication free. He received the gentleman charged with the Commission with the utmost Curtesy, and was extremely desirous to have granted their request had it been consistant with his honour, but for two reasons refussed to comply, first that he did not realy in his own mind imagine it possible that the orders pretended to have been received were really given, but that it was a sample of the Commanders policy to procure it by freigtning the inhabitants, never allowing himself to think that such barbarous orders could be given by any ministry especialy when it was their business to court the freindship of every one, and to distress and disoblige none, in the next place it might have given a handle to his enemys to impute so Sudden a complayance to the timidity of his troops so Concluding the whole to be a gasconade he gave the following answer in writting. 'GENTLEMEN, I am equally surprised and Concerned,' etc.* [1]

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* *N.B.*—Upon this Proclamations being ishued Mrs. Guin who lived in general Guests house was very much freightend and made to believe that all would be riffled and destroy'd, which Mr. M. being told of, and having been formerly acquainted with the Gell and his familly, he wrote the Lady a polite letter assurring this that his master was uncappable of realy intending any such thing, but had it been so She might depend upon it that he would have taken care to let her have had timeous warning to put things out of the way, and begd She would let him know if there was any thing in his power wherein he could oblige her and the Gll. To which he receved a very Civil answer returning him thanks and saying that as the general lived mostly on milk and butter which he could not well be provided with in the Castle desired he would give leave to a Servant to carry some in for him every day. M. according procured the pass, but to his great Surprise Some days after the officer who com-

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[1] See *Scots Magazine*, 1745, vol. vii. p. 443.

The answer requires no interpretation if the appellation of barbarity is given to y^e^ orders, it was no more than they justly merited when to all men of understanding on either side there did not appear, nor was there realy in fact the smallest reason for them, so y^t^ if they never were given, the generals are alone to blame for drawing such a reflection upon the Master as to the Stile of it. I believe no man in his right wills will find fault with it, sure they would not have had the Chevalier to talk of the person he was endeavouring to dethrone as any other than he would have had all the world think him, or to the generals but as his father's Rebellious Subjects. Threatning to make reprisals upon their estates was telling them w^t^ they deserved, and he had in his power, tho att the same time he in his heart Scorned Such oppressive theiving methods, he always judged it far below his Character tho he often mett with the justest provocations to use fire and Sword, but in the field and that only in the heat of action, as both Preston and Falkirk will ever evince.

The Duke of Atholl was all this while, having been left to command all the Country benorth the Forth, bussied in raising his own followers and encouraging those of his neighbours to join the Chevalier, whilst numbers of gentlemen joined att Ed^r^ and of part of them two Troops were formed, the first under the Command of Lord Elcho, the Second intended for L. Kenmure, but afterwards given to L. Balmerino.

Upon the answer given by the Chevalier to the deputies that were Sent from the Citty being communicated to the Commanders in the Castle, they promised to suspend all hostilitys till Such time as an answer could be had from London to a letter they was to Send, and demanded a passport for the

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manded the weigh house gaurd Suspecting some thing more than ordinary Searched the Servant and found a letter of intelligence in the print of Butter. This Storey would not have been told if not to Show the advantages that were taken of the Chevaliers humanity and his nevertheless continuing it upon all future occasions. Had such a thing happend to another gen^ll^ much of his own age[1]—it isn't difficult to guess what would have been the fate of the Servant if not of the mistress.

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[1] *i.e.* Cumberland.

Courrier, which the Chevalier readily granted. But as if they had been determined in every Shape to act opposite to all rule, on the Second [October],[1] they begun to fire as against a Town beseiged, tho the Chevalier's gaurds had not been in any Shape altered, nor one Shot fired att them. How far they could answer to themselves or their masters for Such Strange doings is more than I shall endeavour to Conjecture. To the inhabitants it was openly, declaring they nether minded their own promise nor their lives or effects. In this Shape they Continu'd fireing and as if a regular Seige had been commenced against them, Sallied out and dug a trench opposite to the gate, and with some feild peices fired Cattridge Shot down the Streets, and with their great guns demolish'd one house and Sett fire to some others, but fortunately their being little wind it did no further hurt but cost the lives of some innocent people who, for fear of its Spreading, run to extinguish it durring this imaginary Seige. They killed Several people of both Sexes, inhabitants of the Citty, and only wound one man and a boy of their enemy who, on the fourth in the evening, retired to the Weigh house and Milns Court about 100 yards from their former Posts. The Cittizens, unaccustomed to such devastations, made the most hideous complaints against the garrison, and used Such moveing entreaties with the Chevalier that, notwithstanding the just reason he had to be provoked, was nevertheless so much Struck with their unheard of Sufferings that, to Show them the Superior regard he had for their interest and well fare, determined next day[2] to comply with their request and according ishued the following proclamation taking of the Blocade.[3] On the 7th[4] L. Ogilvey and Gordon of Glenbucket join the Army with their several Regiments and were furnished with what arms they wanted by those taken from Cope att Gladsmuir. Accounts att this time was brought that a ship from France had landed att Montrose with the Marquise deguille,[5] embassador from the French. Several Scotts and Irish officers with some peices of Cannon and a large quantity of Small arms which were ordered to be brought South with the utmost expedition and a detachm^{t} sent to Kiggans newk and the opposite Side of the Forth to secure the passage. Lord G. Murray was sent to give what instructions he Should judge necessary, and ordered some redoubts to be raised to defend the passage against the armd boats upon the River which was executed by M^{r} Kerr of Graden,[1] formerly a Col^{l} in the spanish Service, and one Cap^{t} Brown a french officer. It being well known that numbers of people in Scotland whose Situation in live either rendered their joining the Chevalier impossible or imprudent were nevertheless very desirous to be assisting to him in whatever could conduce to his Interest it was thought requisite to ishue a proclamation to lett them know that their Showing their good will to his Service in an other thing would be well taken.* [2]

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[1] *Caledonian Mercury*, 1st October.

[2] This was issued on 2nd October.

[3] See Browne's *History*, vol. iii. p. 100.

[4] *Caledonian Mercury*, 4th October.

[5] Du Boyer, Marquis d'Aiguilles.

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* *N.B.*—Notwithstanding the natural desire that they ministry had to know what Sum were privately given and by whom assured supporters and abetteres of a party are ever look'd upon as more dangerous to a State than those who publickly bid them defiance and tho it is very certain that no money was given to any other person then about the Chevalier but M. himself, yet the ministry are to this day ignorant of any one who Contributed to the Chevalier assistance in that Shape. How ridiculous must such people appear to themselves when they reflect not only with what virulence and madness they at first railed against M. imagining no doubt he had discovered all and every thing, but that when they found by their undisturbd quiet he had not betray'd them, they nevertheless weakly and ungenerously continued to join in the general

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[1] Kerr of Graden was aide-de-camp to the Prince. He was taken prisoner but reprieved.

[2] CHARLES, *Prince of* Wales, etc., *Regent of* Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging,

Being informed that many of our father's loyal subjects, disabled from joining us, by advanced years, broken constitutions, and otherways, are heartily disposed to assist us with money, horses and arms, but have signified that they were at a loss to know to whom they should apply for these purposes.

We therefore hereby declare, that the persons in the circumstances aforesaid, sending to our secretary at the palace of *Holy-rood-house*, or where we shall happen to be for the time, money, arms, and horses, will be considered by us as a very seasonable and acceptable mark of their loyalty. Given at our palace of *Holy-rood-house*, the eighth day of *October*, 1745.

By His Highness's command,
JO. MURRAY.

The Chevalier being informed, y^{t} the Parliament was Summoned to meet att Westminster Oct^{r} y^{e} 17th, found himself under a necessity to take notice of it, and made publish the following proclamation. 'WHEREAS we are certainly informed,' etc.[1]

To give reasons for this Step would realy be blotting of paper to no purpose, not one person of tollerable understanding

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Clamour rather than openly and honestly, as men ought, to declare they knew better things and only blame him for what he was apparently guilty of. I have often wondered at their madness and never could form any reason to my self but one or two, either that they thought by publickly ruining him to make the world believe they were not in his power, or that they inclined to be fashionable with the ignorant herd. The first we may justly say was ill judged, such procedure would have tempted many less attached to the interest of the party to have discovered all from revenge, was unjust, and demonstrated the timidity they laid to his Charge. The Curious may blame me for not acquainting the world how M. perswaded the Ministry to believe that he knew of no persons not openly engaged who gave money, tho' I have had access to know, and that from the very best Authority, yet I am almost ashamed to say that seems to have proceeded from the most triffling Shift a continued and positive denial with a great deal of earnestness and Seeming Sincerity, so Shall conclude this note by desiring the gentlemen who have Mr. M.s receipts for the money by them pay'd to look at them, and then reflect of the unjustice they have done him.

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[1] PROCLAMATION AGAINST MEETING IN THE ENSUING PARLIAMENT.

CHARLES, *Prince of* Wales, etc., *Regent of* Scotland, England, France, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

CHARLES, P.R.

WHEREAS, we are certainly informed, that the Elector of *Hanover*, has taken upon him to summon a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, on *Thursday* the seventeenth of this instant October; We hereby warn and command all his Majesty's Liege Subjects, whether Peers or Commoners, to pay no Obedience to any such Summons, and not to presume to meet or act as a Parliament at the Time and Place appointed, or any other; the so doing by any Authority, but that of the King our Royal Father, since the setting up of his Standard, and his Majesty's gracious Pardon offered for all that is past, being an ouvert Act of Treason and Rebellion: But if, notwithstanding this our Declaration, any Number of Persons shall presume to meet in either House, and act there as Members of a lawful Parliament, they cannot but be sensible that no Right or Privilege of Parliament can avail to justify what they shall say or do in such an unlawful Assembly.

And for those of his Majesty's Subjects of this his ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, whether Peers or Commoners, who shall, contrary to these our express Commands, presume to sit or vote as aforesaid, as soon as the same shall be verified

Concernd in the Government that was not sensible how necessary the Step was, and to have neglected it would have been giving a Seeming assent and kind of tacit acknowledgment of his antagonists tittle.

So many Scurilous libels had been dispersed about the Country, and such numbers of false and Scandalous things alledged against the Chevalier & his familly, together with the great pains that was taken to Stuff the peoples ears with the old bugbear of popery, Arbitrary power, french despotism and dependancy, &c, which, tho it all appeared to the Chevalier as the undoubted Sign of a weak Council and a government, conscious to themselves how little they could depend upon the hearts and affections of the people they had so long governed, yett wisely judging that as the Vulgar and more ignorant of all Nations are easily imposed upon by possitive and daring assertions how ever false in them selves to prevent the bad effects that might follow from such triffling Storeis as were industriously spread abroad he published the following Manifesto to quiet the minds of every reasonable man 'AS SOON AS WE,' etc.[1]

All this time the Chevalier was indefaticable in regulating his Small army, which was so dayly augmented by recruits from the highlands. Mr Mckinnon of Mckinnon * joind him from the Isle of Skey with about 120 men, realy brave and honest, inured to fatigue, and pateint to undergoe any thing that tended to the Service of their Masters, and might, according to the litteral Sense of the word, be called Solgers.

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* Mckinnons Charracter.[2]

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unto us, the Transgressors shall be proceeded against as Traitors and Rebels to their King and Country, and their Estates shall be confiscated for his Majesty's Use, according to the Laws of the Land; the pretended Union of these Kingdoms being now at an End. *Lastly*, We hereby strictly enjoin and command all his Majesty's faithful Subjects, of what Rank or Degree soever, to pay no Obedience or Regard to any Act, Vote, Order, or Resolution, that may be published in the Name of both Houses, or of either of them respectively, as they shall answer the contrary at their Peril. Given at our Palace of *Holy-rood-house*, the Ninth Day of *October*, One thousand seven hundred and forty-five.

CHARLES, P.R.
By his Highness's Command,
J. MURRAY.

[1] Printed in Browne's *History*, vol. iii. p. 104.

[2] Murray does not give this.

14 Sept. The next day, being the 14th, The Marquis D'eguille arrived att the Palace, where he was very graciously received by the Chevalier, to whom he delivered his dispatches and Credentials from his Court, and had the honour that night to sup att his table. As a great many Slighting things were thrown out to that gentleman's prejudice by the freinds of the government, with an intention, no doubt, not only to lessen the fears of their freinds as to the assistance they from thence naturely expected the Chevalier would have from france, and likewise to Create jalousies amongst their Enemys, as if he had only been sent by the Court of france as a Spey upon the Chevalier and his Army, and which, indeed, had too visible an effect amongst some of the less understanding of his freinds, it may not be amiss to Say something about that gentleman's Charracter.* The Chevalier, ever watchfull of the peice and quiet of the Country, and the regular and decent behaviour of his Army, was mighty uneasy att some representations that were made of some oppressive things being done in the Country by people Clade in Tartan and who called themselves of the army; and to be certain of the truth of what was alledged, he made the utmost pains to be taken to find out the aggressers, but after the Strictest enquirey only one Monro and a fellow, a Stabler, afterwards hang'd att Stirling by the D. of C.'s orders as a Spey, could be discovered. Monro was taken into Custody, tryed by a Court martial, and found guilty of Robbery and having forcibly and unwarrantably exacted money from the Country for protections, under the Charracter of an officer in D. of Perth's Regiment, for which he was condemned to be Shott, and the Sentence executed upon him in the Links of Leith ye 16th. The Stabler was likewise tryed, but the proof not comeing out so clear against him, was acquitted. Tho this example of justice and care of the Country might have been Sufficient to convince every body how much he had the good of the Subjects att heart, he never theless insisted upon further enquirey being made to discover the rioters, which, after a good deal of difficulty, was by means of a fellow in the Cannongate who was a kind of recitt to house breakers and

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* Here insert his Charracter and behaviour.[1]

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[1] Murray has not left this.

such Cattle, found to be a parcel of loosee people, both men and women of that kind, who had assembled themselves together, and putting on tartan Cloaths, took advantage of the Armies being negh to pass for some of them, and round about the Country going into the farmer's houses in the night time and robing and plundering, upon which orders were given to Send Safe gaurds wherever demanded, which pretty effectually prevented the outrages for the future. One Smith, formerly a Centinel in Lassel's Regiment, and who had inlisted with Col^{l} Roy Steuart, had afterwards deserted and employ'd himself in Robbing the Country, was made prisoner, tryed, Condemd and Shot. The fellow Confessed before his death what he had done. Att the same time one M^{c}vicar, who had been outlaw'd, put a Cockade in his hat, pretending a Strong attachment to the Chevalier's interest, but as he was determined to have no such fellows in his army, nor to do any thing that might seem to fly in the face of the laws of the Country, he ordered him to be took up and imprisoned, and in Short upon all occasions took the greatest care to do every thing that could in any Shap conduce to the interest and peace of the Subject.*

My Lord Pitsligoe,† with S^{r} William Gordon of Park, Hay of

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* Att this time certain intelligence was brought by a person sent express from London that a fellow was sent from thence who had undertaken to Murder the Chevalier, the thing had been very accidentally discovered, and care taken immediatly to send this gentleman with the intelligence. The person employ'd was very exactly described not only by the person sent, but in several letters to different people in Town, who all brought their letters to the palace, upon w^{h} a very Strict enquirey was made, but only one Stranger to be found who tho not answering the description in every respect yet came so near to it as to give good grounds of Suspition, upon which he was ordered into Custody and examined two three Several times, but nothing being found from his answers to make believe he was the person, he was Soon released, and afterwards joind the army and marched with us into England. By letters from London, all the same, we were undoubtedly inform'd of Capt. Vere's[1] being sent as a Spey, but tho it was known that he had been in Town, and some said in the Camp at Duddiston, yet he took such care to keep him self private that there was no discovering of him.

† His Charracter.

Lord Pitsligoe is a little thinn fair man, has lived much at home, being a great Schollar and fond of Study, of the primitive Stamp, and fitter to

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[1] Cf. p. 248, *infra*.

Rannas, and a number of gentlemen from the North, arrived att Ed^{r} with a body of about 150 horse, and the hon^{ble} Lord Lewis Gordon, who had some days before joined the Chevalier, Sett out from Ed^{r} to the north to raise the followers of that family.* The D. of Atholl, who had raised a Considerable number of his Clan, and had escorted the Cannon, ammunition and baggage landed from France, together with the Clan M^{c}pherson, Came to Hollyrood House, having quartered his brigade in and about Duddiston, leaving the M^{c}pherson † to proceed with the Stores to Dalkeith. Lord Elcho, as I had observed before, having had the Command of the first troop of gaurds Conferred upon him, had with great Dilligence Compleated it all of gentlemen of familly and fortune; and tho they did not amount to above a hundered, yett I may say there never was a troop of better men in any service, their uniform blew and reed, and all extreamly well mounted. On fryday the 18th [October], Lord Kenmure,[2] for whom the Second troop was designed,

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have been a martyr in the days of *Nero* than to live in an age of villany and Corruption, where piety is ridiculed, humane to a fault, and brave to admiration, extreamly affable and engaging in Conversation. The deservedly most popular man in his Country, not beloved but adored, being ever employ'd in doing good offices to his neighbours. In short, to do justice to his Charracter, it would be necessary to cull out the most conspicuous virtues of the Saints and heroes of old, all which he is alone blessed with in an ample degree, and if it would seem descending too low to imitate the often undeserved Characters given by news writters, I would conclude by saying y^{t} he is the best husband, the best father, the best freind, and the Best S—bj—t in Brittain.

* His Charracter.[1]

The fellow M^{c}leod mentioned in the beginning of this historey to have come to Glenfinnan now joined the army at Ed^{r} in Company with a very worthy man of that name, M^{c}leod of   , but brought no men with him as he had promised, and for which he got the money.

† Cluneys Charracter.

Ewan M^{c}pherson of Cluney is of a low Stature, very square, and a dark brown complection, of extreme good sense, and inferior to none in the north of Scotland for Capacity, greatly beloved by his Clan, who are by all their neighbours allowed to be a Sober, regular, Sedate people. A man not only brave in the general acceptation of the word, but upon reflection and forethought determined and resolute with uncommon calmness.

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[1] Lord Lewis Gordon's description is not given in Murray's MS.

[2] John, second son of Lord Kenmure, who was beheaded in 1716; his elder brother Robert died in 1741, aged twenty-eight.

came to the palace in company with L. Nithsdale and the Earl of Kilmarnock, who were all presented to the Chevalier and very graciously received, especially Lord Kenmure, to whom every body observed he show'd a particular Civility, both in his manner and in what he said to him, and when he told him he had reserved the command of the 2^d^ troop for him, seemd to appologise for his not having had the first, assuring him of the particular regard he had for his familly, and how sensible he was of what they had suffered upon his account, with which his Lordship seem'd quite happy, and expressed him self very desirous to be of service, and said that, as he was Situated in a Country where the minds of the people had been very much debauched from the Chevalier's interist since y^e^ year 1715, it would have been dangerous for him to have made any preparations which he could not have conducted with Sufficient Secresy, and therefor it would be necessary for him to return home for some few days, but desired letters from him to some of his freinds who he hoped to be able to bring out, and that he would join him and take the Command of the troop upon the boarder, with which the Chevalier, seeming extreamly well satisfied, agreed to his proposal, and ordered the letters to be writ out. The three Lords had the honour that night to sup with him, but the afterwards unfortunate Kilmarnock* was the only one who acted the honourable part. Kenmure never returned for the letters he had asked, but went to the Country and made his Ladie †[1] write a triffling letter to the Chevalier's Secretary acknowledging the honour done hir Lord, but at the same time pleading y^t^ he was now the only brother left, and if any misfortune should befall him, what would become of hir and hir Child, and praying that as he was his L—d's Relation,[2] that he would make Suitable apologies to his Master for My L—d's not joining, as he had engaged, att the same time saying

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* Kils Charracter.[3]

† *N.B.*—She is Sister to this present Earl of Seaforth, member of Parliament for [Ross-shire].

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[1] Frances, daughter of fifth Earl of Seaforth. They were married in 1744.

[2] The Lord Kenmure of the '15 married a granddaughter of Sir William Murray of Stanhope.

[3] Again this is omitted by Murray.

that had he had a following like hir brother,[1] she would not have endeavour'd to diswade him from it, but on the Contrary, as he could be of little service, being able to bring none but a few servants. Notwithstanding, Mr Murray had the greatest reason to take his Lordship's conduct as a personal affront, he having att his repeated desire engaged for him to his Master long before he landed in Scottland, yett he was nevertheless unwilling to hurt him, looking upon it as a piece of Instability and weakness, and therefor showed this remarkable letter only to a few of his Lordship's former freinds, and made the best natured apologies to his Master the thing would allow of. Some days after that he received a few Lines from My Lord himself, telling him that the Situation of his affairs (he had better said his wife) would not permitt him to join, and that the troop might be disposed of to whom the Chevalier should think fitt, the oddity of which letter will appear to every impartial reader to glaring to need make any observation here, and in consequence of his Lordship's refusal it was bestowed on Mr Elphinston, afterwards L. Balmerino,* a much worthier a man in every Shape of life.

Lord Nithsdale,[2] from whom no better was expected by all who had the honour to know him, after he retired home from the palace was Struck with such panick and Sincere repentance of his rashness that he was confined to his bed for some days in a fitt of despondency, where nothing but the most dreadful scene of Axes, Gibbets, and halters presented themselves to his weaking and sleeping thoughts, in so much that he was oblidged to be sent to the Country, where he continued Crazy for some time, tho his Lady, who it was alledged had with the outmost difficulty perswaded him to pay his duty, and who had stoll to hir self the magnanimity and spirit of hir whole family, was so much ashamed of the pusilanimity of hir husband that she Scorned to accompany him, but Stay'd in town, quite ashamed

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* Balmerinos Charracter.[3]

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[1] Kenneth Mackenzie, eldest son of the fifth Earl of Seaforth, who was attainted in 1716, was M.P. for Inverness 1741, and for Ross-shire 1747 and 1754; died 1761, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He was known by the courtesy title of Lord Fortrose.

[2] Son of the Lord Nithsdale of the '15. The estates had been conveyed to him in 1712. He died in London in 1776.

[3] Omitted by Murray.

of his Cowardice and willing as far as lay in hir power to show what she would have done had nature destined hir the other sex. I should not have been so particular in relation to these to Lords had their Storey been a Secret, but to show how much it is a man's duty to know his own strength of mind and how cautious he ought to be of going lenths when he has not resolution to carry it through or able to extricate him with honour. It is positively said that Lord Kenmure had no sooner gott home than he wrote a letter to Mr. Fletcher, Lord Justice Clerk, begging to be excused for his rashness in going to the Palace, but that he had been so harrassed and plagued with letters and messages that he was under a necessity of going and saying some Severe things against the Rebels, as he termed them, but how far that is fact or not I shall not take upon me to determine. It is lucky for his Lordship if false, for that he ever had more than one letter from the Chevalier and another from Mr Murray, who he had engaged to give him notice so soon as a proper occasion offered, I can certainly affirm, having had access to know it.

There being nothing to be had but evasive answers from L. L-t., who pretended one day to be fond to serve him, and appointing a time for the Rendezvous of his Clan, and the next forging of reason for his delay, whereby he prevented the M^{c}intoshes from marching south, having disapointed them three Several times after a day had been fixed and they in arms; nor from M^{c}leod but Oaths and curses that so soon as he went to Skey he would raise his men and march south, att the same time that he had no sooner made his solemn promises and consulted of how he was to march and where to meet the other Clans than he went directly to M^{r} Forbes of Culloden, the President, and told what had passed. So the Chevalier, seeing no hopes of any assistance from that quarter and being joined by all those they expected in time, bethought him self of what was next to be done. To have continued longer att Ed^{r} would have been very improper; he had been there nigh six weeks, and it was natural to think that his army, little accustomed to the effeminacy to common in town, might be debauched both by women and drink, which would render them less able for the fatigue they must of necessity go through, and the rains which in that season of the year falls very much in these parts might naturaly occasion deceses they are little aquainted with in their Country, and staying to long in any one place, a thing the Highlanders dont like, being naturaly fond of being in action, might have led many of them to think that they had no more to do loitering there and so gone home. The rumour that was than spread of his brothers being in France and intending a descent in England gave him reason to apprehend that the government might for their own Safety take some of his freinds whom they most suspected into Custody and prevent their joining him. But above all the intelligence he received of general Wades march north and the preparations making on all hands in England determined him to ly no longer idle, seeming resolved to give him battle before his troops could recover the fatigue of their long march. All these things weighing together made him think of settling the Country durring his absense before he fixed his departure for England. He accordingly Constituted the Viscount of Strathallan Governor of the Town of Perth and Commander in Chief of all the forces that were or afterwards might be durring his own absense in the Town, but not Commander in Chief of his forces beyond the Forth, as he vainly addopted. He likewise ordered M^r^ Oliphant of Gask to attend him, being a man of a Considerable Estate in the neighbourhood, but without any Commission. M^r^ M^c^gregor of Glengyle was appointed governor of Down Castle, about four miles from Stirling, being judged the fittest man in the Country to keep that garrison in awe and to prevent their making excursions into the Country to disturb the familleis of such who were in arms, and to be sure it was impossible for any to have made a better Choise Glengyle is,* etc. [David Fotheringham] [1] was made Governor

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* Glengyles Charracter.

Glengyle, now the oldest branch of the familly M^{c}griger, in person a tall hansome man and more of the mein of the antient heroes than our modern gentlemen, possest of a Singular deal of humanity and good nature, honest and disinterrested to a Proverb, extreamly modest, brave and intrepide, and born one of the best Partizans in Europe, in that the whole people of that Country declared that never did people live under so milde a Government as Glengyles, not a man having so much as lost a Chicken whille he continued there.

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[1] Murray has left the names of the three governors blank. They are supplied from other authorities.

of Dundee, [Carnegie of Balnamoon] of Montrose, and [Moir of Lonmay] of Aberdeen, and some particular officers of every different Clan was sent home not only to keep the Country in peace, but to prevent desertion and bring out all those at home able to bear arms, and with them to join the Chevalier upon the border, where he expected to have staid for some time.

Thus everything being ordered with all the care and Caution imaginable, he then called a Councill of war the night of the 30th,* where were present his Grace the Duke of Athol, D. of Perth, L. George Murray, Lord Elcho, L. Pitsligoe, Cameron of Locheil, M^c^donald of Kepock, M^c^donald of Clanronald, M^c^donald of Lochgaray, etc., to consult of his march Southwards, and after telling them the reason of his calling them together and acquainting them with the intelligence he had received of General Wades March and the other motions and preparations of the enemy in England, he desired they would give their several opinions on what they judged the most proper step for him to take. It would be tedious and might likewise be disagreable to the reader to gave the several opinions and reasonings of every particular, so shall confine myself to the two most material, whither to march the east road towards Newcastle, and there give General Wade Battle, or to march the west by Carlile. The Chevalier him self was clear for marching towards newcastle, first, because M^r^ Wade could only arrive there a day or two before him, and Consequently his troops must have been very much fatigued with their long march after a Campaigne in Flanders. Secondly, having been unsuccesfull there, together with Copes defeat then quite recent, made it reasonable to believe that they would not act with that vigour they might do if let to rest for any time; thirdly, their numbers were not so greatly superior to his own as to apprend a defeat, being well assurred that the Dutch would not fight should the Marquise de guille require them upon the Capitulation of Tourney to be neuter. 4^th^ly, to march towards Carlile would be a means to dishearten his own Army, as it would look like shunning Wade, and thereby give them a more formidable opinion of his strength than it realy 30 Oct.

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* Oc^r^ 30^th^.

deserved. 5thly, the advantages following a victory in these parts would be innumerable; the reduction of Newcastle, besides giving a Charracter to his arms, would enable him to strecken the Citty of London and very probably create the utmost Confussion amongst the inhabitants, which might have turned greatly to his advantage, made him absolute master of all Northumberland and the County of Durham, with Cumberland to the gates of Carlile, and not only encouraged but given the fairest opportunity to all his friends to join him from Lancashire, Yorkshire, etc., and Could then have left a garrison in the place and marched forward before any Considerable force could be got together to oppose him. Besides, did he march Directly from Edr to Carlile, Mr Wade had it in his power to have crossed the Country, it being only about forty miles, and have opposed his passing the River Esk before it was possible for him to reach it, which put him to a stand, the Country there about not being well affected to his Cause, he would have been very much put to it, for provisions, especially bread, and he had attempted to cross the Country to Newcastle and take the advantages of Wades march to the west, yet he must have been oblidged to leave his Cannon behind him, and might have been keept out by the small garrison wh would no doubt be left behind, these and many other reasons of equall weight enduced the Chevalier to encline giving general Wade battle as soon as possible.

On the other hand, my Lord George Murray with most of the Cheifs, argued that his marching into England being Chiefly to give his friends there an opportunity to join him, they thought he ought not to risque a battle unless upon good terms which might not be in his power, as Mr Wade being there before him had the Choosing his own ground, and might consequently or not as he pleased, that should he be defeated his affairs would be totally ruined, and a retreat very difficult should the Enemy follow the strock having the river of Tweed to cross, seldome fourdable att that Season of the year and the garrison of Berwick to oppose his passage, or to harrass his rear when passsed. That the road by Ouler and Whitingham[1] through Runsidemuir was extremely bad, and as some rains had lately faln, might be impassible with his Cannon and other Carriages—no quarters to be had but in small dispersed villages, a hut would give the Enemys horse, if alert, occasion to annoy them, and therefore they was of opinion that by marching to Carlile and being there joined by his freinds from Lancashire, northumberland, &c., as he expected they might then Choose to march to NewCastle and give M^r^ Wade Battle or not as should be thought most advisible. To which it was answered that tho by his march into England he principally intended to favour a junction with his friends there, yet nothing could influence there rising so much as his gaining a victory in their own Country, and thereby getting possession of Newcastle. That as had been said before tho a defeat was little to be looked for yet should it happen the retreat was not so difficult as was apprehended for in place of making it towards Kelsoe y^e^ road they had come by it behoved to be done higher up y^e^ Country towards Moffat and where the horse could not persue, and the foot easely out marched, and the passage into the highlands by Menteith was easy and safe, there being nothing to disturb y^m^ but the garison of Stirling, which durst not Stirr fear of Glengyle and his Garrison at Doun. That tho the roads were bad, yet the rains had not then faln in such quantitys but by the help of the Country horses, their own being then fresh, their Cannon and baggage might easily be got forward and the difficulty of quarters would only Subject for two nights betwixt Kelsoe and Morpeth, which the men would willingly put up with, with the help of good fires, and there was great plenty of wood and turf to be had in the Country. And lastly, should it be found impossible to bring M^r^ Wade to action, but upon disadvantageous terms, it was then easy to march to Carlile, which would be so far from dispiriting his friends that it would rather encourage them by showing y^t^ M^r^ Wade did not care to risque a battle.

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[1] A village in Northumberland—not the Whittinghame in East Lothian.

Notwithstanding the arguments used by the Chevalier and those of his side, the question seemed to be the strongest and most rational, yet the majority Still inclined tother way, and were of opinion that risquing the uncertain event of a battle even upon equal terms before he had given his friends in England an opportunity to join him, would be ill judged, and if unsuccessfull might give them a handle to blame the Scotts and impute the miscarriage of the whole to their timerity and rashness. After a very long debate on both sides the Council was adjourned till next morning at nine aClock to consider further of what had been offered on both Sides, but when the Chevalier had retired to his own apartment he begun to reflect that as the most, if not all the Cheifs were for marching to Carlile, his forcing them the other road contrary to their inclinations, might be of bad Consequences, especially should it become known, which was more than probable, as it might thereby enduce some of the Solgers to desert, thinking them selves warranted to do it as being against their Cheifs opinion, at the same time that he knew they were generally averse to Cross the borders, as well as many of the gentlemen, this together w^t the desire to do nothing that might give cause of backwardness to his friends in England, prevailed with him to agree to their proposal. Accordingly, 31 Oct. next day how soon the Council had mett, he told them in a very obliging manner that he had Seriously Considered of their arguments the night before, and was now, upon reflection, given to think they was in the right, and that he was ready to follow their advice, and then proposed y^t the rout might be agreed upon, and proper orders conserted for their speedy march. This condescention on his part, made in so oblidging a manner, and as if proceeding from the Superior strength of their arguments seemd to give great contentment.

He then told y^m that he had been athinking how to evade any difficulties that might ensue should M^r Wade, who would in twelve hours at most get intelligence of his motions, march across the Country, and that what to him appeared the most proper Step to be taken was to march at the head of the Clans to Kelsoe, which would cover his design, it being on the Road to Newcastle and probably bring Wade to Morpeth to meet him, the ground being much stronger there than att Newcastle by which means it would not be in his power, however willing, to gett to Carlile before him, and that the other Column with the Cannon and heavy baggage should march to Peebles, which being only nine miles further by the way of Selkirk to Kelsoe than by Lauder could not for the first day discover their intentions—so halting one day with the Clans att Kelsoe, or even two if found necessary, would effectually disappoint M^r^ Wade, and give the 2^d^ Column time to march up the Tweed by Drumelzier to Moffat, and join him at Carlile. This proposal than which none other could be more judicious was universally approven of by all present and it was immediately agreed on that my L. G. M. and Du. of P. should see that nothing was wanting for the Conveniency of the march, and D. of A. Charged with the Command of the 2^d^ Column, D. of P. under him, the Chevalier the first L. G. under him. The first was composed of the Camerons, M^c^donalds of Glengary, M^c^donalds of Kappoch, M^c^donalds of Clanronald, M^c^donalds of Glencoe, the Steuarts, M^c^grigors—and M^c^kinnons. The 2^d^ was composed of the Athol Brigade, D. of Perths Regiment, Glenbuckets, Roy Steuarts, Lord Ogilveys and the M^c^pharsons, Lord Elchoes and Balmerinoes troops, the Perthshire horse, L. Pitsligoes troop with the Hussars commanded by Major Bagget marched with the first Column. The Carriages having been all previously provided with a large quantity of biscuit, and nothing further requisite to be done, it was determined to evacuate the Citty of Ed^r^ y^e^ 4^th^ of November.* [1]

The Second in the morning orders were given to all the Regiments to make ready to move, and the day following all save the guards keept in the Citty march'd to Dalkeith—

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* Orders had been given to make litters for carring the wonded across the Forth to their respective homes, but as there were some so ill that they could not be transported, the majestrates were applyd to give Security for their Safety, but as that was judged precarious, it was proposed to carry hostages along for their good behaviour, and accordingly one Wilson, a baillie, was pitched upon for one and carried the lenth of Dalkeith, but there made interest to be lett go. Having few Surgeons of experience in ye army, the Chevalier gave orders that if none could be found to go willingly, y^t^ they should be pressed, and in obedience to his order Mr. R., Mr. Lauder, and Mr. Ramsay were severaly taken out of their beds the morning y^t^ that the town was evacuated, but Mr. Ramsay representing that he was of a very weakly constitution and unable to undergoe the fatigue of the journey, had his liberty to return home, the other two being thought abundantly robust were refused to return.

N.B.—To do justice where it is due, it has been since known that a Common Sentinel then in the Castle offered to G^ll^ Guest that provided his wife and Childeren were taken care of, he would murder the Chevalier.

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[1] The Prince left Edinburgh on Oct. 31.

Musselburgh, Inverask, and the Villages adjacent, the Chevalier lay that night at Pinkie house, and next morning went to the Palace of Dalkeith L. G. M. who was left behind at Ed^r drew of the guards att the Several ports and assembled the whole in the Parliament Close, then ordering them to march he covered their retreat in good order, him self in the rear of the guard at the weigh house.

The Garrison in the Castle, who did not dare to Stir whille a highlander was in Town no Sooner were assurred that they might safely appear, than they broke out like a parcel of hungry dogs, and without any Command or the least Shew of order, discipline or humanity, run into every house where either Solger or officer had quartered, and pillaged, and destroy'd what they could not carry of, abused the poor house keepers where ever the highlanders had been quarterd, and treated some of those that were left wounded in the most barbarous manner imaginable, particular one poor fellow in the Cannongate, who after they had taken him from out his bed pulld him down Stairs by the heels, his head Striking against every Step, and then pulled him in the same manner allong the pavement till he expired, many more examples might be given of the unprecedented barbarity but y^t I dont care insert to many things of this nature least Should seem too full of Complaints.

Let us now leave the Chevalier at Dalkeith with his army cantoned there and in the ajacent, to take a view of the Situation of his Enemy, and the Strenth he had to encounter with. *Here insert the whole proceedure of the Gov^t from the first news of the Chevaliers landing till this date.*[1] . . .

The Chevalier having Staid 2 nights at Dalkeith, whilst the arms brought from France were distributed to them who wanted or had insufficient ones, and the Cannon carriages put in Repair, with all other necessary preparations made for a march, he moved on y^e 3^d, in the morning, at the head of the first Column, to Lauder, and took up his quarters that night in Lauder Castle, whilst the Second Column, under the Command of the Dukes of Athol and Perth, marched the same day with the Cannon and baggage to Peebles. A part of the Column 3 Nov.

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[1] Murray has not provided us with this.

he commanded being quartered at Gingle kirk,[1] a village about four miles Short of Lauder, he returned there early in the morning,* to bring them up to the main body, and then begun his march for Kelsoe, the horse in front and Rear, where he arrived that night, having given orders as he went along to send Safegaurds to the Several gentlemens houses upon the road to prevent plundering. Next morning, Coll. Kerr † was ordered out with a detachment of horse to reconotter the Country towards Ouler, where the remains of the 2 Regiments of Gardeners and Hamiltons Dragoons were encamped, who, upon hearing of the Chevaliers approach, had keept all yt night under arms, tho at milles distance, and so soon as day appeard gallopd of to Whitingham. Another small party was sent towards Berwick, where one of them going carelessly into a house at Coldstream, was made prisoner and carried to Newcastle. After Staying two nights at Kelsoe, to give the 2d Column time to meet the same day at Carlile, the Chevalier Crossed ye tweede and march'd to Jedburgh, where he halted yt night, the 6th, all the horse, save the Husars, marching by 6 Nov. Hawick & Langtoun, &c., the next morning he continued his march through the Country of Liddesdale, ‡ and quartered his

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* *N.B.*—It is worthy of observation that perhaps never general, especialy a Prince, was so minutly assiduous as the Chevalier to see every the most minute motion with his own Eye, never neglecting, throughout the whole march, So Soon as he had put all in motion, to return and view the whole Column, after which he repaird again to the front and from time to time as he judged necessary view'd the whole and prevented them from Strageling.

† Colll Kerrs Charracter.[2]

‡ Here a gentleman mett him with despatches from the Dukes of Athol and Perth from Moffat to acquaint him that they had found great difficulties in bring[ing] the heavy baggage yt lenth, and that they did not think it was possible for them to reach Carlile till the Tenth. Upon which orders were sent them to advance with the Cannon with all possible dilligence, and to leave a Strong detachment to escort the baggage and bread waggons. And at the same time a person was sent across the hills into Northumberland to procure intelligence of General Wades motions with orders to rejoin the Army the next night at ——, but as was afterwards known, the gentleman was unluckie enough to be taken prisoner

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[1] Channelkirk.

[2] Omitted by Murray.

army at[1] , &c, and on friday, the eight, he crosed the River of[2] with the Clan Cameron, the other regiments, being quartered on the Scotts Side, Sending the Hussars for some milles befer to Scour the Country. It was remarkable that this being the first time they entered England, the Highlanders without any orders given, all drew their Swords with one Consent upon entering the River, and every man as he landed on tother Side wheeld about to the left and faced Scotland again.

That night the Chevalier quartered at a small farm Called Reading,[3] and the day following, haveing staid on the banks of the River till the whole were passed, he ordered the hussars to go before and reconnoitre Carlile, whilst he march to a place called Rockley, and there passed the River Eden about 2 in the afternoon, milles below Carlile, and quartered that night in some Villeages to the westward, where Major Baggot brought him intelligence of his having gone so

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by some of the militia and Carried to Newcastle. When upon the march about Six milles from Reading, L. G. Murray proposed to devide that Column and march the one half under his Command the near way to Brompton, the Chevalier to march with the other to Reading with this view that in case Gll Wade had moved from Newcastle, of which we then could not be certain (the person sent for intelligence not being return'd), he might take up what ground Should be judged most proper till join'd by the whole, and his being there would make ye General advance with greater Caution, as he could not learn by his first intelligence whether it was the whole or a part of the army being to march in the night, and give out his numbers larger than they were, and that the whole would be there in ye morning, by which means he might gain time till joind by both Columns, but the Chevalier appeard unwilling to make four divisions of his little army, which in that case he must have done, his horse with the 2d under the Command of D. of A. by the way of Moffat and Echelphechan being in two on his right, and now this detachment on his left was dividing his Strenth too much, and Should the Enemy be advancing before he could get all together, he might thereby give them occasion to beat him *en detail*, a thing which every good general ought to by all means to evite, so that it was determined not to Seperate till intelligence was had of the Enemys Motions.

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[1] Haggiehaugh (now Larriston)—according to Maxwell. Cf. *Itinerary*.

[2] The Esk.

[3] Reddings.

far as Carlile bridge, from whence he could see a good many people upon the walls, that they seemed very alert, and that they had no Sooner observed them upon the Bridge than they fired Some of their guns from the Castle, but without doing any execution.*

The next day being Saturday, the tenth, the whole army was formed upon a muir to the west of the Town, but the fog was so great that there was Scarcely a possibility of reconnoitring it to any purpose, however, about 2 in the afternoon, the Athole brigade with Cluneys regiment and Some others of the 2^{d} Column came to the ground, & immediately the Duke of Perth, Col^{l} O Sullivan, Coll^{l} Gachagan, with the engeneer and Some others, went within pistole Shot of the walls on that side, and into the Suburbs opposite to Penrith port, and after their return and their report made, it was determined to raise a battery a little to the north west of the Penrith gate.† The horse were ordered to quarter at ——, the Chevalier, with some foot and the hussars, at Blakwel[1] and the rest of the troops in the other villages about, to form the Blocade. 10 Nov.

The Chevalier having left the D.s of Perth and Atholl with his regiment and part of the athol brigade to open the trenches, repaird late in y^{e} Evening to his quarters, where he had not

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* *N.B.*—To show how incredibly ignorant the Country people of England are, and industrious the freinds of the government were to impose upon their ignorance and credulity, in the little house where ye Chevalier was quartered after he had been for above an hour in the Room, some of the gentlemen who attended him heard a ruseling below the bed, and upon Searching they found a little girl of five or six years old. The mother comeing into the room to fetch something, seeing the Child discovered, called out for God's sake to Spare her Child, for She was the only remaining one of Seven she had bore. Upon which some of the gentlemen being currious to know what She meant, followed to the door and enquired what made her express herself in that manner. To which she answered that indeed She had been assured from Creditable people that the highlanders were a Savage Sett of people and eat all the young Children.

† But to leave no room for the Inhabitants to complain, he sent ye following letter to the Mayor.[2]

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[1] Blacklehall.

[2] See Browne's *History*, vol. iii. p. 58.

been above an hour when he received intelligence that G^{ll}. Wade was marching, or ready to march, from Newcastle, he immediatly sent orders to the Several Corps to be ready by day light in the morning to march for Brampton,* being determined to give him battle there, as being the best ground in that part of the Country.

It is almost impossible to describe the joy that was in every body's face upon the news of Wade's aproach; the Chevalier him self expressed the utmost Satisfaction, as he was now likely soon to be able to execute the plan he had formed to himself at Ed^{r} by the reduction of Newcastle, which inevitably must have followed a victorey, and every common Solger was pleasd to think that they now had not taken that rout to Shunn him, but for reasons they could not comprehend. In Short nothing could equal their transport, but the mortification they had after two day's Stay there, to find that after M^{r} Wade had marchd so far as Hexam,[1] finding the roads so bad, and the fall of Snow so great, had retired to his old Camp.

This agreable prospect being now vanish'd, the Chevalier determined not to be idle, and notwithstanding the Severity of the weather, he ordered Carlile to be besieged. Accordingly, on Wedensday the therteenth the blocade was formed by one half of the Army under L. G. M., and the disposition left to himself, which he performed with so much judgement, that the few French officers then in the Army allow'd they had never seen any thing of the kind better executed, and regreted that a man possessed of so fine a natural genious for war Should not have been bred a Solger. The Duke of Perth was entrusted with the Seige, and opened the Trenches that night with his own Regiment, within musket Shot of the walls, midway betwixt the English and Scotts Gates, fixing his own quarters at milles, about Cannon Shot from the Town. The Trenches being opened under a very Smart fire from the walls of Cannon and small arms, the Cannon were brought up to batter the Town, more to intimidate than from any hopes that they could peep upon the walls, 13 Nov.

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* 7 milles on the road to Newcastle.

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[1] Wade did not march till after Carlisle had fallen.

but the dread the inhabitants had of a Seige, together with the Cowardice of the militia, made them hang out a white flag the 14th in the Evening, which being carried to the Chevalier at Brampton whilst sitting at Supper, he immediatly ordered Mr Murray to go to the Duke of Perth's quarters, and together with him to treat with the deputies from the Town. 14 Nov.

The Mayor and another Gentleman of the Citty came according to their appointment, and agreed to surrender the Town upon the following conditions, their liberties and effects being safe, the militia who composed the garrison to have leave to retire to their homes, and the officers to have passports to go where thy would, and that all the Cannon and Arms Should be delivered up in the Condition they were in upon hanging out the flag of Truce, and that the mayor and some of the Aldermen Should go next morning to Brampton, and delivre the Keys to the Chevalier. The Castle they at first pretended they had no inflence over, and the gentleman* who was deputed alongst with the Mayor pleaded very Strongly that the Castle might not be insisted upon that the Magestracy could by no means prevail with the Governour to Surrender, and that it would be very hard to make the Town suffer on that account. But D. of P. and Mr Murray were both sensible that it was only a fetch, and that the terror the Inhabitants were then in would prevail with the Governour, knowing at the same time that it was imposible to keep quiet possession of the Town the Castle in the Enemy's hands, and, above all, that it was inconsistant with the Chevalier's honour to accept of one without t'other, possitively insisted upon the Surrendry of both, and threatned that if they did not, they must give orders to fire upon the Town immediatly. So that after a good deal of reasoning on both Sides, it was agreed that the Castle Should be given up alongst with the Town. The same day, in persuance to the Capitulation, the Mayer, with some other of the Magistrates, came to Brompton and delivered the Keys to the Chevalier, which he returnd them, assuring ym in a very obliging manner of his future favour and Protection, upon which they were dismissed, and returnd home. In the evening the D. of P. took possession of the Town and Castle, Capitulation being signd by both parties, and the Governour, Col^{l} Durand, had his horses and baggage given him, with a passport to go where he pleased. Sir John Pennington, who Commanded in the Town, with the other officers, had likewise passports granted to go where they pleased. During both times y^{t} the Town was blocaded, notwithstanding the continual fire, there was but one man killed, a french officer, and a Solger Sleightly wounded.* In consequence of the Articles of Capitulation the arms of the Garrison was demanded, but not one of them to be found, the ammunition in y^{e} Castle very much damaged, and the balls thrown about the vaults, with the most of the Cannon upon the walls spicked up, notwithstanding that so impudent and audacious an infringement of the Capitulation entitled the Chevalier to use the Town as he Should think fit, and authorised him, according to the rules of war, to have put the garrison to the sword, yet he was so far from taking the just advantage which he had in his power that he attributed the whole to their ignorance, protected them in the full enjoyment of their liberties and properties, made no exactions by way of reprisals, and keept the most exact discipline in his army, paying for every individual thing they got. The day after y^{t} Surrendery of the Town the Chevalier made his entery, and Continued there till the 20th, having his Army Cantoned in the Villages adjacent.

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* One Douglas a Scotsman, Phisician in the place.

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* Mr. Murray being appointed to treat with the Mayor of Carlile, had given umbrage to Lord George, who thought as having ye Command of the blocade that he and Duke of Perth were ye only proper persons to have been employ'd, or rather he alone, as it might be cause of Complaint that the other being R. Catholick, Should be principaly employ'd in England where they were so obnoxious. Another reason y^{t} was ascribed for his seeming disgust was, that Mr. Murray the night he was sent to meet the deputation from the Town had Stoped at his quarters to procure a guide without sending any message or otherwise taking notice of him, tho it was obvious to every body that the reason was y^{t} he thought Mr. Murray had more of his Masters ear than he. The day the Town was Surrendered, in the Evening Mr. M. was told of L. G—s. complaints, and that they were cheifly against him as his advice was so much follow'd by the Chevalier. Upon which being determined that his interest with his master Should not in any Shape conduce to hurt or hinder his affairs, he no Soonner was returnd to Brampton than he acquainted the Chevalier in presence of S^{r} Thomas Sherridan of what he had learnt, told him that as he hoped he was Sensible that he had Served him faithfully all along, and that his interest was the thing in life he had most at heart, he would now, to prevent all uneasynesses that might arise, be pleased to allow him in time comeing to absent him self from his Councils. The Chevalier at first seemd unwilling to grant his request, but upon M—ys representing to him that it was alone with a view to his interest, that he was ready to Sacrifise his own, and that it was Still in his power to advise in a private manner, he agreed y^{t} it Should be so, which seem'd to quiet L. G. a good

And now it may not be amiss to observe what had passed all this whille at Newcastle, and what Methodes M^{r} Wade had taken to assist or Relieve the Town of Carlile, and how far the Town and Castle, if rightly managed, might have baffled all the Chevaliers efforts. It would [be] tedious to take notice of every false and Scurrilous allegation that has been thrown out against the Chevalier in regard to their exorbitant exactions of money in the Several Towns through which he passed, let it suffice here for once for all to say that the moneys said to have been levied at the different places, as well as here at Carlile, are without foundation, save the publick moneys due and such as shall be here mentioned, which at this place did not in whole amount to above £60 pound, and not much above one hundered in most of the other places, the Crown officers having taken Special care to be before hand with the army. Upon the eighteenth a Council of war was Called to determine of what was next to be done, and after some deliberation it was agreed on to march into Lancashire. Tho the Chevalier in all appearance had little reason to expect any

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deal. But that was not all. He was resolved to have the Sole Command, and therefore represented how improper it was that the Duke of Perth, a R. C., Should have any Command in England, Setting furth ye bad consequences that might follow, with the handle it would give their Enemys to talk. In this he had L. Elcho and Some others to join him. The Duke of Perth, so soon as he heard it, was very justly dissatisfied, being sensible of the weakness of the plea and his view in it, but as he had nothing at heart but the Chevaliers interest he very readily declined having any Command, which compleated the dryness that had almost from the beginning Subsisted betwixt them. But what comforted the Duke and his freinds and gave them cause to triumph over tother was that durring the whole march there was Seldome any favour asked or application made by the people of the Country but to the Duke.

considerable assistance from his freinds there if held in the same light with those in Northumberland, where only two gentlemen joind him,* yet he was determined that they should not have it to say that it was oweing to the difficulty of passing the militia in the Country, and that their people were unwilling to rise without some troops to make a head for them, and therefore fixed his departure for the 20th. To have laid there any longer would have been both idle and dangerous; idle, having no prospect of a junction from his freinds in those parts, and from the disposition that at that time seem'd to be formed by the Enemy, he must have been cooped up in that Corner by the Dukes army from the South. Mr Wade at Newcastle, and the 2 Regiments with the foot detached to Scottland on his left, so to prevent a junction of the D. and Mr Wades armies, his only proper methode was to march forward, that in case he came to action he might only have one army to deal with, whereas had they Continued till the D.s march north, who would have been joind by Mr Wade from Newcastle near to Carlile, he had only 3 things to choose upon—first to fight with an army more than 3 times his number, give then the Slip if possible, and march South where it was most certain nobody would join him, seeing such a powerfull army in his rear which he must one day have engaged, or lastly to have retired to Scottland where he must have encountered with Dreus[1] and Ligonier's Regiment of foot, the Glasgow, Paisley and Lothian militia & hamiltons, & the Late Gardners Dragoons who were Sufficient to Stop his passage over the firth till the D. and Mr Wade had comed up, besides, he must have had the whole horse of these armies harassing his rear the whole way on his march from Carlile.

20 Nov.

The recruits that he expected from Scottland not being able to get up so soon as was expected, he detached Mclachlan of Castle Lachlan with a few horse to Perth to give them intelligence of his designs and to hasten their march to Carlile, either to favour a retreat if found Necessary, or to join him further in the Country. Should he find it convenient to Stop any time by the way, or enable him to engage Mr Wade with the greater Safety Should he cross the Country, to offer him

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* Mr. Sanderson and Mr. Taylor.

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[1] ? Price's, the 14th, now the West Yorkshire. Ligonier's became the 44th.

battle, at the same time he ordered detachments from some particular Corps to remain as a garrison in the place, and appointed Mr Hamilton Governor, leaving some two three old officers to assist and advise him.*

Having thus regulated his affairs he begun his march early on the 20th, which day the van of the army march to Penrith under the Command of L. G. Murray, and the day following, the Chevalier, with the main body and Artillery came to Penrith, and the van advanced that day to the village of Shap about Six Milles further, The Chevalier wt the main body halted here all this day whilst the Van proceeded to Kendal, the roads being so full of Snow and Ice that it was necessary to give all possible rest to the horses. On the 23d the main body march'd to Kendal, the foot by the hills and 23 Nov. the Artillery and horse by the low Road by Orton and there joind the van which had made a halt that day at Kendal. The day following being sunday, the Van proceeded to Lancaster and ye Main body remaind at Kendal where Divine Service was performed in the Churches as usual and attended by all the people of Rank in the Ranks in the Army, R. Catholicks as well as Protestants. The Chevalier him self could not goe, there being no Church man of higher rank than the Curate then in the place.† On Monday the 25th the van continued their march 25 Nov. to Preston & the same Evening the Chevalier with the main body arrived at Lancaster about four a Clock. As Preston had

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* *N.B.*—Some days before the Chevalier marchd from Carlile, he was joind by Mr. ——,[1] who had been sent to L. L—t and McLeod and brought back the most distinct answers from them both, having been present at most of their Consultations and agreements where to rendezvous and join their Clans to March South. We dont find that Mr. M. took the Smallest notice of the report this gentleman made, tho it is more than evident that had he told what he knew, the judgement given against his L. Ship would have allowed of less Cavil and dispute than it has done by people versant in the Lawe.

† A person, an inhabitant of the Town, was dispatch'd from hence a Cross ye Country with orders to go in to Mr. Wades army and bring intelligence of his motions, numbers, and Situation of his troops, and if possible to learn his design.

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[1] See p. 216.

been twice an unfortunate place to the Scotts nation in the year 1648 and 1715, having Nether of the times got further than the Town its self, L. G. M—y than whom nobody knew the humours and dispositions of the Highlanders better, and that there were few if any of them ignorant of what their predecessors had Suffered, as a means to evade any Superstitious Scruples that might have arisen, continued his march to the further Side of Repple[1] bridge to convince them that the Town Should not be their *ne plus ultra* for a third time, which seemd to give them a good deal of Satisfaction.

26 Nov. The 26th the main body arrived in the Evening at Preston where the Chevalier was mett by a great course of people and welcomed with the Loudest Shouts and acclamations of joy. L. G. with the Van evacuating the Town and quartering the Troops under his immediate Command in the Villeages on the South Side the Bridge. Next day the whole army halted, & the Chevalier mounted on horse back to take a veiw of the ground where the two former actions had happened, and after having been shown the dispositions that were made in the year 1715 here, and the passes to the town described as well as possible by some gentleman then in the Army who had been there made prisoners, he seem'd to think it Strange that so fair an occasion of fighting Gll. Wells had been lett Slip, or that they Should have deserted the Bridge and made so easy a Capitulation when the Town was Cappable of making so good a defense.

Here he was join'd by the two unfortunate gentlemen Coll Townley and Counseller Morgan, with one Mr Vaughan from Wales, and some few Common people, but no numbers as was expected. 28 Nov. The 28th the whole Army marched to Wiggan, 14 mills from Preston, and quartered in the Town and Villages adjacent, and the next day continued their march to Manchester, where numbers were expected to have join'd. The next day, whilst the Chevalier halted, a good many of the Towns men enlisted, and it being thought necessary to leave the Choosing of the officers to them selves, the Chevalier made intimate to them that, which ever way they Should agree about their Several Ranks, he would confirm it by giving Commissions according to the list they Should give in, and they accordingly met at a Tavern * in Town and Condescend amongst them selves upon the following list of officers, which, when presented to the Chevalier, was approven of and the Commissions ishued accordingly.[1]

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[1] Ribble.

Nothing could more fully demonstrate the terror and Consternation that this march had Struck the Govern^{t} with than the great care they had took to prevent the Sudden advance of the army by throwing all possible obstructions in their way. They had not only taken down an arch of the bridge at Warrington, least he had directed his march thither but broke down one of bridge across the river of Mersey, about 3 milles from Manchester, which, tho the Chevalier had no occasion to repair for his own passage, he nevertheless made it be refitted to oblidge M^{r} Wade with a quick passage had he mind to follow him.

All this day the horse that were quartered at Stockport and the other Villages near to the town keept patroles about the Country to find what intelligence they could of the preparations to the Southward, and some people, were dispatched to learn if M^{r} Wade seem'd inclined to march that way. The Chevalier got on horse back in the afternoon, and rode through the Town to view it by way of amusement, attended by the principle officers of his Army, when he was followed by vast Croweds of people with loud huzzas and all demonstrations possible of their zeal for his Success. 30 Nov.

The next day, y^{e} 1st of December, the whole army marched to Macclesfeild, where a Council of war was held that Evening, and resolved that the main body of the army Should halt there next day, and that L. G. M. Should proceed with the Van to Congleton, about nine milles from Newcastle under line, where the whole horse of the D. of C——d's army lay. Before L. G. reach'd Congleton, he ordered a party of horse to advance through the Town and go as near to NewCastle as 1 Dec.

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* *N.B.*—Maddox, who was Evidence against Cap^{t} Townly, etc., perjured him self, Mr. M. never having been in a Tavern in Town, and Cap^{t} T. having received his Commission from the Chevalier himself.

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[1] Murray does not give the list.

they might in case of an attack make their retreat to the foot, to get intelligence of the Enemy's Situation, who, upon comeing to a small village about two three milles from New-Castle, and there enquiring the Situation and numbers of the Duke's troops, they accidentaly Stumbled upon the house where M^r^ Weir, or Vere, who had acted the Spey, not only at Ed^r^, but all the way upon the road, keeping a few mills before them. He was then agoing to Supper, and endeavour'd to concele himself, but was discoverd and brought to Lord G. at Congleton, who sent him immediatly to Macclesfeild. As this fellow had rendered himself so remarkable and obnoxious to the Chevalier, not only by his Speying at Ed^r^ and on the road, but whilst he was in france, of which he was convicted by a gentleman * in the army who he had met upon the Coast in the year 1743, durring the preparations at Dunkirk, and emparted to him his design, endeavouring to perswade him to go to france, and afterwards meet him at Newport to give him intelligence, for which he promised to reward him; yet so surprising was the Chevalier's humanity and good nature, that he would not inflict upon him the punish^t^ he so justly demerited, but only ordered him to be carried Prisoner alongst with the army to put it out of his power to do him any more hurt. It was a pitty that so humane an action Should have been followed by such fatal consequences as to have put it in the power of so vile a Creature to be a main Instrument in the Death of so many of his Servants.†

3 Dec. On the 3^d^ the Van march'd to Ashburn, and the same day the main body march to Leeck, where Intelligence being brought that the Cavalrey at Newcastle, upon the Chevalier's aproach, had retired to Stone, a Council of War was immediatly Called, and there determined that, as the Enemy had retired, the whole army Should put in motion Early in the morning and march to Derby, which they entered the next night, being y^e^ fourth.

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* Mr. Buchannan.

† *N.B.*—Here the person sent to observe Mr. Wades motions joind the army and gave the following account; and the same day a fellow who had deserted from Mr. Wade at Newcastle, and had been left behind with some others att Carlile, gave the following account.

[*The end of the MS.*]

PART III

MURRAY'S MOVEMENTS AFTER CULLODEN

NOTE

THE MS. of this portion of the Murray Papers is not in the Secretary's handwriting, but several notes and corrections in his hand make it certain that he revised the whole.

The form, that of a reply to an imaginary letter, is frequent in eighteenth-century pamphlets.

PART III

MURRAY'S MOVEMENTS AFTER CULLODEN

My dear Friend,—The dayly examples of the Instability and fickleness of mankind, with the ungratefull requitals they make to those from whom they have Received the most remarkable Instances of Friendship and affection, have, on many late Occasions, appeared to me in such Odious and glaring Colours, that had I not been possessed of that Immutable regard for you, which no time, place, nor Circumstance of life can alter, the horror I Conceived from the behaviour of others, to those from whom they had received the most Substantial favours, must naturally have made me reject the first dawn of thought that tended to lessen the just esteem I owe you; never allowing myself to Immagine that the good or bad fortune of the world could erase me from your thoughts, or have such an Influence upon you, as to banish me from that favour you have so long honoured me with.

Tho, I dare say, further arguments to convince you of the Sincere regard I have for your happiness is needless, yet alow me to Indulge myself, after a two years Separation, by expressing my affection for one, with whom I livd so many Years in that strickt Intimacy, known only to such who are Capable of real friendship. A passion which, I am sorry to say, Seems to be banished from this part of Christindome, as stale and old fashiond, lending to the Subversion of the New adopted Scheme of Self Interest, which is alone looked upon as the unerring path to happiness, and the only true mark of a man of Sence.

Let who will Swallow the guilded Pill, I was ever an Enemy to Physick, and am still determind upon no Consideration of that nature to purge away what, to me, appears the most amiable of all Virtues, and which has been so much Contended for by the greatest and Wisest men amongst the Antients: whose examples in things of less Consequences we with so much eagerness endeavour to Imitate.

I could launch out into a boundless Ocean of the most feeling examples amongest our fore-Fathers, who, possessd of Souls uncapable of Coruption, and spurning at Self Interest, nobly sacrificed themselves, not only for their Country, but for the Sake of Individuals, whose preservation they esteemd preferable to their own: but that I know it would only Serve as a tedious repetition of facts with which you have been long and well acquainted.

It is a Common Saying, and often in the mouths of the most unworthy, that Virtue is admird and Esteemd even by those who have not the fortitude to pursue it.

The Coward is said in his heart to hate his fellow Coward: thus, that very friendship of which I am now speaking, is admird by those who were never blessd with the knowledge of it, and even to this day, though no one Individual will attempt publickly to declare how little he Values it, yet when any uncommon example of it is shown, he joins with the multitude, to call it a peice of Antient Don Quixotry, laughing at the Author for his generosity; and dispising him as Ignorant of his own Interest: which, from a love to mankind in general, I would willingly perswade myself to beleive, proceeds more from a regret to be outdone in Virtue, than a real disaprobation of their Neighbours' Conduct.

That it is a Christian Virtue, and Strongly Injoind us by the Author of our Salvation, is now, alas, no argument; and, I am sorry to say, it would rather tend to lessen than advance it with those from whom the Majority of every State ought to take their example. Mankind being now so thoroughly debauch'd that, to imitate the Vices of the great, is become the Touchstone of Politness amongest those of fashion, and the dayly Study of the Lower rank of Society.

But least I should depreciate a Subject, which has Employd the pens of the most learnd men in all ages, by throwing out a parcel of Crude and undigested thoughts, and lessen your esteem of me by falling short of these Ideas and expressions, the Subject justly merits; I shall have done by assuring you that, next to my own unexpected deliverance, to be assertaind of Your Safty and happiness was the most Sensible pleasure I ever felt; which was so much hightned by the receipt of Your obliging letter, giving me to understand that your present Situation of Life, was answerable to your fondest wishes; as is easier felt than Express'd.

Would to God every one who Servd under the same banner could say he enjoyd the like felicity; but alas, the Miserable, the unheard of havock, that has been made amongst us (was you here) would almost Induce you to beleive that there was no Survivor of that fatal day to relate the dismal Catastrophe; as to myself, you may beleive me when I tell you, that since my arrival in this unhappy Country, the extream joy I proposd to myself is turnd to mourning. Happy is it for us that, even in the greatest triffles, we are ignorant of futurity, how much more than must it be so in affairs of greater Consequence.

Had I but known, or even been able to Conceive, the Melancholy prospect which now presents its self to my eyes, I would not only have Endeavourd to banish the thought, but Triumph'd to think that, by directing my Steps else where, I was not the unhappy Spectator of the Missery of that land where I first drew breath.

Tho this is a moving Subject, especialy to one who on all occasions Shewd so particular a regard for the wellfare of their Country as you have done, yet the Strong effect it has had prevails with me to indulge my gloomy disposition by dwelling upon the theme, were it not my duty to answer your Commands so far as my present Situation will allow: which, tho upon an ungratfull Topick, yet as it obliges you, must prove the most agreable peice of amusement I shall have untill my affairs will permit of my absenting myself from this unlucky Spot where I propose no long Continuance, being extreamly desirous to attain to that Satisfaction which no true Scotsman can possibly find in his own Country.

And now that I may answer your letter, in the manner that I apprehend will prove the most agreable to us both, I shall mention your Several demands, by way of heads, and then

Speak to them in order as they follow. 1st. You desire to be acquainted with the Situation of our party in Scotland, and their manner of Acting.

2d. What has become of our old friend Mr. M——y.

3d. The reason of his Silence, being satisfyd from Your own knowlege of his Transactions, that he has only to make them publick for his Vindication.

4th. What methods he fell upon to Induce the Ministry to beleive that he had told them all he knew: especialy how he accounted for the Chasm of four years from 1738 to 1742, during which time he keept a Closs Correspondence with Rome.

5th. A particular Account of the reasons that prevaild with him to leave the Highlands.

And lastly, what you know of the many hard things laid to his Wifes Charge, of all which, you Seem to Imagine I am not Ignorant, believing that I was not so far led away by the World as to give up all Correspondence with an old friend without giving him an opportunity of Saying somewhat to his Conduct.

Allow me, then, to begin by assuring you that you only did me justice, when you Conjecturd that popular Clamour could not prevail with me to desert a friend unheard, of whose veracity I was formerly so much Convincd: but before I say any more on that Subject, in Obedience to Your Commands, and in Conformity with the plan I have laid down, I shall begin with our party in Scotland, after giving a short hint of the Mortifications I myself have felt from the oposite faction.

The Sneers, the Vain exulting pride, and over-bearing Self-Sufficiency of the Whigs, big with their unexpected Success, and drunk with a Certainty of future Security, is dayly ready to make that Blood boil over, which you know was not wont easly to be put in a ferment: the Influence such a Carriage would have upon a temper Naturaly so warm as Yours is no hard matter to guess: in so much that I have been often ready to think that notwithstanding the great Mortification it must be to be Debarrd the Comfort of Visiting our Native Country, yet, in the present Situation of things, it is happy for you not to have it in your power, as the consequences, in all probability, might prove fatal, not only to you, but others.

And now to answer the Several particulars you mention, allow me to think it Strange that you should desire to be acquainted with the particular State of our party here; Sure you do not imagine that I could Commit any thing of So delicate a Nature to the Common Post, and at present I know of no other Conveyance. The Government, I am afraid, knows too much already; and this, in all probability, would be presenting them with too minute Intelligence; which, I cannot help thinking, would not only be an Ill timd peice of Politness, but would be granting them a favour, which I in no Shape owe them; so shall leave those particulars till Such time as I have the happiness of a tête-a-tête, which, I flatter myself, may happen in a few months. Till then, make your Self as easy as possible with what you can learn on your Side the Water. But that you may not be at a loss for the Conduct of our friends in general, I shall attempt giving you an Account of their proceedure with all Imaginable Impartiality, which, tho I know it cannot fail to displease you, yet as it is no Secret to the World, should my letter fall into bad hands, no ill Consequences can Insue; in short, their behaviour is as little to be born with patience as that of their Enemys, and whither to pity or dispise them, occasions in me frequently Such Inward Disputes as are difficult to Determine.

Do not Imagine that when I write thus, I would be understood to mean the whole, God forbid. There are still some whose natural Good Sense will not allow the ill timd Zeal and Impertinent folly of the Croud to get the better of their reason; and the real Interest of their Party.

Silence is a Virtue or (if I may be allowd to say) a peice of knowledge, which the giddy and thoughtless part of either Sex Seldom attain to: and which notwithstanding their reverence and respect for Some Individuals, who Study to instile a different notion: yet if they do prevail, it is but with a few and that for no long Continuance; for it Soon breeks out like the Torrent of Confind Waters, Sweeping along whatever it finds in its way; Good and bad without distinction, so that it may not unproperly be inferrd, that in regard to this one particular, the Remedy is worse than the Disease as it only Smothers the Embers for a time; which when by any Accident they take Air, never fail to breek out into a flame.

It Cannot fail to give one the Spleen to Observe a parcel of people, who whilest their hearts tremble within them, give a loose to their tongues unbecoming such who adopt to themselves the Character of having Common Sence, Railing against some in the most Childish, Malicious, Envious, and unjustifiable manner Imaginable, Depreciating and blackning others, and frequently Crying up Such to the Skies, whom you and I know never to have merited the least aplause; nor Indeed ever had it in their power to be of any Service. Yet this you will not so much wonder at, when I tell you that it is the little low lif'd fellows of our Army who are now become our best Generals, and the finest Gentlemen, and all this only at the expence of a little truth, by Vainly boasting of their own (till now unheard of) actions; and finding fault with the Procedure of their Superiors; which tho often Visibly done with no other View than to procure a Dinner, is nevertheless greedily Swallowd down by their Patrons; and afterwards retaild as undoubted facts.

It is no uncommon thing to hear a minute detail of the proceedings in Council with the Arguments us'd by the Several Members, repeated in a Club of our well wishers with Such an Air of assurance and Certainty as gains the Credit of the whole; or should the Orator upon the least Seeming Contradiction be demanded to give his Authority, you will hear him Storm at the incredulity of his friend, telling that he had it from Mr. —— the Barber.

It is incredible to Imagine what length their useless Zeal Carrys them, and what frivolous and trifling lies are laid for the bases of Scandalous Accusations Against the most deserving. Were the Storys well framd and without Containing palpable Contradictions in themselves, there gaining ground would not so much Surprize; but where there is not the least Shadow of truth but the Strongest Circumstances, nay even living Witnesses of their falsehood, the vast fondness they Seem to have for detraction, makes them reject truth as if the Authors only, from a peice of mistaken good Nature, would paliate and guild over the faults of their Neighbours.

It is not enough to Say that a person was *alibi* and Consequently not guilty of what was laid to his Charge, you are told, no matter, Supose the fact was so, that rather strengthens then weakens the allegation; the thing was done by his Advice, and he, purposely to avoid the just blame, order'd matters so, as to absent at the time. And the person who attempts to vindicate him is discovered either to be nearly connected with the Criminal or partner in his Iniquity and Sharer of his Gain.

A story will take its rise at the Abby and in less then three hours after, reach the Castle hill, with so many currious and good naturd additions, that the Original lie only serves in time coming as a ground of beleif for the whole.

The Actions of Gladsmuir, Cliftonmoor, Falkirk, and Culloden, are fought over at every Tea Table, with so much address and Gallantry and with such substantial and solid remarks upon the bad Conduct of our Leaders; that some of both Sexes seldom or never fail to convince the Rest of the Company of their Military genius, and occasions a full and ample Declaration of their Sencere regret that her Ladyship had not the Command, concluding with what pity it was that, this and t'other, had not been done, for sure never was any thing more obvious and easy.

The Castle of Edinburgh is starved before the punch Bowl is empty. The Batteries against Stirling errected anew, and the Garrison made Prisoners of War by the time it is replenish'd.

The Prince and Council are perswaded to wait C-mb-rl-ds Aproach at Bannockburn, and taught to rout his Army whilest the fine Lady sips her Hyson; and the passage of the Spey pronounced impracticable with a look of Scorn and flirt of the Fan.

A parcel of Antiquated Attorneys, with the help of a black Gentleman in a gown and Cassock, will march us to Derby, from thence make our way straight and easy to the Capitall, render the March of the Enemy impossible, rouse the Sleeping English, seize the Treasury, make the two Armys under C-mb-rl-d and Wade disband, their Officers sue for Pardon, and the Fleet send their Submission, erect Triumphall Arches, make the Mayor and Aldermen meet us with the Regalia of the City, which with their Charter returnd, and protection promised, compleat the Cavalcade to St. James's.

On the other hand, mortifyd beyond expression when they reflect that their easy Scheme was not put in Execution; plainly discover treachery in our retreat, continue the same Chain of Villany during our return to, and stay at Bannockburn, and make the whole Design as clear as Sunshine, before our Arrival at Inverness. Every Old Woman, Green Girl, Cock Laird, and Pettefogger being now become equally soldiers and Politicians, denouncing one a Coward, t'other Traitor, and a third a Blockhead, &c.

Tho what I have already mentioned is not only extreamly disagreeable but hurtfull, yet I could almost perswade myself to forgive them, and attribute it to the weakness of human nature, did they confine themselves to general reflections: but when they descend to Particular Characters and things, I cannot help being angry with them.

It is not only finding fault with the management of some few of the Principle people concernd; but of almost all those who have had the good fortune to escape, to whose charge such Stories are laid, as I once thought impossible to have proceeded from the most fertile Imagination, fraughted with Malice in its highest perfection, and you may hear such an abandond fellow as Donald M'Donald,[1] Kepocks Nephew, who was hanged at Kinnington, several Years latter than he ought to have been, spoke of with more Veneration than some of the most deserving.

To enter into particulars, and to confute what we both know to be false, would be equally Trifling and Tedious.

Do not imagine that what I have said is with a View to make you discredit all the Several Reports already reachd your ear, some of them, tho not as they are told, yet I am afraid are in part true, nor do you allow yourself to be forestald with the notion that I am intirely of Your Sentiments, till such time as you have impartialy examind the Whole.

It proceeds from a Sincere regard to you, who having imposd this task upon me, I should be sorry to leave Ignorant of our Situation, as far as may be prudent after this Manner, and to assure you that I cannot help lamenting that notwithstanding the Experience of Threescore years shows, that by means of our Divisions, Inveyings, and Heartburnings we have not only causd the desertion of some, but the Defidence, Distrust, and lukewarmness of many; they not not only go the Old game, but seem to have attaind to such a height of Scandal and Detraction, as is Sufficient to render their best friends their most enveterate Enemys.

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[1] Donald Macdonald (or Macdonell), 'aged about twenty-five years,' was a captain in Keppoch's regiment. He was captured at the surrender of Carlisle, and executed on Kennington Common, 22nd August 1746.—*Scots Magazine*, viii. p. 397.

Did it produce that Effect in some I should not at all wonder; it is not every man whose principles are so unalterably fix'd, or whose affection and partiality for his party is so great, but when Conscious to himself of having acted a part which he esteems fair and honest, will not, if too Severly Spur galld, endeavour to throw his Rider. Nothing touches a man so nearly as Ingratitude, especially from those for whom he has sacrifis'd himself. Revenge, tho not Laudable, is yet natural, and it is not every man who is possest of such an abundant Stock of Philosophy as not to think it allowable in some Cases.

There are two kinds of men we ought not if possible to disoblige—the Rogue, who will study to hurt us; and the honest man who has it in his power; but especialy the latter, who if once thoroughly irritated, will give no quarter, but expose all to the world to prove his own Virtue, and our Ingratitude.

As for my own part, I fairly own to you, that were I treated as some others are, I should be apt to hesitate upon the part the most proper for me to take. It is hard for one to determine when not in that case, how they would demean themselves; but I cannot help thinking that did my Conscience alow me, I should become the sworn, avowd, and never to be pacifyd Enemy of my persecutors: which induces me to beleive that did another take that Step, I should not much blame him. What in the Name of Wonder is a person to expect from such people, if in their power; when one considers the Inveteracy they show under their present Circumstances.

The unhappy people they now rail at, and to whom they attribute Actions, which I dare venture to say never once enterd their most unguarded thoughts, do not seem to have the least grounds to imagine they shall be able to persuade them of the falacy of what is laid to their charge; or of even procuring common Justice, far less to convince them how much they merit their favour and attention.

Things being now at this hight with us, it is not difficult to form an Idea of the Influence it has upon those of better Sence, effectualy detering them from acting with that keenness, Vivacity, and Zeal, to which they are inclind; fearing least one day they should meet with no better requitall, did the Situation of things oblige them to swerve in the smalest degree, from that troden path prickd out by our Pseudo Polititions: and such whose principles are yet crude and undegested, are discouraged from imbarking with a lott of People, whose friendship is so little to be depended upon.

It is in vain to argue with them that such a method of proceeding tends to weaken and enervate their party, and that unanimity has in all ages, and still is by men of Sence, deemd the most Effectual method to strengthen their hands, and make them feard and courted by their Enemys; their present passion hurries them away and draws a thick Vail over all the bad Consequences that must insue.

And allowance for others failings is not to be propounded, nor can you prevail with them, to state themselves in the Case of those of whom they complain: and to insinuate the part that they themselves might have acted, if in their Situation: you are assurd of losing their favour for ever.

I own it is not easy for a man to frame to himself the Situation of his friend or the just effects it might have upon him, but still it must be granted, that a man may in some degree judge what would then be his frame of mind: few of us have not in our lifetime experienced all the several passions incident to human weakness.

I have not been hitherto unfortunate enough to meet with any so ridiculous as not to own that to be unite is the only sure way to preservation, yet they cannot be prevaild upon to think but that the Party would reap considerable benifite from being weeded of such, whom they particularly dislike, which piece of Indulgence was it to be granted every one against those to whom they imagine they have just cause of Exception, we should scarcely deserve the name of a Party. But to detain you no longer on a Subject which cannot fail to hurt you; I shall conclude by telling you, that what vexes me most is, the Satisfaction I plainly see it gives our Enemys, who take an advantage of our mutual quarrels, and to increase the flame, maliciously throw fuel into the fire, which when we greedily catch at, not only occasions a Secret Joy, but makes them hate and dispise us, as a people the dupes of our own folly.

Your Second Question may be solved in fewer words than it contains, by saying that he is well and in London.

The third, which tho it might be as easily answerd, I nevertheless incline to discourse more particularly, for reasons which the Solution itself will render obvious.

I did intirely agree with you in opinion that considering the great run that has prevaild against him, a publick explanation was necessary, least by a to long and uninterupted train of Calumny, the dirt thrown might catch too fast hold, to be easily wipt off. This I took the Liberty to observe to him upon our first meeting, which having extreamly longd for, I made it my first care to procure after having obtaind my Liberty. Tho he readily agreed upon a Rendevous, and keept his apointment, yet for some time it was very plain, that he was not much inclind to come to an aclaircissement, from his industrously avoiding all particulars. This you may believe gave me a good deal of uneasyness, and made me begin to suspect that there was more couch'd under his reserve than I could have wishd; but determind to be at the bottom of it, and either force him to an Explanation or an absolute refusal, I took occasion to remind him of our former Intimacy, and to assure him that so far from being ready to be prevaild upon to join in the Common Cry, that I had taken all occasions to vindicate him, when to my knowledge the alligations were false.

That I had made it my business so soon as in my power to find him out, with no other View than to be able to show him that I still retaind the same regard for him as ever; not doubting but that he could account as well for his late as former proceedings, to the uprightness and disinterestedness of which, the whole Party were wont to give implicit faith.

That tho I knew him to be naturaly reservd, yet I could see with one Eye that he was possesd of more diffidence than usual; and tho I could not much blame him to be so to the world in General, yet I could not help thinking that in regard to me as an Individual, his Silence was ill judged, my present meeting with him flowing puerly from friendship and a desire to be solved of some few doubts which I frankly ownd difficulted me a good deal: insomuch that when they occurd in Common Conversation, as they were often the Topicks of Discource, I chose to be Silent, averse to reflect, and unwilling to vindicate by halves.

That as he knew my unalterable attachment to the Intrest of the Party, I could not help being sorry to think that any one member should be lost to it, much more the Person formerly esteemd one of the Chief propes in his Country.

That as I had hitherto incurrd the Displeasure of none, a happiness incedent to very few, I was ready to run all Risques to vindicate him, esteeming truth preferable to every other Consideration; which I could alone do by hearing his own Story; yet if there was any particular upon which he did not care to speak openly to the world, I was ready to pledge my honour, that it should continue a Secret untill he judgd it proper to propall it.

This Declaration, to which he gave earnest attention, seemd to awaken him and draw the following Answer.

That he was not intirely Ignorant of the part I had acted, having had frequent occasion to hear it from some who visited the Prisoners, but that his ears were dayly stunnd with so many falsehoods, not only charged upon himself, but on Lord Geo. M—y, and others, that he had laid it down as an unerring Maxim, not to be swervd from; to give Credit to nothing till such time as he had most convincing proofs.

The many years he had labourd to serve the R—l F—ly, and the unwearied Zeal with which he had effectually promotted their Intrest, to the utter neglect and ruin of his own affairs, made the ungenerous requitall he had received from some of the Party, less easy to be bore.

That he had mett with such unexamplary ungratitude, not only from those on whom he had bestowd favours both before and during the time that the Army was on foot; but that the very people whom he had made, acted such a part as nothing but his having been Author of their ruin could vindicate; which, together with many other particulars needless to mention, had rendered him diffident of all mankind, a maxim quite opposite to his former principle that all men were to be esteemd honest till such time as the Contrary appeard and was provd.

In fine he was unwilling to open himself to any, not knowing how far friendship might be pretended with a View to hurt him, by making a bad use of what he said, a thing not at all improbable, as words were seldom retaild as first spoke: but as the assurance I had given him seemd to be so much of a peice with my former behaviour, he could not help thinking me Sincere; and would with pleasure and all the frankness I could wish endeavour to satisfy me in every particular I should care to propose, provided I previously ingagd my honour to repeat nothing save what he should agree to, and at the same time freely and without any restraint propose what Objections occur'd to his Answers.

These Conditions premisd, you may beleive very few (if any) material questions escapd me, being much upon my guard, and most of what I intended to say prepard beforehand.

In relation to most of what passd, let it sufice to tell you that I was not only thoroughly satisfied but pleasd beyond expression to think that every step he had taken was as much with a View of being of Service to his Master, and the Intrest of the party, as any of those previous to his Landing. If he has been deceived in what he did, that must alone be owing to want of Capacity, not of Inclination, the former of which none of us till lately attempted to call in question.

But to satisfy you as to the reason of his Silence, I shall endeavour to give you as near as possible his words.

Notwithstanding the Natural diffidence he had of his own abilitys, and his reluctance to become an appellant to the publick, together with the doubts, and distractions, which the Malignity and invetracy of the World occasiond; yet he was thoroughly convinced that it depended upon him to vindicate himself in the most ample manner by alone making publick the real matters of fact, but that the bad Consequences of such a Step appeard so Obvious, that notwithstanding his Severe and unjust Suffering, he must reject it till a time when publick declarations of that nature would not hurt the persons therein mentiond.

That tho to a person less warm then himself, the provocations he had met with would render revenge excusable, yet he could not perswade himself to hurt his Master by taking just Vengence upon his own particular Enemys. Esteeming a private quarrel of whatever nature a thing to be put up with, when in Competition with the publick good.

Then referrd to me if discovering numbers of people with whom I knew he had transacted his Masters affairs during the Space of Seven years, none of whom had ever so much as escaped his Lips, it had not been in his power to have filld the English prisons, and gluted the Government with the blood and Estates of those they wishd to have shed, and been possessd of.

From all which he argued that should he now in Vindication of himself lay the whole Scene open, and by shewing what was in his power, discover the particulars concernd, the Distracted and Ignorant Mob would not imagine that these Individuals had been conceald by him but overlooked by the Ministry, as having only his testimony against them. As to those of better sence and more reflection, suposing but not granting that they were satisfyd with his having till then conceald them, yet they would at no rate allow that any usage, however bad, could excuse his exposing them to the knowledge of their Enemys which would render their after actions for ever Suspicious, and their Services to the party deficult and dangerous, if not impossible. And demonstrated, that had he been willing, it was in his power to have namd Sufficient Evidence against many, at least persons who had it in their power to give it if they pleasd, several of whom were then in the Goverments Custody; and others he himself had taken care at his own expence to keep out of the way.

Upon the whole, it proceeded from no regard he could possibly be imagind to retain for them, their behaviour having justly disolvd all the bonds of friendship that formerly subsisted betwixt them; but from a principle not to be alterd, and a personal Affection for his Master not to be paralleld. And lastly, as he imagind nothing could more effectually disturb the tender Conscience, or create a more Sincere Repentance, than that of a persons discovering his having been long stubornly in a state of Sin, he was determind to lett time effect what reason could not. Besides, what title has the Party in general, says he, to any Vindication of myself or Explanation of my actions? who authorises them to find fault? who constitutes the Mobb my Judges? who impowers them to guess and conjecture at the Motives that induced me to act? and above all, from what Law of God or men do they arogantly assume to themselves a right to determine of matters so far above their reach? who then are the people to whom I am to account? The question is easly answerd. To the K—g, P—ce, and D—ke, and such who can with seeming Justice say, I have hurt them. The first I freely offer to satisfy. The second, let them call upon me, if I dont convince them they may have their revenge. If I chose to open my mind to any other Individuals, that is Voluntary, and to please myself.

As to your 4th query, I hope it will be Satisfactory to tell you, that it is allways in a mans power to know so much, and no more than he pleases, where there are no written documents to the Contrary against him; and for the four Years chasm you mention, from 1738 to 1742, as nothing appeard relative to that time, it was easy for him to keep his mind to himself. The only Difficulty which occur'd concerning that affair, and which he ownd gave him the greatest uneasyness, was a letter which he had wrote the Summer before the P—ce's Landing, containing an abridgment of his Negotiations during part of these years, with the names of several persons concernd; which might unlukily have fallen into the hands of the Ministry as well as others did less to have been expected: but as it was signd by a Cant name, he determind, in case of its being produced against him, totaly to deny it. And how it came to escape the hands of the Conquerors, considering the management of his Successor in Office,[1] is a little wonderfull, but that it did, is certain: a happy Circumstance for many, who would in all probability have had the pleasure of contemplating the four walls of a Gloomy prison, for many months; had the Consequences provd no worse.

I come now to the fifth and most Interesting query, I call it the most Interesting, because from thence has flown all the other Misfortunes that has attended him; especialy as it has and still continues to be alledgd by many, that it was a previous design to betray his party, notwithstanding there are several people still living who knew the Contrary; yet so Cruel and ungenerous are they as not to do him that Justice which is due to our greatest Enemy.

The very Circumstance of his Journey, now known to Numbers, would seem Sufficient to persons indued with Common Reason, to demonstrate that he could have no such intentions; but even in that, people seem industriously to have studyd to calumniate him, by alledging facts as opposite to truth as light from Darkness, and these not people living at a Distance from the Scene of Action: but actualy upon the Spot, and acquainted with the Privacy of his rout.

These Circumstances alone ought to be Sufficient to vindicate him in this particular, nor can the wisest of his Enemys pretend even a specious reason for a person in the weak Condition he was then in to undertake so fatiguing a Journey exposd to all the little rascaly Barbarians Morroding partys, then dispersd over the Country, when he had it in his power to have surrenderd himself at Fort Augustus, Fort William, or to General Campbell; neither of which were many miles from the place from whence he sett out.

But allowing of the reason they offer against his taking this Step, as it would have seemd a too barefaced and palpable a peice of Vilainy, yet to a person that had intended to act the part, they would have the World beleive he proposed, such Cobweb delicacys would have appeared as nothing; nor is it to be imagind that he would have taken the Rout of Tweedale, a Country where for some Generations no Troops had been quarterd, and from whence (save himself) no man of any

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[1] Hay of Restalrig. Cf. *Itinerary*, p. 41.

Consideration had appeard in arms, had he had the smalest Intention of being made a Prisoner.

As it may perhaps be more proper to delay any further observations of this nature untill I have told you the Story as it realy was, I shall now endeavour to relate it, as minutly as my memory will allow me, having made it my business to enquire into the truth of the Account he gave me, from some who sculked in the Country long after the Battle: but of this you can easily inform yourself at these who were alongst with him, and who I am told are still living. I mean Lochiel, his Brother the Doctor, Mr. M^{c}l—d, S^{r} Steuart Threpland,[1] Major Kennedy, and others. And as you are Ignorant of what happend after our defeat, it may not be disagreeable to give you a Cursory Account of his proceedings from that date.

You may remember upon the Fleets appearing near to Inverness, and the Troops being ordered to evacuate that place, his friends were of opinion that it was necessary to remove him thence, in case of a Descent being made to insult the Town. In Consequence of this resolution, he was next morning carried upon a litter to Foyers, a Gentlemans house, about half way from Inverness to Fort Augustus, upon the Side of the Lake, where he lay the day following, and in the Evening, being anxious to know if any Action had happend, these that were in Company, afraid least the news of a defeat might alarm him, and occasion the return of his fever, gave him to understand that, the P—ce not being joind by the detachd Partys from his Army, had retired across the River of Nairn to a Strong ground where the Enemys horse could not act.

This gave him great Satisfaction, as he had taken the Liberty, before his removal from Inverness, to send repeated Messages to his Master, begging him not to risque a Battle till his army was compleat; And should he be too hard press'd by the Enemy, to retire to the ground above mentioned, where he might feight upon his own terms.

Thus satisfied that all was well, he continued there till next morning, when he was told it was judgd proper to carry him accross the Lake, which, tho it seemd a little Strange imagining the Army intire, he nevertheless consented to, without inquiring particularly into the reasons; and being carried to Mrs. Grant of Glenmorristons house after he had got a little rest, Doctor Cameron acquainted him with the Disaster of the preceeding day.

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[1] Third Baronet of Fingask, M.D., President Royal College of Physicians, 1766 to 1770, Edinburgh, died 1805.

Numbers of people having fled from the field of Battle by that road, it was thought not improbable that partys would soon follow, upon which Account he was removd two Miles higher up the Glen that Evening, and the day following to the head of the Country: where, having staid that night, was met next morning by M^{c}D—ld of Barrisdale with his Regiment, and the M^{c}gregors from the County of Ross. The latter of these Regiments transported him to Fort Augustus, where he desired to be carried, never doubting but that a Rendevous had been appointed, either there, or at Ruthven, where he was of opinion a Stand might be made, to prevent the advance of the Enemy for some time, if not to keep the high grounds and act upon the defensive the whole Summer; but being carried to Mr. M^{c}D—lds of Lochgarys[1] house, he was there informd by one of the D—ke of P—ths Aid de Camps,* that near to three thousand men (including the M^{c}phersons who had not been in the Action) were dispersed by the D—kes and L—d Go: M—ys orders; that the D—ke was to be that night at Invergary, and that every one was doing the best they could for their own Safty.

Quite vexed to think that no attempt had been made to draw together the remains of the Army; and that tho late, it was not yet impossible, he desired to meet with the D—ke of P—th next day at a place two miles above Invergary; where, finding his Grace quite wore out with fatigue, and no notion that there was a possibility of retreiving their affairs, most of the Cheifs being then amissing, he resolved to continue his

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* Mr. Warren.

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[1] Donald Macdonald of Lochgarry escaped with the Prince, and died in France. His mother was a Cameron of Lochiel. He had a commission in Lord Loudon's regiment before the '45.

journey to Locheils Country, and there wait for Accounts of the P—ce.

He was that night carried to Cluns, and from thence next day to Achnacarry, and the morning following to Glenmely, where he was no sooner arrived, than Accounts were brought that Locheil had reachd his own house; which occasiond an universal joy, his death being generaly reported all over the Country. About two hours afterwards he arrivd with Stuart of Ardsheal[1] and some others, where, after consulting for some time, it was determind to attempt raising a body of good men, and with them to keep the hills, till such time as they could be satisfied that the French either was, or was not, in earnest to suport them; and that this might be the more effectually executed, it was agreed to give Intelligence of it to the Several Commanders still in being, and to procure a meeting some few days after to agree upon the time and manner.

Having remaind at this place for two nights, he was, together with Locheil, carried up Loch Arkike, to a place calld Callich, where the third day after it was judgd proper to cross the Lake, and take up their residence in a Wood where they had some little hutts erected for the purpose.

Here they had Intelligence of the P—ce being upon the Coast, in the Country of Arrisaige, upon which Mr. M—y proposd to send to him to receive his orders, and to remonstrate against his leaving the Country, which it was said he was then advised to. Doctor Cameron was accordingly dispatchd, but upon his arrival could not procure Access, Mr. H—y,[2] to whom he aplyd first, telling him that he could not see him, and soon after, that if he would acquaint him with his message, he would endeavour to deliver it, but Mr. Cameron giving him to understand that his Instructions was to Communicate his Message to none but the P—ce himself, and that he thought it a little strange that his place of abode should be keept a Secret from him, especialy coming from his Brother, and Mr. M—y hinting their dissent to his scheme of leaving the Country, Mr. H—y told him that he was already gone, which the other not seeming to beleive, and still insisting to know where he was, H[a]y offerd to send one to know what was become of him.

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[1] Charles Stewart of Ardsheal remained in hiding in Scotland till Sept. 1746, when he escaped to France.

[2] Hay of Restalrig.

The person sent having staid but a very short time, which plainly demonstrated that he could not have been at the Coast, before he had an opportunity of delivering his message, H[a]y mett him at some distance, and talkd to him, which made the Doctor naturaly suspect that he was instructing him what to say; as the man assurd him that he was Saild some hours before.

The uneasiness which the Doctors report occasiond upon his return, is easier to be imagind than expressd, and Mr. M[urra]y, unwilling to think that any person about his Master could advise him to so rash a Step, hopefull that he was still upon the mainland, wrote a threatning letter to Mr. H[a]y, insisting that the bearer, Mr. M^{c}l[eo]d, should have Immediate Access, but before the Gentleman had reachd half way on his Journey, he met H[a]y coming to Locharkike, who assurd him that the P[rin]ce was actualy gone, with which answer he returnd, and further, that Sir Tho^{s} Sheridan, then in Glendichory,[1] proposd being in the Wood that night, and H[a]y in the morning.

Sir Thomas Sheridan, Mr. Mackl[eo]d, Mr. H[a]y, and Mr. M[urra]y, and others being together, and Accounts at the same time brought of the arrival of two French ships, with money, Arms, and Amunition, the P[rin]ce being gone was much regreted, not only as it would tend to procrastinate the assembling of the Troops proposd, but that he should have lost so fair an opportunity of returning to France; if thought advisable.

H[a]y took occasion from this, and on Account of the letter before mentiond, to have been wrote by Mr. M[urra]y, to vindicate himself by declaring in the most Solemn manner, that he was intirly Innocent of advising his Master to leave the Country, and that he was actualy gone before Doctor Camerons arrival, which nevertheless was very much doubted by all present, not only from prior Circumstances, but as it generaly happens to most people who endeavour to clear themselves by Voluntary Oaths and Imprecations; a method the truth never requires: but what seemd above all to confirm people in their opinion, was his own over fondness to be gone, which he witness'd in the strongest manner by an extream uneasiness during the short time he staid.

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[1] Glendessary.

Whilest other people present seemd without any hesitation to resolve to lay hold of the present opportunity, Mr. Cameron of Locheil retired into a little hutt with Mr. M[urra]y, where he expressd his unwillingness to desert his Clan in the unhappy Situation they were then in, as Inconsistant with his honour and their Intrest; and observing that as them two had gone all along hand in hand during the whole affair, he hoped he would not now leave him, but begd they might share the same fate together.

This Mr. M[urra]y readily consented to, unable to refuse the desire of a person for whom he had such a regard, and with whom he had lived so many years in the stricktest Intimacy. This, together with his own opinion that the P[rin]ces retreat was ill advised, made him think it his duty, as being the person there next to him in Intrest with the Clans, to endeavour at supporting the Party as much as their then Situation would allow.

Upon this he took occasion to represent to the Gentlemen present, that it was his opinion that the errors already committed ought if possible to be retreivd; which he thought was alone to be done by raising a body of men Sufficient to protect the Country, and to keep on foot during that Summer untill they should see whither or not the Succours promised from France was realy intended; and as he had been a Chief Instrument to ingage numbers to join, who he did not doubt were still willing to appear, he thought it would be dishonourable in him to desert them, for which reason he was determind not to lay hold on that oppertunity, to quite the Country, notwithstanding his present Condition (being then scarce able to stand upon his legs) renderd his Safty very precarious.

Having taken this resolution, ever watchfull of his Masters Safty, he proposed that one of the Ships should sail for the

Isle of Uest, where it was said the P[rin]ce was gone, and failing to find him there, to proceed to the Orkneys, where it was not doubted he would go, in case he did not either find a Ship, or Sutable Conveniency in the above mentiond Island, and that Mr. M^{c}l[eo]d should be sent aboard the Ship with proper Instructions to persuade him to return; if not, it would still furnish him with a more immediate and better oppertunity of going to France, then he could otherwise find in these Seas.

S^{r} Thomas Sheridan very readily offerd to stay provided he could be of any Service; but as the Inconveniency flowing from his Age and infirmitys, must have counterballanced his Advice, it was thought more advisable for him to repair to France, where a favourable representation of their affairs would be of greater advantage, than any Service he was capable of doing them in their present Situation.

It may be perhaps needless to mention to you how generously Major Kennedy[1] proceeded, who, notwithstanding the example he had, not only of the Surrender of his Brother Officers after the Battle of Culloden but the Sanction of L[ord] J[ohn] D[rummond] and others, who were then ready to go without making the least Inquiry into the Situation of affairs, or so much as asking if their Stay could be of any Service, declared his willingness to become a partaker with Locheil and others of what ever difficultys, dangers, or hardships might ensue; but least it might not have reachd your ears, I imagind it would not only be agreeable to you, but judgd it a piece of Justice not to be denyd him.

It was imagind that from the report made to the Comodore and Officers aboard of the French Vessels, that they would be unwilling to land the money, finding the P[rin]ce was gone, and the Army dispers'd, especialy as there was none on the Coast with Sutable Authority to receive it; to prevent which, there being little or no money in the Country, it was judgd absolutly necessary that Mr. M[urra]y should repair thither to procure it; as without that, it would be impossible to raise any body of men or keep them together. Doctor Cameron, with Major Kennedy, sett out that night to acquaint the Officers to whom the money was intrusted, that he was then on his road to receive it, and he accordingly sett out next morning, tho supported on horseback, but being taken ill by the way was obliged to sleep that night in Glendichery.

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[1] Cf. *Lyon in Mourning*, vol. i. pp. 85, 86, 87. Major Kennedy was Lochiel's uncle.

Being a little recoverd next morning he continued his journey, and early the day following arrived at Kepoch, opposite to the Bay where the Ships then lay, some short time before the action was over with the three British men of War who had attacked them. Upon his arrival he was informd that so soon as the French observed the English bearing down upon them, they had landed the money consisting of Thirty-five thousand Louis d'ors in Six Casks, which had been deposited in a Wood: fear of a Descent in case the English had got the better, and that in the Confusion and hurry they were in, one of the Casks was a missing. The English Ships having mett with a Severe drubbing, were obliged to make the best of their way to refitt, upon which Mr. M[urra]y, seeing that the danger from that Quarter was over, and in case of any further Accident of the like nature, orderd the remaining five Casks to be brought to the house where he was quarterd. The Difficulty of procuring Silver made him apply to Sir Thomas Sheridan to know what was become of all the Spanish money, who telling him that there was still to the Value of Six or Seven hundred pound in M^cD[ona]ld the Bankers possession, desired he might send for it, which he did. In the Evening, whilst a Court Martial was sitting for the Tryal of two men suspected to have stole the Cask, it was discovered to him where it was, and returnd next morning with the loss of one bagg of money only; the Authors by description guessd at, and the Sum upon examination found to be about Seven or eight hundred Louis d'ors.

The Comodore being determind to sail next morning, there went on board the D[u]ke of P[er]th, then in a dying Condition, his Brother Lord John, the L[or]d E[lch]o, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Mr. L[oc]kh[ar]t of C[ar]nw[a]th Younger, Mr. H[a]y, with Several others, who with a fair wind were out of Sight in a few hours.

Mr. M[urra]y being given to understand that Mr. M^cD[ona]ld of Barrisdale, C[la]nr[ona]ld the Younger, with some others, now that the P—ce was gone and an end apparently put to all Affairs, seemd to think that the money ought to be divided amongst them by way of an equivalent for their losses. To prevent this he sent for them, and told them in a friendly manner that as he was sensible that they had been irregularly paid, from the beginning of March, he would take it upon him not only to pay their arrears,[1] but allow half a Lewis d'ore for each wounded man, and a Consideration for the Widows; not doubting but his Master would aprove of it: desiring them to make out their Accompts and at the same time telling them that he intended to carry it further into the Country, esteeming it unsafe to leave it upon the Coast; and begging they might meet in Loch Arkike, some days afterwards, to consert a method how to raise the Country.

Having settled affairs in this manner he sent off the money under Doctor Camerons care, and followed himself some hours afterwards, in Company with Mr. M^{c}l—d, Major Kennedy and others. Tho from the promises he had made to Barrisdale and Clanronald, they appeard to be satisfyd, yet upon his arrival in the Island of Lochmorror, he learnt that some of Clanronald's Emissarys had endeavourd to prevent its being carried any further, but that Doctor Cameron, partly by threats and flattery, had prevaild. From thence in two days he reachd Locheil, preparing for the Rendevous where they went two days afterwards, at a place calld Mortleg, about three Miles down the lake, and were mett by Lord L—t, with whom it was concerted what was to be proposd next day in the meeting; his Lordship at the same time taking Occasion to apologise for his Clans not having acted with that Vigour and unanimity the others had done; but tho his excuses were in themselves frivolous, and consisted more in telling a parcel of Old Stories, and vaunting himself of a Loyalty which his Actions gave him no tittle to, yet the uncougth flattery, of which he was so much master, and the privaliged Custom which he had ashumd to himself, for so many years, of being the Oracle of the Country; got so far the better of most of his hearers, that tho they were Conscious to themselves, of the falsity of what he said, yet it had no other Effect then to induce them blindly to beleive, that in his Superior wisdom and knowledge, did he speak, he was able to vindicate his proceedings; but that his Silence flowd from prudence, or some other cause above their Comprehention, so that he seldom or never had incurrd any other reflection, than that of being a strange and unaccountable man.

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[1] Compare Murray's Account of Charge and Discharge printed by Chambers as an Appendix to the *History of the Rebellion.*

His reflections upon past errors were not looked upon as the natural result of a Cool reflection, and a Judgement founded upon Consequences, but a Superior knowledge with the Experience of many years, nor did that ever extend itself the just length it ought, by showing that none but himself was to blame for not having taken that Command upon him, and thereby have prevented the blunders of others.

The day following Gordon of Glenbucket, Colonel Roy Stuart, Clanronald, Lochgarry, Barrisdale, Scotus Younger, Cap^{t} Macknab—M^{c}Donal, Nephew to Kepoch, and others being present in Consequence of what had passd the night before, his Lordship, after being desired to favour the meeting with his Sentiments upon their present Situation, and the part most advisable for them to Act; declard in a Sett Speech the honour the meeting had done him, the Loyalty and Sufferings of himself and family, with his present unhappy Situation, being obliged to fly his Country; then shewing how little reason any person there present had to expect forgiveness for what they had done, and how much it consisted with their honour to stand it out to the last, he proposed to get such a body of men together as would enable them to protect the Country, and to free themselves and their familys from the insults of the Enemy, untill such time as they could procure terms, or had a final answer from abroad; regreting at the same [time] that his age and infirmitys would not permitt him to Share either of the honour or danger of the field; but promising that his Son should bring them four hundred Frasers as his Quota.

As the Scheme had been already agreed upon amongst a few, and none there Ignorant of what was intended in general, an unanimous aprobation was expressd and the Numbers that every one was to bring fix'd upon, when, notwithstanding what his Lordship had before promisd, yet when the 400 Frasers came to be named, he refusd ingaging for his Son, and put it upon Locheil, who immediatly complyd, nor would he accept of the Sum aloted for his Sons men, desiring it might be given to one he calld his Steward.

This appearing to Mr. M—y in a very odd Light, and as evading the comming under obligations, without consulting any upon the head, he determind to try whither his Conjecture was Just, by the following method.

He proposd that as the Army then to be raisd were to be under the Strickest Discipline and with as little expence as possible, some alterations might be made from the Constitution of the former, and that an obligation should be signd by the persons there present, not to desert one another, which being consented to, and dictated by him, Lovit refus'd to sign upon some trifling pretence; which confirming him in his former opinion he likewise declind, saying that as he could bring no force into the field, his Subscription was unnecessary; having already put his hand to a most Solemn engagement not to desert the Standard without the Consent of the Majority of the Army, which had notwithstanding been done by many without any previous agreement upon the head.

Many difficultys occurd as to provisions and transporting their ammunition, all which M—y obviated by ingaging to provide Cattle for their Mentainance; and to have a Sufficient number of horses at the head of Lochshiel to carry the ammunition, provided Clanronald would agree to have it brought thither from his Country, where it then was; which after great persuasion he was prevaild upon to promise against a certain day: After which the meeting broke up. The Several members returning to their respective homes, and he with Locheil to the hutt they had erected on the oposite Side of the lake.

The Randevouse having been appointed ten days after at a place called Glenmely, upon the South Side of Loch Arkike, three miles above Locheils house; every body was then employd in raising their men to be able to keep the Apointment. Mr. M—y in the Interim went to Glendicherry,[1] where his wife then was, and in Consequence of Locheils and other Gentlemens opinions with whom he was in Company, advised her to write letters to Lord Albemarl,[1] Lord Cathcart,[2] and Colonel James Kennedy, representing her Situation (being then bigg with Child), to beg a pass to carry her to the Low Country.

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[1] Glendessary.

This she was with great difficulty prevaild upon to do, and as it was impossible at that time to find a person to carry them to Inverness, Mr. M—y advised her to send them to Fort William, with a letter to Capt. Scot beging he would take the trouble to forward them.

He at the same time went to wait of L—d L—t, who was then Quarterd on the oposite Side of the Glen, with a View to know whither he had punctually performd his promise in sending to his Son as he had agreed upon at the meeting, but finding that he had not, he represented to him the bad Consequences of a Delay, shewing him not only how detrimental his Sons not joyning must prove, but at the same time that it would give a handle to the party to suspect that he was not Sincere in their Interest. To which his Lordship answerd in his own evasive manner, and promised that his Steward should be gone next day, calling at the same time for his Secretary and making him write a letter to his son in Mr. M—ys name, relating the purport of what had passd in the meeting, and incouraging him by all possible arguments to get the 400 men promisd and join with Lochgary as was agreed upon.

This procedure of his Lordship, tho a further proof that he declind stating himself a party in the business, was nevertheless agreed to by Mr. M—y, desirous at any rate to have a body in the field to keep up the Spirits of the party; and shew the world that the affair was not over.

In Conversation his Lordship took occasion to observe that notwithstanding the Misfortunes that had happend, could Mr. M—y and he get over to France, it would be much in their power, by the Representation they should make, to procure Sufficient

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[1] William Anne Keppel, second earl, died 1754, succeeded Cumberland as Commander-in-chief in Scotland in July 1746. Cf. *Itinerary*, p. 59.

[2] Ninth Baron, born at Edinburgh 1721, A.D.C. to Duke of Cumberland at Fontenoy, Commissioner to General Assembly 1755-63, 1773-76, Ambassador to Russia 1768-1771, died 1776.

Assistance to restore things at least to their former Situation, and complaind that the order he had requird to impower him to seize upon the person of Mr. Forbes of Culloden had not been granted in the terms he demanded, viz., dead or alive. From which he endeavourd to show how easy it would have been to accomplish his death, and thereby have prevented the Junction of Mcl—d with the other Northern Clans; who had done so much hurt to the P—ces affairs: And that provided the order had been in these terms, the attempt upon his house would not have provd abortive: but as they had not Sufficient power, they were obliged to make a shamefull retreat inconsistant with the honour of his Clan.[1] A great deal more of this nature passd, with the most proper methods to be taken at the randevous, and the Strongest assurances that the person and letter should be conveyd to his Son next day, upon which he took his leave, and retired to Locheil then in the wood, bussied in procuring a meeting of his Clan against the time appointed.

Mr. M—y did not till now receive an answer to the Letter he had wrote to Mr. McD—ld[2] for the money, which I wish with all my heart I could send you a Copy of, it being of so extraordinary a Nature. He told him in substance that he had then only about one hundred and odd pounds, a Sum inferior to what he had spent in the P—ce's Service, and was therefore determind to keep it, but if he would send him gold to the Value, he should have it. Then telling him that if he had managed the P—ces money better, there would not have been such a Scarcety of it, that he had cook'd a fine Amelot, and should now be glad to see what method he would fall upon to make a better, with a great deal more such Scurolous Stuff; and, as if that had not been Sufficient, uses some of the most unbecoming expressions, with unjust and false reflections against the P—ce! as if he had been Author of the ruin of himself and Army.

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[1] This passage is quoted by Chambers, *History of the Rebellion*, p. 325. Chambers saw the Murray MSS. when they were in the possession of Mr. W. H. Murray of the Edinburgh Theatre, the father of the present owner.

[2] *i.e.* Æneas, the banker. See *ante*, p. 273.

You may beleive this letter, in which there was not one word of truth, fir'd Mr. M—y not a little, but being resolved not to take any Step of himself, he read it to the Gentlemen there present; who advised him to take no Notice of it, but to look upon it as a thing below him, and as the produce of a frantick brain, calculated with a View to excuse his keeping the money. But as he did not know what use such a fellow might be Capable of making of his Silence, he desired M^cDonalds brother, who came next day, to let him know that he had received his letter, but did not think fit to answer it. I thought it not amiss to let you know this, in case of its ever having reach'd Your ears, and which, Locheil, Sir Stewart Thripland, and Major Kennedy, when you have occasion to see them, will inform you of.

The time agreed upon for the Randevous being found too short, it was delayd for a week longer, and in the Interim fifteen thousand Lewis d'ors were buried in three several parcels in the wood, it being judgd Improper to carry so large a sum about with them; and now the day appointed being come when he with Locheil and the other Gentlemen repaird to the place, they did not find above 200 Camerons and a few M'leans with 120 Macdonalds under Barrisdale, so difficult was it to persuade the Country people, that the only method to procure their own and their familys Safetys, was to keep together in a body.

Having staid there two days expecting a reinforcement of the Camerons, and Macdonalds under Barrisdale, with the Frasers, and Lochgary, with whom it was determind to march to Braelochabar, to join with the Macdonalds of Kepoch and the Mackfersons; to their great Surprise as many deserted as came in. The Master of Lovat was never so much as heard of; Macdonald of Lochgary brought about 100 in place of 400 he had engaged for, and having only staid a few hours while his men were musterd, and himself paid part of the arrears due his Regiment, he returnd the same Evening to the oposite Side of the Lake.

I am unwilling to tire you out with particular Stories, but as this is in my humble opinion a piece of History worthy observation, I cannot prevail with myself to pass it over in

Silence. You must know that Lochgarys behaviour from the time of the Battle of Culloden untill the time of their meeting at Mortleg demonstrated such a Coldness and Indifferency to the Intrest of the party, that those of most penetration imagind he had nothing in view, save that of making his own peace. Tho his seeming keenness at this time seemd to have intirely dissipated it.

Having retired from Glenmely because of his Cattle that were grazing in the oposite Glen, about two miles distant from Locheils house, where it was proposed to march on the morrow, it appeard not only feasible but lending greatly to the advantage of the whole; he having engaged to send Centinels to Clunes upon the Side of Loch Lochy, and over the Hills to Glengary, whereby to procure timeous advertisement in case of troops marching from Fort Augustus by either of these roads; and engaged that the next day, when it was agreed upon to march to Achnacary, he would send Intelligence of the Enemy by noon. He was no sooner gone than Barrisdale came to Mr. M—y, inquiring of him how his departure came to be agreed to, being certain that it was all design, and that was he once gone, they should never see him more. Notwithstanding that Mr. M—y was sensible of the Enmity that subsisted betwixt them two, and of the plausable Scheme that Lochgary had proposd, yet from what Barrisdale had said, he was willing to prevent a Separation, least it should be a means to prevail with Barrisdale to make his peace; being known to study his own Interest above every other Consideration.

With this View he immediatly repaird to Locheil, and together with Barrisdale represented to him the doubts and Difficultys that ocurrd: from whence it was agreed to send Cameron of Clunes[1] alongest with Barrisdale in pursute of Lochgary, to attempt his Stay, but before they could overtake him some of his people had already crossd the Lake, and he resolved to continue his march; they returnd with the most ample promises from him of performing the engagements he had laid himself under; which, by the Sequel, you will plainly see how he performd, and from thence be able to judge how far the Conjecture of his Cousin Barrisdale was Just or not. As to my own particular I cannot help thinking, according to the Old Maxim, a Theif is aptest to catch a Theif.

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[1] The Camerons of Clunes were a branch of the Earracht family.

Notwithstanding the almost total dissapointments which the Gentleman there present had meet with, there being in all not 400 men compleat! whereas there ought to have been at least 1300, Barrisdale having engaged for 300, Lochgary for 400, Clanronald for 200, &c., yet Barrisdale had not above 120, and Locheil not half of the Number he propos'd, with a few M^cLeans, Clanronald intirely disapointing them, not only to his Quota of men, but the Amunition he had engaged for. To transport which M—y had bought up the horses and sent them to the place appointed: Yet overlooking all these Difficultys as Circumstances to be regretted, but not to turn them from the Execution of the project already concerted; it was determind to march the day following to Achnicary, there to wait for a Junction with Lochgary, and the arrival of some of Locheils followers under the Command of Mr. Cameron of Dungallon,[1] then upon their road, from the Countys of Swenart and Ardnamurchan.

In Consequence of this Resolution they mov'd about noon from Glenmely, and in their march was mett by a person who desired to speak with Barrisdale. Mr. M—y, who was alongst with him, judging from the hour of the day, and the promise made by Lochgary the night before, that this must be the person intrusted with the Intelligence, desired to know of Barrisdale, the news he had received: to which he was answerd, that it was only a message from Lochgary desiring to meet him that night at a place calld Kenmure, two miles from thence on the oposite Side of the Lake; but not a word of Intelligence concerning the Enemy, nor no Intimation that he intended to join according to promise.

This you may beleive gave Mr. M—y a good deal of uneasynes, being a strong foundation to suspect treachery either committed or intended: but tho he knew the mutual hatred that subsisted between the two fornamd partys, yet he would neither seem to doubt or reflect; fear of giving a handle to the other to quarrel and follow the foot steps of his Cousin.

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[1] Archibald Cameron of Dungallon was Lochiel's uncle by marriage, having married Isabel, daughter of Sir Ewen.

Barrisdale declaring himself discontented with the others procedure, and saying that as he was certain he could have nothing of Consequence to intimate, for which he refusd to meet him, and would continue his march to Achnachary, made him in some small degree easy. But soon after his arrival there, having dispatchd two Several persons, one to Glen ——, where Lochgary said he would be, and the other to Clunes, where he had promised to post Centinals to observe the Enemys motion on that Side; both of them soon returnd, with assurances that there was no persons to be found in either place; he seemd certain of the Treachry he had only before suspected, and made no Scruple to declare his opinion to Locheil and the others present; yet as they were all unwilling to think that a man who seemd so hearty in the affair, could be Cappable of so bare faced and palpable a peice of Villany, it was conjectured that to obtain more certain Intelligence of the Enemys Motions, he was marched further into the Country.

The day following, Barrisdale took occasion to say that it was necessary for him to return into Knoydart, as well to look after his own affairs, which he had left in great Confusion, as to bring out the rest of his men, which the short time before alowd him had renderd impossible; that he would make all haste imaginable thither, as like ways on his return: and in the Interim would leave his Son to command his Corps.

Tho this Conduct of itself seemd very suspicious, yet, when joind to the absence and failure of his Cousin Lochgary, together with the message sent him the day before, you will easily suppose the Conjectures that were formd by one and all; tho seemingly neglected as a thing of no Consequence, his Son and men being to remain: so his reasons and Excuses being held as Valid, he took his leave, proposing to be that night thirteen Miles off.

A small number of Locheil's people arrived in the Evening, with an account that the rest were on their march under Dungallon, and some hours afterwards a Spanish and French Officer who had landed some days before in Loch Cruen from on board a Ship in which there were a number of Officers, who upon hearing the Melancholy Situation that things were then in, returnd to France; but these two Gentlemen continued their rout, on account of a large pacquet of Letters they were chargd with, containing dispatches for the P—ce, the Marquis De Guille, and others.

Being disapointed of the Intelligence promisd by Lochgary, and uncertain of the motions or Situation of the Enemy, Mr. M—y procurd three of the Camerons, well acquainted with the Country, to go that afternoon towards Fort Augustus, with Instructions to keep the Hills, and so soon as they descried them, to send back one of their Number with a particular Account of their Situation, and another to follow him in the morning, or so soon as they should observe them to make any motion.

Having carried the Six Casks with him one half filld with Stones, so as to give no Jelousy to the other Clans of his having more Confidence in the Camerons than they, which they might have suspected had he declard its being deposite in their Country. Yet now esteeming it unecessary to carry so large a Sum for the pay of the few men they had, and risquing the intire loss of it in case of any Sinister Accident, he made 12,000 * Lewis d'ors be burried near to the foot of the Lake, reserving only about 5000 for all necessary expences.

Things being now put upon the best footing their Circumstances would allow, they determind next day to cross the River of Lochy and march to Braelochabar, to join with the M^c^donalds of Kepoch, and from thence to Badenough, to meet the M^c^fersons; but in the morning, about four o Clock, whilst they were all a sleep, one of the Scouts dispatchd the night before, brought intelligence that the Enemy was then in motion, but whither to Fort William, or against them, he could not say, having lost Sight of them before they passd later finely some miles short of the Road leading to Achnacary.

Two days before they marchd from Glenmely, some letters were brought to Locheil, intercepted on the road to Fort

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* *N.B.*—This Sum was burried by D^{r} Cameron and Mr. Alex^{r} M^{C}leod in two parcels in the wood about a mile from Locheil's house at the foot of Loch Arkike.

William, intimating that part of the Army would soon march thither, and amongest others a letter to Cap^{t} Car Scot, signd Robert Napier, Aid de camp, intended, as was supposd, to serve for an answer to the three letters which Mrs. M—y had been prevailed upon to write, as I mentiond before, which containd in Substance that no pass would be granted her, and if She was afraid of Stragling partys, she might deliver her Self up at Fort William: Concluding that if His Majesty was pleasd to pardon her treason, the Law would not pass over her robery of Mr. Hope. This letter, than which never such another was writ to a Lady, especially in her Condition, gave them too just an idea of the Enemys generosity to expect the least Clemency, and the Author being easly guest at, the Gentleman who Subscribd, being known to have too much humanity to do it of himself, Intelligence was immediatly sent her of the favour She had to expect, with directions to keep as private as possible. Reflecting then upon the Contents of the letters they had intercepted, the Intelligence brought them did not occasion any great Alarm, beleiving it to be a detachment marching to Fort William to join the forces under General Campbel, then expected from Appin. But in less than two hours afterwards a Second gave notice that they were upon the road to Achnechary, at no great distance from the River of Lochy. Upon this, orders were given for the whole body to march, and, if able, to obstruct their passage of the River; if not, to retire by the Southside of Loch Arkike to Glenmely.

When they came in Sight of the Enemy, than upon the banks of the River, they found them so numerous, both in Highlanders and regular Troops, that to oppose their passage would have been in Vain; And therefore retird to the foot of the Loch, where Young Barrisdale insisted upon marching by the Northside, which obliged the whole party to follow rather than separate, and upon their arrival at the head of it, to the great Surprise of some, they found Barrisdale awaiting their Coming, which plainly demonstrated, that if he had ever been possessd of a real Intention to act up to his engagements, he would not have deserted them at that time; his reasons for leaving them appearing by his stay there to be a mere faint, and gave grounds to suspect that if not in Intelligence with the Enemy, he had been with his Cousin Lochgary, who it then was obvious had betrayd them, never having sent the Smalest Accounts of the Enemys Motions, notwithstanding they had marchd above 500 men under Munroe of Cullcairn, through the heart of Glengarys Country, and by the road where he promised to be posted. From which it is plain, that had not Mr. M—y sent out these Scouts the night before, they must have been surrounded and taken before they were aware, the party under Culcairn having been so near as to pursue them for some miles, and made one or two Prisoners, amongst Whom was an Uncle of Cameron of Caillarts,[1] since transported to the west Indies.

They had not been long at the head of the Lake, when they had the Melancholy and dismal prospect of the whole Country on fire, and considering the Strength of the party sent against them, it was determind to disperse, looking upon the small body of men they had as unsufficient to defend them, and served only to discover their Rout.

Whilest every one was consulting what Corner of the Country would be the most proper where to conceal themselves, Mr. M—y was told by Locheil that he had that moment received a message from the P—ce, acquainting him with his being in the Isle of Uist, where he had not yet been able to procure a Vessell, and desiring to know if he could provide one upon that Coast.

Another Gentleman at the same time brought certain Accounts by letters from that Country that the L—d of M^{c}l—d had been wrote to by one of his Presbiterian preachers, of the P—ces being there, which made Mr. M—y naturaly conjecture that from M^{c}l—ds former treachery and the orders he had given to his people not to grant him protection, he would in all probability be taken. To prevent this, he determind to go to him and endeavour to bring him to the main Land; So after intimating his design to Locheil, of which he approved, he spoke with the two Gentlemen who had brought the message, and apointed to meet with them the Night following, upon the Coast where their boat Lay: but being taken ill upon the road, it was the Second day in the Evening before he arrived, where the Gentlemen did not come till the morning after.

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[1] Allan Cameron of Callart fought at Culloden, taken prisoner, tried at Westminster, and found guilty.

It being upon reflection judged improper for him to go as unable to Travel, and not having the Language, he would soon be found to be a Stranger, and might thereby occasion his Masters being discovered; In which he having acquiesd, wrote him a letter acquainting him with the Intelligence he had got, the danger he apprehended he run in being taken in that Island, and beging him to come over upon the receipt of it, which letter he read to Major Kennedy, then in Company with him, and having agreed with the Two Gentlemen that if the P—ce was willing, they should immediatly return with him; if not, at any rate one of themselves to meet him, or send a letter against the munday Se'night following, to a Gentlemans house about three miles from the Coast, to acquaint him what was become of the P—ce.

This they agreed to, telling him at the same time that it was not impossible but the P—ce might be gone from the Island before their return; for when they were coming away there was a meal Ship on the Coast, which a Gentleman * of the Country was endeavouring to engage to carry him off, and then represented that his money was run short, and demanded a Suply, to which Mr. M—y answerd, that he was surprized they had not mentiond that when at the head of Locharkike; where it was in his power to have given them any Sum they could demand; but that now he had none alongest with him save a little for Common necessarys on the road.

This Story I thought proper to mention, as it has been Maliciously alleged by some, that he refused to supply his Master when it was in his power, though at the same time Mr. M^cDonald, the Gentleman who demanded it, did him Justice in that particular whilest prisoner in London. You must likewise observe that the P—ce had then been but a

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* M^cd[ona]ld of Buisdale.

short time away, and carried above a thousand Guineas alongest with him, which it was not natural to imagine he could have so soon expended; So that had I been in Mr. M—ys case (with this difference only of having a Sum of money about me), I should not have been very ready to have sent it, first, on Account of the uncertainty they themselves appeard to be in of meeting with the P—ce, in case the Ship which they mentiond had been procurd; Secondly, on Account of the money he had carried along with him, and being uncertain how far they had realy got orders to make such a demand, having nothing in writting to shew for it: and lastly, not easy to judge how far, in the Circumstances things were then in, a fair Account would have been made of it; not by this that I mean to doubt of the Gentlemens honesty, but that I am of opinion a person cannot err in being over Cautious with people whose Characters he is a Stranger to, as here was the Case. A great deal more might be said upon this head but that I think it intirely needless to trouble you; the fact was that Mr. M—y had no money, so could not send it. This one particular I must observe to you, that when Oneil was taken he had 500 gueneas about him, which shews that the P—ce was far from having expended the Sum he had carried with him: how that Gentleman will answer for reserving so large a proportion of his Masters purse for his own use is more than I shall pretend to divine. He was a little God amongest the wise heads here; perhaps you have him in high esteem with you. It is a true Saying that it is safer for one man to steal a horse than for an other to look over the Hedge.

After taking leave of these Gentlemen, he was lett to understand that the person * in whose house he had sleept that night, observing a Small Trunk in which was some plate belonging to General Stapleton, which Major Kennedy carried alongest with them, both for use and Safety; imagining from the weight that it containd money, and being angry that his arrears had not been paid, offerd to seize it, but was prevented by the person who Mr. M—y left in the house to

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* Allan More M^{c}hemish.

take care of it. This necessarly brought Mr. M—y to an Explanation to prevent any further attempts of that Nature whilest in Clanronalds Country, who being himself than present, he told the Gentlemen that he had some time before paid Clanronald, not only all the Arrears he had demanded, but about 40 Lewis d'ors at half a Lewis d'or a man, according to a list he had given in of his wounded, so that if he had not Justice done him, it was his Chiefs fault, not his, and that he ought to apply to him there present for redress.

This particular you may think I might have passd over in Silence, and indeed I inclind to have done it as a Trifling Incident; but that I am well informd that not only Clanronald himself denied his having received it, and pocketed the money to the prejudice of his Regiment, but to my certain knowledge the Old Lady, his Mother, when in London, took frequent occasion to complain of Mr. M—y as having wrongd her Son, who, She alledged, never received a half penny due to him.

That night he and his Company sleept upon the Coast in a little house belonging to Bishop M^c^donald, and the Night following at the Ferry on the River Sheil, from whence they went next morning to Glenhurick, with a View to get intelligence of Locheil, and having learnt that he was at a Farm about Seven miles from thence upon the Side of Loch Sheil, he went to him, and returnd the same night to Glenhurick, where, being informd that General Campbell was expected at Strontian, and probably some partys might advance thither that night or early in the morning, he went two miles higher up the Country, where he met with his wife and Mrs. Cameron, who had left Strontian a little before the Troops landed. He staid here till early next morning; after proposing a method of procuring a boat to carry Mrs. M—y to Ireland, and giving part of the money he had that day brought with him from Locheil, to such who he thought had most occasion for it;* he set out in Company with Major Kennedy for the place where he had left Locheil the day before, leaving his Nephew Sir David Murray to Doctor Camerons care, it having been agreed upon to send him to a Gentleman's house of the name of Campbell,* where it was imagind he would be safe.

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* *N.B.*—He gave a hundred Lewis d'ors to Cameron of Dungallon, besides lesser Sums to others in Company.

Upon his arrival at the place where he imagind to find Locheil, he was informd that he had, for further safty, gone to a small Island in the lake, where he desired Mr. M—y might be brought to him; he accordingly went thither when dark, having agreed with Major Kennedy that, upon the return of the boat, he should cross over to Glenaladale, where he would meet him next day, and dispatchd Steuart, one of his Clerks, to the house where he engaged to meet the Gentlemen or receive his letter the Munday following, it being impossible for him to go thither himself, the Coast road being now guarded by the Troops under General Campbell, and the inland roads so long and over such vast Mountains as he was at that time unable to attempt; having been taken extreemly ill in crossing the Hills that day.

He staid in the Island all night, and next Evening, upon return of the boat, being informd that some partys had crossd that Morning at the Ferry below, and that they were expected up the Lake to search these Islands, it was resolvd to quite their Station, and go to a Wood about four miles higher upon the south side of the Lake; which they did that night, after burning a large parcel of Letters and other papers which had been preserved with some of the P—ces baggage, after the Battle of Culloden.

It being late before the boat came, and the hurry they were then in making it impossible for him to keep his apointment with Major Kennedy; the person to whom the boat belong'd had orders to go over next day in search of him, with Instructions how to proceed in case of their having left the wood before he could reach them. Having staid there two days and two nights, and being informd that the Enemy were marching to the head of Locheil, upon the arrival of a Servant from Stuart of Ardsheil, he proposed that they should cross over to

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* Campbell of Ardslignish.

Appin, where there was no Troops at that time, as it would be impossible for them to keep themselves private in the parts where they were, being quite surrounded with partys, and the whole Country cut with Lakes, on which, as all the boats would be seizd, it would be impossible for them to escape.

Locheil, convinced that the advice was good, immediatly returnd the Servant with Instructions to have the boat at a certain place, upon the Coast of Argower, some miles below Fort William; the fourth night following, when they would take care to be there.

Things being concerted after this manner. Mr. M—y Locheil, with his Uncle Torcastle,[1] etc., set out when dark and sleept at a little old Sheiling four miles from thence, and about nine of the Clock next Evening continued their Journey to another ruinous hutt about the same distance, where they were next day joind by Major Kennedy and Sir David Murray, who, finding it impossible for him to reach the Gentlemans house before mentiond, had casualy mett with the Major, after his crossing Lochsheil.

They staid there all this day, and according to Custom set out in the Evening, and by day light next morning got to a place in Glen —— about two miles from the Coast, where they staid till night, that they received Intelligence of the boats being come, where they immediatly repaird and crossd over (leaving their Servants behind, the boat being unable to contain them), to a place a little above the Ferry of Ballaheulish, where they mett with Ardsheil.

Two days after, their Servants joind them, together with Stuart, who, as before mentiond, had been dispatchd by Mr. M—y to the place where he had appointed to meet with the Gentlemen from the Isle of Uist; who acquainted him with his having been there where he staid all twesday, and that there was neither man, letter, nor message, nor any expected; from which it was naturaly conjecturd that the P—ce had gone off in the Ship before spoke of; but to prevent all Mistakes, he made him return the same Evening least some Accident had prevented their keeping their appointment, with orders to make all possible haste back, at the same time letting him know where they should be found.

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[1] Ludovic Cameron, of Torcastle, eighth child of Sir Ewan, was Major in Lochiel's regiment.

Here they staid five days, and conjecturing that there was no probability of hearing off or from the P—ce, Major Kennedy, finding he could be of no further Service, surrenderd himself at Fort William, with the advice and approbation of all the Gentlemen in Company, at the same time two different proposals were made how to procure a Ship to transport themselves. Ardsheil mentiond the sending to his Wifes relations to hyre one at Glasgow; but this was disaproved of by Locheil, not only on Account of the apparent difficulty there was in finding the master of a Vessel from that port to whom they could intrust themselves, but likeways the impossibility there was of coming on the West Coast without being examind by men of War or armd Vessells, of whom there was then a good many in these Seas, as likeways the Difficulty they would find in transporting themselves safely thither, through a Country full of Troops.

The other proposal was made by Mr. M—y, and aproved of by Locheil, that they should endeavour to procure a Ship from Leith, naming two Masters,* both of whom he was acquainted with, and who he could safely trust, that one of these, or what ever other Ship might be found in case they were not in port, should take in Coals as the readiest Loading, and procure a pass for Holland, that they should appoint a particular place upon the east Coast of Fife, where to take them in; and that one should be sent to Edinburgh to execute this project with all possible dispatch.

There being none judgd fit for such an Interprise save himself, and S^{r} Steuart Threpland being necessary on account of Locheils wounds all the others unacquainted with the Low Country except his Servant, and he had not thought to have influence enough to effect it; as it would have been madness to riske Letters. Mr. M—y agreed to go, which, in effect was only executing the plan concerted betwixt Locheil and him ten days before, for upon their meeting the first time upon the Side of Lochsheil, they had agred that the most proper Step for them to take in case of the P—ces being gone was to give instructions to a person in whom Locheil had intire Confidence, and who had not been in the Army, to procure a pass to go to Edinburgh on pretence of private business, and when there to inform a Relation* of Mr. M—y's that he would probably be obliged to come south to procure a Ship, and to desire him to purchase two of the best horses he could find in Edinburgh to meet him at Killsyth against a certain day, which he would advise him of by another hand, and likeways to provide Sailors' habits for eight or ten persons of different sizes. As it was likely that there being in that part of the Country would soon be discoverd, it was thought improper that such a number of them should be together, Locheil, with his Brother, Mr. M—y, and his Nephew Sir David M—y, Sir Stewart Threpland, and two Gentlemen of Locheils family took boat for Kinloch leven, leaving Ardsheil behind with proper Instructions to forward Charles Stuart, who it was then expected would be returnd in two or three days at furthest. And having got to a wood near the head of the lake by next morning at break of day, it was agreed that Mr. M—y should set out that evening for Glen Lyon (about twenty miles from thence) in Company with Doctor Cameron, Mr. John Cameron, S^r David Murray, and three Servants; to get what Intelligence he could from his Sister who was expected there at that time to drink Goat Milk and least he should find his Journey south more difficult than he imagined, he propos'd to persuade her to return to execute his scheme. He likeways agreed upon the particular house† where he would either be found, or directions left where he was, should Charles Steuart return with Accounts that the P—ce was still in the Country; in which case he would immediatly come back and endeavour to procure another to go to Edinburgh, and lastly promised to try to procure a meeting with Clunie to acquaint him with their Schemes and propose his going alongest with them. Having thus settled matters in the most distinct manner possible, he set out in the Evening and arrived the next day at Rannoch having endeavourd to no purpose as he went along to meet with

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* Ogilvey and M^{c}quivar.

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* Mr. M^cdougall, Merchant in Edinburgh.[1]

† Macknaughton's, officer to Menzies of Culdairs.

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[1] Murray's brother-in-law. See *infra*, pp. 301, 304, 307.

Mackpherson of Clunie. He stayd at this place all that night untill next day in the Evening, when it was judgd proper to cross over to Glen Lyon; all the people being in an uproar, Lord Loudon with one party expected from Badenough, and Glen Lyon the Younger[1] with another from the foot of Loch Rannoch, alongst the Hills to the southward; which together with a partie stationd at who keept a small number detachd at the head of the Lakes; would have made it impossible for any to escape. For this reason they proceeded on their Journey, and arrived at a publick house in Glen Lyon about twelve at night where they staid till the Evening following, and when dark went into a Wood upon the side of the Hill, where they remaind for two nights longer. The fourth Evening they returnd to the publick house, and next night went to the opposite side of the Glen, where they slept amongst the Rocks; being assurd by the person they had imployed to get Intelligence, that the Parties in Rannoch were expected that night or next morning to be in Glen Lyon.

It was now necessary to think what was further to be done, for him, who was then (having a flux upon him) unable to travel above four or five Miles of a night: to have attempted returning to Rannoch would have been rediculous, as in case of either meeting or being near to a party, it would have been impossible for him to have escaped. The Lady expected, not being come to the Country renderd his scheme of making her return impossible; so that he proposd as the properest method of all that they should go some four miles further, to Broadalbain under the Conduct of Capt. Macknab, who he had procurd to be along with him some days before, being still not above thirty Miles distant from Locheil, and where in a day and a half's time or two days at most, he might have been advertisd of Charles Stuarts return, and message, which he impatiently lookd for every hour.

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[1] John Campbell, younger of Glenlyon, got a commission in the Black Watch in 1745. His father, a staunch Jacobite, who had commanded the Breadalbane contingent in 1715, never forgave his son, and on his deathbed refused to see him. Young Glenlyon, who succeeded in 1746, was ordered to garrison his own house. His younger brother, who had been out with Prince Charles, was in hiding in the neighbourhood. One day, according to Stewart of Garth, young Glenlyon, when with some English officers, saw the brother on the hill. He called out to him in Gaelic, directing him where to go, then returned to call out the soldiers, who hunted for him in all directions except the right one. John Campbell exchanged into the Marines in 1748, rose to be Lieutenant-Colonel, and died in 1783.

In consequence of this proposal he left his Nephew, Sir David Murray, under the Care of an old Servant,* born in the Country, and well acquainted with every Corner; giving him directions to carry him to some safe place, and to keep a strict look out, when the Lady expected should come, that he might meet her, and taking her footmans cloaths should pass in the Country for her Servant; under which Character he might easily get to Edinburgh, being but little known. He at the same time gave to this person to whose care Sir David was committed money to purchase Cloath to make a Livery for himself so as to be able to go with the less hazard to the low Country if found necessary, and orders to purchase a fair wigg, and some other things to perfect his disguise; proposing to return so soon as the partys were gone, which was expected would happen in three or four days at most.

That night he went to a wood on the oposite Side of the River [Lyon] four short miles from the place where he had been the day before, and dispatchd Mr. John Cameron,† up the Country to a friend ‡ to get Intelligence of what was passing. In this wood he continued two days during very heavy rains, and his flux still upon him. The second day in the afternoon he received a message from an old Acquaintance § in Glen Lyon to whom when there he had by a third hand applyd for advice saying that he had discoverd a small Cave in a convenient place, where he thought he might continue private for some three or four days; in which time he did not doubt of falling upon some other device for his concealment. This gave him great Satisfaction, having a singular regard for the person, and a high esteem of his good sence; but as he was only four short miles from Capt. M^cNab's house, where he was promisd a good bed, with other conveniencys, which he had been a stranger to for several weeks before, he imagind his reposing himself there for some days, would enable him afterwards to bear the fatigue of traveling.

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* John M^cNaughton.

† Chaplain at Fort William.

‡ Robert Cameron, Forrester to Breadalbain.

§ Culdairs.

Being persuaded, not only from his own opinion, but that of others in Company, that this was the most advisable part he could take, and being convinced as it was now ten days since he had left Locheil, and no accounts of Charles Stewart, the P[rin]ce certainly must be gone; and judging it full time to acquit himself of his promise to Locheil by sending back his brother[1] to acquaint him with what had passd, he proposd to him to return and carry his own Servant * along with him, who having the Language and being acquainted with the Country might be sent back in case any message was come ; and that he would either find him in Glen Lyon by calling at the publick house, or if not there, that he should proceed to Capt. M^c^Nab's where he would either be or leave word where he was to be found.

Having parted with them upon this distinct footing, at the distance of two easy days walk to one of that Country when in health, it was very natural for him to expect, nor did he in the least doubt of having a return from Locheil the fifth day at furthest; which time he proposd if no accident happend to remain at M^c^Nabb's house. As he was not then able to travel on foot, Capt. M^c^Nabb, with whom he was left alone, procurd a horse for him, which he carried to a hill above his house, and then returnd him to the owner, with a letter to a person in whose hands he had deposited some money in beging them to give what they thought necessary to his nephew Sir David who, he reflected, had returnd him twenty Guineas which he had given him two days before, his cloaths being much wore and his pockets full of holes.

Being come to a rising ground above Cap^t^ N^c^Nabb's house, about five in the morning, the Gentleman advised him to ly conceald till such time as he went down to one of the Servants whom he could trust and order matters so as he might come to the house without being observed. M^c^Nabb soon returnd, and

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* John Bain.[2]

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[1] Cf. *Itinerary*, p. 66, note 1.

[2] In the Register of Old St. Paul's (Episcopal), Edinburgh, under date of July 8, 1750, is the following: 'In my house baptised a dau. of Geo. Bean and —— Harper named Jean. John Baine, the honest servant of —— Murray, a false master, and two women Spo^rs^.' Cf. p. 483.

carried him into the Goat house, where he lay upon the ground with a wheel barrow for his pillow, for some hours, quite spent with fatigue, till things were so prepard that he got into the house without being discoverd.

Having staid there for two days, mostly in bed, and finding that he did not grow stronger, he proposd to the Cap^{t} to prevail with his Father to go to a Minister's in the neighbourhood with whom he was very intimate, and to offer him 100 Guineas provided he would conceal a Gentleman in distress for a fortnight, but with an absolute Prohibition to let him know who he was: which the old gentleman was good enough naturd to undertake. But returned with an Answer in the negative, when it is not difficult to imagine the many and sincere Benedictions that were bestowd upon the Pastor.

From thence he went to a Country house about half a mile distant, where he continued for two nights longer; and the third day Cap^{t} M^{c}Nabb's Mother received a message from a Gentleman of that Country, accquainting her that he was to be upon a party early next morning to search her house, and all that Nighbourhood and beging that neither her Son nor any concernd with them might be near as it would not be in his power to save them. So peremptory, so friendly, and so generous a message, was not to be over lookd, and as this was now the fifth day since he had parted with Doctor Cameron, it made it not only necessary for him to shift his Quarters, but to take his rout southwards; being intirly ignorant of the Situation of the Partys in Glen Lyon and further North.

As he still continued unable to travel,[1] it was necessary to carry him on horse back; which kind of Conveyance was then very difficult to be procurd. Notwithstanding of which Cap^{t} M^{c}Nabb did provide him one on the oposite Side of the River, which was so swelld by the great rains that had fallen for two days, that he was obliged with the utmost difficulty to carry him through upon his Shoulders; and that night came to a Sheiling in Balwhidder, above Loch——[2] about four Miles from where they had sett out. Still in hopes of hearing from Locheil, he did not think of moving from thence till late next night when from the partys than behind him, and the weak Situation he was in justly esteeming it impossible for him to return, without the Obstacles of the Enemy were removd: and giving up all hopes of hearing of his Master, he lookd upon purshuing his Journey south as the only proper Step to be taken.

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[1] *i.e.* walk, still so used in the Highlands.

[2] Probably Loch Voil or Loch Doine.

With this View he purchasd a horse, and had an old Coat Waistcoat and Britches given him by a Gentleman of that Country. Thus equipt he set out in the night with Cap^t^ M^c^Nabb and —— Macgregor, Brother to Macgregor of Glenkernoch,[1] and arrived in the morning at a farm house belonging to the D—ke of P—th upon the Side of St. Mary Loch.[2]

Now concluding that the only part he had to take was to make the best of his way towards Edinburgh, he prevaild with Mr. Macgregor to send for an accquaintance of his to be his guide to Clydsdale, and that night went to Stuart of Glenbuckys where, after staying about two hours, and shifting himself, it having fallen an excessive rain all the Evening, he crossd the lake and with these Gentlemen took up his Quarters in an old Barn on the oposite Side; the alarm being given in the Country that Lieu^t^ Campbell would be at Glenbucky that night or next morning.

About four in the afternoon the person Mr. Macgregor had sent for arrived, and with a good deal of Difficulty was prevailed upon to be his guide. They set [out] about seven in the Evening, and after riding all night arrived at his house where he continued till next night. Having had all that day to ruminate, he bethought him self of three different roads, to witt, Stirling Shire, Linhouse[3] near to Mid Calder in west Lothian, or Tweedale by the way of Clydesdale. As to the first the difficultys were obvious: a number of Troops quarterd at Stirling and dispersd over the Country; a market day in the Town, with a Concurse of people upon the road; some of whom might either have known him, or from the dress of a Drover in which he was in, put such Questions as he could not well have answerd which would necessarly have renderd him suspected, especialy as the people of that Country had been for some time upon the Catch, and the only house where he imagind he could be safe too hard to come at.

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[1] Glencairnaig.

[2] I have been unable to discover any loch in the Drummond Country which bears the name. The context seems to indicate the neighbourhood of Crieff.

[3] Murray's aunt Mary was married to Muirhead of Linhouse. She was then eighty-two years old; she died in 1758, aged ninety-four.

As to the second road, the difficultys tho different in some particulars, were more numerous. In the first place neither he nor his guide were masters of the way, and making too frequent Inquiry was the most probable means to discover them. In the next place he did not know that there were any in the house save his Aunt, an old Lady of eighty, and Servants; to her he could not discover himself without doing it to the whole family through her deafness, and as the people in that part of the Country are either Seceders or extreamly bigotted in their way, he was justly affraid of being blown; at the same time he did not doubt but there were Troops at Calder, which was only two miles from Linhouse.

The above mentiond difficultys made him determine to go to Tweedale; being little known in Clydsdale, through which he was to pass, and mostly during the night, and his passage in Tweedale but short, and early in the morning, the Country but thinly inhabited, and not the least probability of meeting with any Troops, where, except in the Rout from Dumfries to Edinburgh, I am ready to beleive there have been none quarterd these 60 years save flying partys of Dragoons in 1708 and 1716, and had this further Incentive, that there he imagind he should be amongest his friends, and execute his Commission without risking himself at Edinburgh, where he was too universaly known.

Having reasond himself into this determination he set out with his Guide as soon as it was dark, and when about eight miles from Carnwath, imagining himself master of the road and Magregor desirous to return home, he gave him his leave, but unwilling to stop at any house by the way for fear of a Discovery. A little on the other Side of the Henshaw he missd his road: and with great Difficulty reachd Carnwath, where finding his horse fail he had strong Inclinations to have stopt; but reflecting upon the behaviour of the Inhabitants to young Mr. Lockhart, who they endeavourd to aprehend upon his return from England, he Judgd it more advisable to push on; and after stoping some time upon Gladstones Hill to lett his horse eat, he proceeded by the end of the Village of Bigger to Hartrie,[1] where he proposd to have put up for some hours: but finding the family were from home, he passd on, and being extreamly fatigued reposd himself about an hour upon the oposite hill calld Crosscraing.

Obliged to remount, having observed several country people upon the road, he continued his Journey with a resolution to have gone without stoping to Polmood; but finding his horse quite knockt up and uncertain but the River of Tweed might be impassible (it having raind incessantly for some days in the Country from whence he was come), he bethought himself of taking a private road by a place calld the broadfoord to his Brothers house at Stobo, but again considering with himself that that Gentleman had not only refusd being Guarding to his Children, but the triffling favour of protecting his horses whilest the Isue of the War was uncertain, he wisely judgd that he would not now venture to harbour a person denouncd a Rebel, tho his own Brother.

This Consideration induced him to continue his rout but when near to Killbucho his horse being scarce able to walk, he found himself under a necessity to stop there, however much against his Inclination: where to his great mortification neither the Gentleman himself[2] nor his youngest Son were at home. I specify the younger, being certain that had the Eldest been there, Mr. M—y would not have put it in his power to have deliverd him up. How soon he had alighted he begd of Miss Dickson the Daughter that no Ceremony might be usd with him least it might give Suspicion to the Servants, knowing that they would naturaly be surprisd, did they observe that any difference was shown to a person in a jocky Coat and blew bonnet: but notwithstanding this precaution, the old Ladys ill timd Complaisance in calling for a Glass of wine, when a dram of Whiskey would have suted better, set the whole family agog, and made them conjecture it most be a Rebel.

Add to this that he must needs dine with the Ladys and a

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[1] Murray's Aunt Anne married John Dickson of Hartrie.

[2] Murray's Aunt Margaret married William Dickson of Killbucho.

Servant waite at table, against which when he found his objections was of no avail he proposd to be calld by another name, and to pass for a Companion of her sons; beging Miss Dickson not to forget herself when the Servant was present, which she never the less too often did, and was often reprovd by her good Mother.

Observing from the looks of the Servant whilest at table that his being in the Country would be soon whisperd abroad, to put the family upon a wrong Scent he led the Lady to understand that he heartily regreated her Sons absence, for had he been at home he would have persuaded him to take a jaunt to London that he might have the benefite of passing as his Servant; imagining that did he find it convenient to stay any time in that Country this pretended discovery of his Scheme would be a means to make them beleive, that he had put it in execution and thereby prevent any Search for him in these parts.

Amongst other Conversation that passd, the Lady told him tho she was of opinion upon the news of the defeat at Culloden, that no more could be done, yet her Nephew Mr. W. L. still insisted that all would go well, and that even so lately as the preceding week, he continued in the same way of thinking, to which Mr. M—y answerd smilling at the aboundance of her Nephews faith, that he wishd it had been so, but Mr. L— was quite mistaken, for he would not give a half penny for any probability there remaind at present; which just and natural Answer served as a bases for the eldest Son of the family to run about and assure every body, that Mr. M—y had declared to his Mother and Sister that all things were quite over, the Party ruind, and that he would not give the family of Stuart a half penny for their chance in time coming. Which Story, however rediculous in itself, and notwithstanding the aparent improbability that if Mr. M—y realy thought so, he would have imparted his opinion to the Lady Killbucho and her daughter, has nevertheless been credited, and imputed to him as a high Crime. Some people have got such voracious Stomacks, that they will swallow any Victuals however bad rather then want a belly full.

As he could not propose to reach Polmood before it was late and the family probably in bed, he made Miss Dickson send a letter to his Sister to acquaint her that he was coming; which he would not have done, inclining rather to have stayd a night there, that his horse might be fresh in the morning, but the blunders committed before the Servants, and a party of Dragoons being at his own house, only a mile distant, made him fear the quarters might be too hot for him.

And now, that I may close this affair, about which so many vague, childish, false, and impertinent Conjectures have been made, he set out from this place betwixt nine and ten at night, and arrived at Polmood[1] in less than two hours, where after mutual and sincere professions of affection and good will had passd betwixt him and his Sister, and agreeing with her that she should next day send an Express to Edinburgh to desire Mr. Mc——, his B——r,[2] to meet him; who he intended to have imployd to engage the Ship, quite over come with fatigue he went to bed at two in the morning, and before five was wakd the Dragoons at the Gate.

When he was taken some of the fellows were so barborous, that with Difficulty they would consent to his puting on his Cloaths, and without allowing him further time keept him standing in the Yard till his Coat and Stockings were brought him. On the road to Edinburgh they told him that his discovery was owing to a Servant of Killbucho's, who, having heard it whisperd in the family, waited till he saw him mount and immediatly went to Broughton and informd of his being gone to Polmood; which they were with the utmost Difficulty persuaded to beleive.

Tho he had access to see few people during his short Confinment in the Castle, and that only in the presence of an officer, yet he was so anxious for the Safty of his friends, especialy Locheil, for whom he allways testifyd a peculiar regard, and to Execute the Commission he had come upon in the best manner then in his power, he laid hold of an opportunity to Acquaint Gentleman * with it; who having assurd him the Ship he had

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* Doctor Cochran.

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[1] Mrs. Hunter of Polmood was Murray's sister, cf. *Lyon in Mourning* vol. iii. p. 227.

[2] MacDougall, his brother-in-law, cf. p. 137.

in View was then in the road of Leith, he earnestly beggd to have her engaged, and told him where money was to be had to pay the freight, desiring at the same time that he might send to acquaint Locheil with it.

One would imagine this particular fact in the hands of a man of Character and Credit would have provd sufficient to vindicate him as to the falsity of what was alledged, as indeed it was impossible for him to give a stronger proof of his Sincerity and atachment to the Interests of his friends: and I cannot help thinking that mankind are not yet so deprav'd, but an advowal of it would have provd sufficient.

What Idea can we have of the friendship, and uprightness of that person, who would be capable of hearing such things advanced without declaring against them? Timidity and doubt of ones own Safety may be a reason, but it is now a great while since all occasion of fear was removd, from which time I should have look'd upon it as an indespensable duty, had I been the man to have declard to the world what I knew.

People who have not Courage to own a fact in Vindication of their Neighbour, and for the sake of truth which cannot in any Shape hurt themselves, have no title to take it amiss if the world doubt their Constancy and resolution in matters of greater moment. It is in vain for a man to say that this ot it self is nothing, or but a Triffle when compard with other Incidents: let him clear up those of greater Consequence and then I am ready to do him Justice. The more Spots the worse the Coat. Had so material a fact as is here mentiond been made publick, which evinced his regard for his friends, of whom he was mindfull in Spite of his own Misshap, it would have prevented many from making their unbounded Conjectures, and venturing upon Suppositions so void of Sence and reason.

To say that judging from Consequences is unfair, and the undoubted Sign of a fruitless Imagination, is advancing no more than what has been done by thousands; but I will venture to affirm that it is a duty incumbent upon every man to judge from preceeding facts of the Candor and Integrity of another, in which case there is ne'er a man of the Party who has spoke against him, that must not allow his Conjectures and Suppositions to be unjust, rash, and uncertain. Did he sitt still without being able to assign sufficient reasons for his Silence and bear the burthen with Shame and Confusion of face, there then might be reason to judge from his last proceedings that he acted wrong; tho even that would not in the smallest degree support the malicious and false assertion of his having come South with a view to be taken.

It is now well known that many of the Gentlemen concernd did make their way to London, as the place of the greatest Safety and with no other View than to save themselves. This method was mightily aproven of, for no other reason that I can form to my self, but that the most of them succeeded. Some were taken on the road, yet it has never been imputed to them that they left the Highlands with a View to be made prisoners. Had Mr. Lumsden, who was for some time in London, been unhappily seazed, it would in all probability have been said with equal truth that it had been agreed betwixt them; from whence we see, how cautious we ought to be in giving Judgement, or in pretending to interpret and explain the designs and Views of others.

It would neither be difficult nor troublesome to show from several Circumstances of the foregoing Story, that so far from having the design now laid to his charge he us'd all possible precautions whereby to prevent it, but I esteem it needless as the Truth must appear evident to you, being capable to concieve it in a much stronger and clearer Light then I am able to represent it.

I shall now answer your last demand in as few words as possible. It would admitt of being done in two very opposite ways, either by a flat refusal, and denial of every one of the Stories alleg'd, as all equally false and scandalous. Or by a long discussion of every particular; neither of which methods I incline to follow. The first being only a bare assertion which would still leave room for the envious and mallicious to satiate their daring dispositions; by alleging that as no Contradiction or paliation was offerd you was conscious of his guilt.

The second would not only be too tedious, but descending to that depth of littleness by raking into a parcel of the most rediculous triffling Stories ever yet invented; as I cannot help thinking unbecoming me to write and you to peruse; so shall only mention two or three of the most material, and leave the rest, as proper only for old Women and Dotards.

And first in regard to the Picture which it was aledgd she had given to the Earl of Albemarle then Commander in Chief at Edinburgh, there were many witnesses to her giving it to Locheil in the wood upon the Side of Loch Arkike, and which he afterwards carried about with him in his strong box, and restord it to the P—ce in whose possession I venture to say it still is, and which I cannot allow myself to doubt but you must have seen in his Custody. But to prove this beyond contradiction she has long ago procurd letters from Paris declaring the Truth of what is above mentiond, which I, as well as many others have seen, and of which I am of opinion you cannot be ignorant.

The Story of her having carried down large Sums of money from the Highlands is equally false, and tho the manner in which the money was disposd of as before observed may be sufficient to disprove it: yet to be a little more particular and satisfactory the whole Sum she brought with her amounted to forty guineas, a very trifle, and a just cause of reflection against her husband for providing her so poorly; and which afterwards reduced her to the disagreable Straits of asking a Supply from one of his relations[1] to enable her to go abroad; having bespoke her passage in a Ship bound to Holland; and tho this Gentleman had some hundred pounds, belonging to Mr. M—y, was never the less so kind as to say that he had no orders nor had he any money in his hands.

Tho I am convinced that the two facts already mentiond will to you appear sufficient to disprove every other alegation with which she has been unjustly taxed; yet to prove her Innocence beyond a doubt and to leave no room for the most subtile and physical Cavils, I shall give you a short narrative or Journal of her proceedings with respect to the places of her residence and with several persons with whom she conversd from the 25 of June 1746 to the 4th of May 1747 when at Mr. M—ys request she set out for London.

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[1] Mr. M'Dougal, his brother-in-law.

It may be objected by some of the persons afternamd that exposing them to the Knowledge of the World is a bad return for the Services they renderd her in her distress. I own to you I am so much a Stranger to Invention and the quick Sallies of the Imagination which the world call repartee that such a fancy never could have enterd my brain had it not been proposd by one or two of the persons concernd.

She was neither attainted, or by any other Law now in force excepted or convicted, nor to be convicted, never having acted the Amazon by bearing Arms; so not having been denounced a Rebel, her protectors could not incurr the penalty of any Statute: but supposing the Case to have been quite otherways, the persons concernd in protecting her were exempt from all prosecution by the Act of Exceptions commonly calld the Act of Indemnity; which had been isued for some considerable time before she proposd to use these names as Vouchers for her Conduct.

The most of them when it was proposd that they should sign proper attestations to prove the reverse of what the world had said, readily complyd, esteeming it not only just but necessary, others professd their willingness to do her Justice but at the same time replied that making their names known might redound to their disadvantage, and seemd to insinuate that from a publication of that nature she could reap no advantage. A selfish and jesuitical [*] pretext whereby to indulge and foster their own timidity at the Expence of her Character; whereas in my opinion had they judgd right an open and honest declaration of the Truth must have greatly redounded to their honour and inward Satisfaction.

As they from a principle of Caution would have themselves conceald, so she on the other hand from a regard to her own Character infinitly superior to any effect it can have upon them, and in Conformity to all the rules of Nature and Society must be excusd to take what ever methods she shall find most proper to vindicate herself to the world, provided She dont thereby render any material hurt to the Persons named.

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[*] Made by Harper the Minister.

The extraordinary behaviour of some of them, one in particular,* whilest she was last in Scotland, would be more then a sufficient excuse for her naming him in full; but as I dare say she thinks it greatly below her to harbour any grudge, I shall from the same principle in the following narrative only insert the initial letters of their names.

As to her Journey from the Highlands it will be sufficient to tell you that she came in the most private manner imaginable passing in the low Country for a Soldiers wife, and induring hardships hardly to be bore by one in health, much less by a person with a big belly, till lately accustom'd to all the care and Conveniences of Life.

On the 25 of June 1746 in the Evening she came to her mother Mrs. Fergussons house in Cants Closs, Edinburgh, where she continued only three days and during that time saw no body besides those of the family but my Lady Murray her mother in law, Mrs. Bain her former waiting maid, the R[everen]d M[r] H[ar]p[er] and another Gentleman a near relation, during which time she expressd great Anxiety and Concern for the friends she had left behind her; hunted from Hill to Hill, and with difficulty able to procure the common necessarys of Life. Upon the 28 of the same month about ten at night she was conducted in the most private manner to Lady Wallaces house at the Abby Hill where her residence was unknown to any of the family but my Lady, her maid Mrs. Broky, Miss Erskine, Miss Maul, and her Mother Mrs. Ferguson.

During her Stay here it was thought improper to acquaint her with her husbands being taken, least such a Shock should indanger both her own and the Childs life, and all methods were endeavourd to procure her a passage for Holland.

Being given to understand that the place of her residence was suspected, she was obligd to remove on Sunday the 6th of July to Mr. Hamiltons house at the Wright's houses[1] and there lodge in a Garret Closet, where for fear of a discovery

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* Ramsay, Surgeon.

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[1] Then a suburb of Edinburgh near Bruntsfield Links.

she durst neither use fire nor Candle. The Gentleman himself knew nothing of her being in the house and tho his Lady did, she did not see her. The only persons admitted to her whilest in this place were Miss Erskine with three of Mr. Hamiltons Children, Mr. Ross,* and Mr. Polston.

Her passage being now taken aboard a Ship bound from Leith to Holland, and only waiting for a fair wind, it was thought necessary to acquaint her of her husbands Misfortune least she should have accidently heard of it when in disguise on Ship board.

It would be in vain to discribe the Terror and Surprise with which this information struck her, so shall leave it to your own Imagination as a thing to be felt, not expressd. Mr. M—y having strictly enjoynd her at parting to get out of Brittain as quickly as possible, justly beleiving that she would meet with no favour did she fall into the hands of the Enemy; together with her friends opinion that this was the only proper Step for her to take, prevaild with her to continue her resolution of going abroad; but as Missfortunes seldom come single the Master of the Ship who had engagd to give her passage sent her a message about six hours before he saild on the 3^{d} of August to acquaint her that he would have carried her with great pleasure but was advised against it by some of her own friends.

Tho the shortness of the time made it impossible for her to make inquiry to whom this disapointment was owing yet it was not difficult for her to guess at the Authors; there being few acquainted with her intended Voyage. And I dont think it requires the Art of Divination, nor ought it to be esteemd want of Charity positively to conclude that the man who was capable of refusing her a part of her Husbands money,[1] was from the same consciencious disposition the instrument of stoping her Voyage.

New Ships were sought after, but hard to be got, as it was

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* N.B. Ross was recommended to her by Mr. Harper, and neither he nor Polston saw her till some time after she was acquainted of her Husbands being a prisoner.

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[1] *i.e.* M'Dougal, Murray's brother-in-law.

very rare at that time to sail without a Convoy. Some never the less were found, but the Characters of the Masters were such that it was not thought safe to trust her to them, and if she had gone it was absolutely necessary to put the master upon the Secret, as her Condition would not admitt of her being with the other passengers.

It was now proposd she should go to New Castle and take Shiping from thence or some neighbouring port, but before she could be equipt for her Journey her cold quarters and anguish of mind occassiond such a numness in her Limbs that she could scarce move, which, together with threatnings of her Labour made her friends give up all thoughts of her intended Journey, and aply themselves to find a place where she might be deliverd with the utmost privacy. The house of Mrs. Cumming in the Land Market was fixd upon as a place not suspected, it being often frequented by young Gentlemen to gett cured of a desease of a very different nature. She was secretly conveyd thither, upon Saturday, the 16 of August, late at night and keept extreamly private, there being no person in the house save the Land Lady and her daughter. Doctor R—th—r—rd who attended her, being obliged to leave the Town for some weeks, recommended Mr. Ramsey the Surgeon to wait on her during his absence, with Mrs. Bisset, Midwife at Leith, who staid privatly in the house untill she was a little recoverd.

When she came to this house it was given out that she and Miss Erskine, who staid closs with her, were gone to Holland in order to prevent any further Inquiry after her. To the time of her being brought to bed she saw nobody but her mother, Doctor Rutherfoord her Physician, Mr. Ramsey, Surgeon, Mrs. Bisset, Midwife, the Land Lady and her daughter, Miss Racheal Maul, Miss Racheal Hamilton, and some times Mrs. Bain. She was deliverd of a Son the 25 of Sept^{r} in the morning, and the Child christened that same evening and named Charles by the R—d Mr. Harper, a non jurant Clergy man, none being present but the Surgeon, the Midwife, the Landlady with her daughter and Mrs. Bain. Two days after Miss Rachel Hamilton came and staid closs in the house with her to attend and take care of her, she being then in a very dangerous way. And after this she saw nobody but these just now mentiond, save one Evening that Lady Wallace made her a short Visit.

The death of her Child having happend soon after and her health continuing extreamly bad, together with her anxeity of mind made her friends judge it proper to remove her to her mothers house as the place of all others where she could hope for the greatest care and tenderness in her unhappy Situation.

She was carried thither friday the 24th of October fully determind to go to Holland how soon she was able to undertake the Voyage. Here she continued to be visited by her Physician, Lady Wallace, Miss Racheal Hamilton with four Gentlemen, her particular friends and none of them in the Government Service, as also Major Kennedy a French Officer who had become acquainted with her in the Army and was now a prisoner of War. These were all she conversd with whilest in her mothers house, except Miss Racheal Erskine, who staid closs with her, and a Lady* a near Relation of her Husbands who came twice to visit her; and it must at the same time be observed that to make the concealment the more private, when these Gentlemen were admitted, she generaly came in a plaid pretending that she had been sent for from the place where she lodg'd.

Her extream bad state of health made her friends strongly remonstrate against the Voyage to Holland upon which she was very much bent and notwithstanding the natural anxeity she lay under aprehensive of her own personal Safty; yet the Coldness of the Season, the difficulty of finding a passage, and the continuall remonstrances of her friends, without whose assistance she could not pretend to go, prevaild with her to go to the Wrights houses where her Mother, Mrs. Fergusson, took Lodgings for her recovery; and from the 29 March, 1747, till the fourth of May following, she saw no person but Miss Racheal Hamilton, Mrs. Bain and those of the family.

From the forgoing narrative it is worthy of Observation how singularly providence has put it in her power to disprove the Scandals raisd against her in a manner infinitly more plain and obvious than things of such a nature will generaly admitt of. I shall make but this one further remark, that in place of having frequent meetings with my Lord Albemarle in her Mothers house to give informations, his Lordship was never there but once.

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* Mrs. Hay.

Mr. M—y judging it unfit for her to continue longer in Scotland under so much restraint, so soon as he could find an opportunity made my Lady Murray write for her to come to London.

In consequence of this message she set out from Scotland on the 4th of May, and arrrived at London the day of , where she lived privately, under a borrowed name, at Mrs. Pitcairn's, Miliner in Newport Street, and saw no body who knew her but my Lady Murray, her Physician, Major and Capt Bagotts then prisoners of War with one other Gentleman,* an old acquaintance of her husbands in Scotland; and never did appear publickly till the November following.

I would now most willingly have done, but knowing there is nothing so dear to you as truth, I shall bestow a little more time to cut the throat of another Story or two that have been propagated here.

It is confidently affirmd that Mr. M—y while at the Abby took care to provide against future accidents as to money matters, by embazling that of the publict,[1] and as a proof of this Mr. David Graham the writer, Brother to Sir John, has been very industrious to spread a report that he applyd to him to secure £1000 or £1500 for his use, which, Says he,

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* Mr. Lesly.

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[1] An anonymous correspondent of the Countess of Denbigh, June 3, 1748, says: 'Since I am in a way of story telling, I must tell you one I had from Sir John Douglase, wh. is that Secy. Murray, who never had above three hundred a year in the world before the P. left Edinburgh to come to England, wrote to a Gentn that Sir John knew very well, and beg of him he would take two thousand pound of him which he wanted to lay out, that he was in such a hurry then he could not stay to have a bond drawn, but would take the gentleman's note for the money, which he must certainly have cheated his Master off, and undoubtedly betrayed him in all things, for a man that could be so low a Rogue to pilfer such a sum of money would undoubtedly get it by any bad way he could.'—*Hist. MSS. Comm. 7th Report*, p. 231a.

must needs have been part of his Master's money. As you may, perhaps, never have heard this particular, I shall tell you the Story as it realy was.

The difficultys that occurrd to Mr. M—y in paying Lord March the price of the Estate of Broughton[1] had occasiond him to retain part of the Sum in his hands, by which means he came to have some thousand pounds due to him upon bond. A gentleman who owd him some few hundreds, reflecting that should they prove unsuccessfull all would be forfeited to the Crown, offerd to his Brother in Law, Mr. M^{c}dougal, to pay up his debt. This frindly and generous offer made Mr. M—y sensible how neglectfull he had been not to secure what was in his power, and tho late, he did not doubt but he might prevail with some of his debitors to advance their several Sums.

Upon examining into the Characters of the persons in whose hands his money was lodged, he found that the most he could propose to raise during these Confusions might amount to £1000 or £1500. Before this was to be attempted it was necessary to find out a proper method how to secure it, and having reflected that Mr. Murray of Abercarney was said to lend out money almost every term, he judged the fittest way would be to put it into his hands, trusting to his honour, and that he should lend it out as his own.

Being resolved upon this as the only means whereby in case of Missfortunes it would be impossible for the Government to discover it, Abercairney being then retird to his brother in Law Mr. Rentons house near Berwick,[2] not caring to witness the Confusions in the Country where he generaly resided, Mr. M—y desired to speak to his Agent, Mr. Graham, and propounded the Case to him, desiring he might write to Abercairney to know if he would grant him that favour. Mr. Graham very frankly complyd with his request, and in some few days after told him for Answer that he had wrote, and in return received his refusal.

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[1] The price of Broughton was £6000. Murray sold it to Mr. Dickson for £16,000. Cf. *Lyon in Mourning*, vol. iii. p. 228.

[2] Mordington—still in possession of the family.

This Denial, together with the hurry of business, made him lay aside all further thoughts of it, leaving his affairs as much to chance as he done before, having only raised £300, with the intrest due upon it, the Sum offerd by the person* above mentiond. I am very desirous to mention this Gentleman, as it might enable the disbeleivers to inquire into the Truth of the fact from himself, but did it prove in the least detremental to him, I should never be able to forgive myself, nor, I am sure, would Mr. M—y aprove of it, however much it might tend to his Intrest, as it would be a most unjust return for such a peice of uncommon generosity and goodness. If the Gentleman himself is of opinion that it cannot hurt him, I shall not allow my self to doubt but the same goodness of heart that then induced him to do it, will now prevail with him to declare it. How much below a Gentleman Mr. Graham's proceeding in this has been is so apparent that I should be ashamd to blot paper with a View to expose him further; it is enough that you and all the world must be sensible of his littleness and regreat that fortune should have destind so mean a Creature to be the Son of so singularly good a man as was Graham of Newton, and Brother to one of such worth and honour as Sir John.

I would with all my heart pass over Mr. M^c^dougal in Silence, did I not think him so much the more to blame as how much his relation ought to have renderd his ties of friendship the stronger. You are no Stranger to the Intimacy that allways subsisted betwixt Mr. M—y and him. It was too remarkable not to be observed. I have often taken the liberty to tell him that I thought it ill judged, for let a fools Inclination be never so good, he is still a fool. And tho in the common Occurances of Life they may be of Service, yet in affairs of a more delicate nature they never fail to hurt us, either through rashness or timidity.

There is an old proverb, I have now forgot to what Country it properly belongs, That Ignorance is a Jade who makes the person who rides stumble at every Step, and renders those who leads him the laughing Stock of the Spectaters. They are seldom capable to judge when to speak, and should fortune prove so favourable as to make them stumble upon the proper time, they are allways at a loss what to say, in so much, that by a wrong representation of things, they are more ready to hurt then serve us. To this I never could procure any other answer then that he confided in M^c^dougal, trusting that his honesty would suply the defect of his understanding.

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* Mr. John Erskine, Advocate.

How much he has been deceived is now evident; and tho he may not be ready to own it, yet sure I am he must not only be sensible of it, but sincerely resent it. Whoever had endeavourd three years ago to perswade him that M^c^dougal would have been so unjust as to have heard him reflected on for the Story I have been relating, without declaring his knowledge of the contrary, might as well have attempted to make him beleive that there was no such person in being.

And yet this man, notwithstanding his having been Accessary to the whole affair, has never had the honour, Conscience, or honesty, to gainsay it. Happy I that have no such friends and relations, and still more happy that I am sure never to have any such. From such baseness, such timidity, such fawning upon, and fear of contradicting the world, Good Lord, deliver me. Fye upon him, tis below, tis unbecoming the very Image of a man.

The last Story which I shall trouble you with, which has been propagated and asserted with full as much Confidence as the preceeding, is his having injoyd a pension of £300 a year from Rome, which, tho the falsity of it is known by many, yet I thought it would not be amiss to mention it, to show you how much it has been the Study of a Sett of folks here to advance what ever they thought would conduce to make him the more odious in the Eyes of the world, without having any, even the most distant, regard to Truth.

It has often Surprisd me that they did not in this, as in other things condescend upon the persons to whom it was remitted: others there was, and I know still are, who have allowances from thence, and the Bankers from whose hands they receive it well known; why not pitchd upon the same persons to be his paymasters, but they were afraid that a particular Condescention would have been a means to discover the Lye, so were in the right to make their alledgence in general.

I have often expressd my Surprize that it was not so, and has heard him as often declare that he never had, nor never would receive one half penny from that Quarter so long as he had any of his own; that he knew their abilitys was not very considerable, and that there were many of their friends who realy wanted, and if they supported them it was all they could well do. That upon this principle he never did apply for any assistance from thence, notwithstanding the extraordinary Expence he was put to in the management of their Affairs, but inconsiderately, and (I may venture to say) unjustly to his family, lavishd away his own, is not only well known to many, but now severly felt by himself.

In place of receiving any money from Rome, were it necessary I could instance to you the time when, and the person from whom he borrowed money to pay away on their Accounts, when such as would take it extreamly amiss to have their Attachment to the family calld in question, and even some of those who now ride him very hard would not advance one half penny upon the Chevalier's letter, notwithstanding the pressing Occasion for it at that time, and not to be to tedious upon a Subject that scarcely merits Confutation, the Sum mentioned is still owing.

Dont imagine that I instance this with a view to make you beleive that he has any Scheme of being reimbursd; I dare say he thinks it was well bestowd, and is ready to let it go with the rest.

PART IV

TWO LETTERS REGARDING THE EARL OF TRAQUAIR

NOTE

The following letters profess not to be written by Murray. They are, neither of them, in his handwriting. The first is, of course, purely prefatory: the second was evidently prepared by Murray as a pamphlet in answer to the 'Letter to L—d T—q—r,' to which it refers (cf. p. 319, note 1). In Murray's eyes Lord Traquair had not merely been a traitor to the King over the water, but he had escaped public obloquy for his reconciliation with the Government. The second letter shows an animus which, we know, Murray felt. It was written soon after the publication of *Lovat's Trial*, to which reference is constantly made, and probably soon after Lord Traquair was released from the Tower.

PART IV

TWO LETTERS REGARDING THE EARL OF TRAQUAIR

London, 9 *Nov*^{r} 1748.

Sir,—You may remember to have often heard me say that where I once fix'd an esteem, no distance of time or place, no Sinister accedent in life could alter my Sentiments. I dare say you will admit that I verify my old tenet, when I assure you that your long absence, and the Misfortunes befallen you since parting were so far from ever lessining you in my esteem, that my anxiety for the dangers and fatigues, you must necessarly have undergone, greatly heightened my regard. And tho I could have wished you on t'other side the Question, had it been agreeable to your opinion, yet I never could find fault with your acting up to your principles.

I often made it my business to inquire after you, from the time of your overthrow at Culloden; but whether it was owing to Peoples ignorance of your fate, or that they did not care that your being in the Country should be publickly known, I shall not pretend to say: however the case stood I never could hear what was become of you till very lately, that a Gentleman told me he had seen you in Ed—n—gh.

The News was doubly agreeable, to hear of your being in the Land of the living, and at the same time in a Situation to appear again in your own Country, and let me tell you, my dear friend, that you are extreamly lucky. A second offence of so high a nature is seldom forgiven, and never forgot, but as there does not appear the smalest probability of a third relapse, I shall live in the agreeable thoughts of your spending your latter days in peace, and indulge myself with the pleasing hopes of having the happiness to meet once more with the man I so much esteem. I did intend, so soon as I heard you was at home, to have wrote you a congratulatory epistle, but did not know how far sending letters by the Post, so soon after your appearance might not prove a little premature. Now that I imagine all danger of that kind is done away, I could no longer postpone the pleasure of giving you Joy upon your daring to shew face, and have at the same time accompany'd my letter with a new Pamplet, which Occassions a good deal of talk here, beging in Return to hear from you, with your opinion, not only of the letter, but likewise of the L—d who, I imagine, is not unknown to you.

I understand there has been very different oppinions had of this N—ble m—s Conduct ever since Lord Lovats Trial, Several, both Whigh and Jacobites, having run him down, for not appearing, when so deeply concern'd, others again have stood by, and supported him, which I am ready to beleive proceeded more from their having acted the cautious part themselves than from any regard to him; the Strength of their arguments seeming always to terminate in this, that he was doing all in his power, but could not be answerable for events. Let it be which way it will, the Consequences to me are interesting, tho' at the same time, curriosity will make me anxious till I hear from you, and if you have not thrown off the old Man, I shall not doubt of having your real Sentiments.

The Author is much blam'd by some for supposing that there are such people as Jacobites in this part of the world, and by others that he should seem to reflect upon their Conduct.

I have endeavour'd to inform myself with Certainty who he is, but to no purpose; he has taken care to keep that a Secret, but shall however tell you, what I learnt last night, that the real reason of writing it, was to show the World how ready they are to adopt false notions of peoples Worth and merit, from seeming Sufferings, and on the other hand to Condemn such who have had no opportunity of making their cases known. And lastly, that one who has acted so much the reverse of what was expected from him, as this L—d has done, ought justly to be stigmatis'd.

If the facts alledg'd are true, I shall certainly aprove the design; but nevertheless wont allow myself to be thoroughly persuaded till I have the pleasure of hearing from you: which allow me to flatter myself will be soon, and be assur'd that I ever am, &c., &c., &c.

Ed^r, 1^st *Dec^r* 1748.

Sir,—I had the pleasure of your very obliging letter by last Post, with the letter to the E—l of T—q—r.[1]

I am very sensible of your goodness which made you have any thoughts of me, and shall esteem myself extreamly happy, if my affairs ever call me to England, as it will give me an opportunity to assure you in person, that I am still the same man you ever knew me; tho' with the addition of a few years, and a good deal broke with my late fatigues, which I never imagin'd I should have been able to have undergone.

Your letter having come to hand, whilst I was in company with some fellow Sufferers, I immediately communicated it to them, and likewise comply'd with their request to read the Pamplet; with which they all seem'd pleas'd, tho I am certain it gave none of them so much Satisfaction as myself.

Ever since Lord Lovats Trial, an Abstract of which I had sent me, I have had the strongest Inclinations to say something of that Noble Lords[2] behaviour which to me allways appear'd very Singular, and which I never could allow myself to imagine was in his power to vindicate. My situation before the Act of Indemnity was such, as could not permitt of my saying any thing on such a Subject; and tho' a free man since, having had the good fortune to escape the exceptions, yet the Proceedings of our great ones here, against the Liberty of the Press, even in very triffles, has been so strange that none dare venture to put pen to paper.

I always imagin'd the honourable and advantageous Bargain we made at the Union, had intittled us to the same benefit in that particular with our Neighbours: nor do I remember that any Law has since pass'd to deprive us of it. And tho I might have Convey'd it to London, I did not know how far it would be agreeable to you to concern your self in the Printing. My being quite a stranger to the Arcana of Politics was another Inducement to be silent. I was at a loss to know how far my setting his Lordships actions in a clearer light, than they then appear'd in to the World, might not have hurt him in the Situation he was in. Not from any regard to him but to myself, beleive me he injoys none of my favour, nor can he that of any honest man, that knows but half the truth I do. And lastly: I imagin it might be justly esteem'd imprudent, especialy in one of my Principles, to say any thing, which might have a contrary effect to what I intended, whilest there were still some of my unhappy Countrymen in the power of the Government.

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[1] The pamphlet referred to is entitled 'A Letter to the Right Honourable the E—l of T—q—r. *Nec nobis igonominiosum est pati quod passus est* CHRISTUS *nec vobis gloriosum est* FACERE *quod fecit* JUDAS, St. Ambrose. London, Printed for R. Freeman, junr., near St. Pauls.' No date. It is vehement and ironical, and attacks Traquair's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, as well as himself. The theory of atavism was not unknown to the writer.

[2] *i.e.* Traquair.

But now that this Gentleman has open'd the Ball, he has afforded a Solution to all my doubts and Scruples, so what ever the Consequences may prove, I shall not think myself to blame; and will not only satisfie my own Inclination, but your desire, by declaring my Sentiments without reserve.

The Author of the Letter now before me, seems to Insinuate that he is no Jacobite; tho' if I may be allow'd to judge from the tenor of the whole, there are few in the three Kingdoms according to the common Saying more through pace'd; nor can he blame me for aledging that his performance is imperfect; having himself stiled it out lines, so far indeed he has succeeded, that these out lines however imperfect are nevertheless sufficient to make his L—ds—p ever memorable. I shall not quarrel with the Gentleman for not professing his Principles; that is seldom prudent, but he must pardon me to say that if he is a freind to the Government, he does the Individuals little honour, to Suppose them cappable of gratetude, as he terms it, to such a man.

I write this supposing myself ignorant of the Author, tho' if I may be allow'd to conjecture (a thing I am very much averse to) he is pretty well known, and tho' he perhapps don't at present care to own it, if he is not greatly alter'd from what

I once knew him, he won't scruple upon a proper occasion to father his own child (tho' destitute of every ornament save truth alone) and that even to the L—d in Question.

To make apologys to you for want of proper Expression would be superfluous ; it is an accomplishment very rare in this part of the Island ; and what you know I was ever a Stranger to. To make myself understood is all I desire, without regard to one or t'other, and leave it intirely to your better Judgement to make it publick, or not, as you shall think fitt. You know how men and things are in the Capital, and will act accordingly.

But before I enter upon the subject it won't be amiss to tell you, that as all the Company seemd extreamly satisfied with it, and such who till then had been his greatest Advocates, asham'd of their Obstinacy became his most violent Enemys ; I proposed that two or three who had access to know a good deal of what pass'd should assist me to return a sutable Answer ; but being unable to prevail, you must not expect so ample a Discussion as you perhaps hope for.

To make it as full and satisfactory as you wish would render it necessary for me to mention Names, hitherto unknown, a thing I am so much convinced of your goodness, as to beleive you would disprove of.

The Design of the Pamphlet, which you was so good as to send me, merits commendation. Nothing can be more just to the present age than to sett a mark upon the base and treacherous ; nor to posterity, than to expose them in such a manner, as to prevent others from employing such like people in affairs, upon which so much depends ; and running foul of these quick sands, where their fore Fathers were shipwrecked, but least I should tire you with too long a preamble, I shall without further ceremony begin with some observations upon Lord Lovats *Trial*; which I intend shall be the bases or ground work of the following sheets.

I am well inform'd that there are already some very interesting remarks wrote upon a particular deposition, which perhaps may be soon publish'd whither they contain the same, or oposite observations to the few following, I cannot say, nor do I think it material. You may depend upon my advancing no fact as certain, that is not consistant with my own knowledge, and where I take the Liberty to suppose, it shall be to the detrement of no Individuall without just Grounds.

In the Beginning of M[urray]s Accounts of the rise of the late troubles, he says, page 74th of *Lovats Trial*,[1] that in the year 1742 L—d Traquair informd him that he had enter'd into an association some years before with Lord Lovat, his own Brother Mr. Stewart, Lord John Drumond the elder, Sir James Campbell of Auchenbreck, the Duke of Perth, Cameron of Locheil, and Drumond the younger of Balhaldie, who they employ'd as their Agent to Rome and France. All which I became acquainted with soon after, and continued to have the other Steps taken Communicated to me in course as they happn'd.

Tho' there is nothing more disagreeable to me than to enter into private Characters, yet to comply with your request, and to sett his L—d—ps behaviour in a proper light, it is here necessary to give you as clear an Idea of the Abilitys and Inclinations of those he chose for associates, as I am able, together with a short hint of the first Spring of the whole.

So far as I could ever learn, the Scheme was quite accidental and intirely owing to a person of Destinction, since dead, who being desirous to have the Confidence of the Jacobite Party, and to be employ'd by them to the Court of Rome, propos'd to carry what orders, Instructions or Schemes they should think fitt to offer, ingaging at the same time to sollicit the French King.

This Person was undoubtedly very proper, both from his connections in Scotland, and Situation of Life abroad; but not being agreeable to L—d T—q—r, his Overture was rejected; whether His L—d—ps Objections were good, and sufficiently grounded, you will be able to judge by the just Discription given of the Person he afterwards made choice of to act in that Capacity. It was nevertheless thought advisable not to drop the Scheme intirely, but to carry it on by other means, and we shall see by the Sequel the exquisite choice His

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[1] 'The whole Proceedings in the House of Peers upon the Impeachment exhibited by the Knights, Cityzens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled in the names of themselves and of all the commons of Great Britain; against Simon Lord Lovat for High Treason. Published by order of the House of Peers, London, 1747.'

L—d—p made of an Ambassador, but will first endeavour to give you a short Sketch of the Characters of the several Associates.

Lord Lovat all the World knows to have been the most abandon'd and most detested man in his Country, and one who had never acted a fair part either in publick or private life; but that I may not put myself to the Trouble, to find out proper words to express his baseness, with the Idea I have of him, from the knowledge of particular facts, I shall referr you to a book intittled *Memoires* concerning the Affairs of Scotland from Queen Ann's Accession to the Throne, &c., said to have been wrote by the late Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, than whom none was better acquainted with the Transactions and persons of his time, where you will find the Account he gives of Lovat, then Fraser of Beaufort, from page 76,[1] and ends about these words: 'Now let any impartial Judge consider, if it is probable that Frazer, with whom no honest man in Scotland would converse,' &c.,[2] and to the preface to my Lord Bellhaven's *Speech* in the Union Parliament published at Edinburgh in the Year 1741.[3] It is surprising that a parcel of people in your part of the World, as well as some here, have call'd him up for a Heroe, notwithstanding his having formerly been shun'd by allmost every body as a person absolutely void of Truth and honour, in so much that I can remember him not a great many Years ago so much hated by all good men of our Party that he was in danger of being assasinated in the streets of Edin^{r} and procur'd liberty for his Servants to carry Arms for his protection. But it is still more strange and unaccountable that even some few who have read his *Trial* are so blind and senseless as not to see plainly that he had done more to hurt them than any one Man in the Island, and even makes his brag of it, pleading merit from thence, on behalf of the Government; nay it is as clear as the sun at noon day, from the Evidence given by his own Servants that he still continued to betray them, and happily at last blunderd himself to the

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[1] P. 78 of 1817 edition.

[2] See *supra*, p. 11.

[3] *The late Lord Belhaven's Memorable Speeches in the last Parliament of Scotland*, etc. Edinburgh, 1741. The preface calls Fraser 'a very notorious criminal,' and quotes the statement of a Mr. Bell that 'he deserved to have been hanged five several times.' Cf. Introduction.

Scaffold. Happy had it been for his Country that according to his demerits he had ended his days at Tyburn twenty Years sooner. That I may not advance any general assertion, where it is either safe or prudent to produce the facts themselves, let me observe to you some particular passages as advanced by himself.

In his Not to be parralelld Speech to the House on thursday the 19th of March, page 181st of his *Tryal*, after some false childish truckling observations, he first makes the late King George talk as vainly and ridiculously as himself to introduce a fawning inference, that he had a true notion of the Greatness of the Family of Hanover, and then proceeds to prove his own Services in the Year 1715 by reducing the Town of Inverness, forcing the late Earl of Seaforth to retire, and then receiving his Submission, reducing the Duke of Gordon and receiving his Submission likewise; and adds: 'My Lords, then I pursued the Rebells from place to place, and chaced them from Hill to Hill. On this expedition I lost my own Brother, who was a very pretty fellow' (great pitty he had not fallen himself), 'and I never left off pursuing the Rebells till the Rebellion was suppress'd and extinguish'd, so that I may fairly say, that I assisted to keep the Crown upon the late Kings head, as much, if not more, than any one man of my Rank in Brittain.'

After a declaration of this kind (the truth of which is well known in Scotland), what oppinion can any reasonable Creature have of those friends to the Chevaliers interest who can talk of him with patience much less lament his fate, as a friend to their party, more especially when he considers that this proceeding was a peice of the basest Treachery to the Chevaliers familly, to whom it is known he came under the strongest obligations when in France, as he himself hints in page 183, where he says that his going to France in the Queen's time was the foundation of his misfortunes, and concludes this open declaration of his Vilainy by telling plainly that for the sake of a paultry Independant Company, he would have prevented the Rebellion. That his assertion is false nobody is ignorant of who knows the Country, but that he would in that case have done all in his power to thwart it, is not to be doubted.

Reconcile with what is above mentioned, an Expression in his Letter to Mr. Murray, page 135: 'and it is likewise singular that no Lord Lovat of twenty four that have been of my family ever fought or voted against their King.'

His loading his son in his letters to the late President of the Session,[1] page 43, and insinuating before the House, that the young Gentleman had a plott to take away his life, as in page 41, are incidents hardly to be mett with in history; for, allowing that he knew his son to be capable of playing with both hands, pages 144 and 145 in his letter to his Father, is the following very remarkable Paragraph: 'As to your Lordships conduct in the mean time, if I might give an Advice it would be not to lose on both sides. I am far from meaning by this that you should come to Perth, so far from it, that provided your Lordship could make Conditions for your own person and Estate with Lord Loudon, and the Precedent, I should be content with a thin Regiment; but in case they have neither inclination, nor Authority to give this, I humbly think you should immediatly come to a resolution, and put it in Execution: for if Your Lordships Clan does not all immediatly join the Prince, the cause will soon be found out. I would not much care if your Lordship Person, and Estates were preserv'd by their stay; but it will be hard if it does not better your condition with the Government, when it must evidently make it worse with the Prince.' Yet can this, however strong, be no excuse for a Father to distroy a son, as a means to save a few fleeting moments: in short, if such like people merit the good graces and favour of Mankind, even the Laird of M^c^leod need not dispair of having his Vilainys forgot, and one day die a Martyr.

Is it possible that the E—l of T—q—r could be ignorant of most of the particulars above mentioned, or in general of the infamy of his Character; this I beleive no man will allow of, even supposing him less knowing than he realy is. I am rather of oppinion that he not only knew this, but an infinite dale more, and upon that account alone chose him as the fitest person with whom to associate, knowing that the reproach of either neglect or miscarriage in the Scheme proposed would naturaly be imputed to him. And from what has since pass'd without going retrograde to reason, without Breach of Charity, or beating the bush for Arguments, it may with justice be said that the world has great reason to believe that they understood one another, especialy considering the Contents of Lord Lovat's Letter to his son, page 143, where he says, 'I hope your Captain Lieutenant is come home by this time, and it was very right to send him, for he is certainly one of the pretiest fellows of your Clan. Give my Service to him, and tell him that I beg of him to remember all that I spoke to him about my Patent; and when you talk seriously with him about it, I intreat that you both put all the Irons in the fire that you can, to make the thing succeed. I ask nothing of His Royal Highness, but to give his countenance and to own publickly what his Father has done for me, which if he refuse, I must keep to the Oath that I gave, before the Duke of Perth, the E—l of T—q—r, Locheil, and other Gentlemen, that first ingag'd in the present project with me, that I would never draw my Sword till that was done.'

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[1] Lord President Forbes of Culloden, died 10th December 1747.

Don't this make it evident beyond all Contradiction that if he ever intended any Service, it was not principle but interest with doating Vanity that drove him on? T—q—r was quite well acquainted with the Conditions he had made, and consequently knew him to be a person actuated by selfish views, and therefore not to be trusted.[1]

As to the Letter to his Son before cited, page 142 of his *Trial*, he expressly says that Mr. Drummond by his favourable representations of him had procured Several Letters wrote by the Kings own hand, that his Majesty would pay all the money he payd Fraserdale and his Creditors for the Estate of Lovat.

Shall we say that Traquair likewise made his terms, the thing dont seem in the least improbable: a Dukedome, I dare say, would not have proved disagreeable, but his immoderate love of pelf is so universaly well-known, that I should rather incline to believe that a good sum or the payment of his debts would have better satisfied his Ambition.

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[1] There is a blank in the manuscript here, caused apparently by a change of amanuensis. What follows is in a new hand.

The next he makes choice of, is his own Brother, who, tho a much honester man than himself, was nevertheless the most knavish choice imaginable. A person of an indolent, lazy, loitering temper, of no consequence nor Interest in his Country, known but to very few, and little conversant in the world: was the most unfitt man alive to be concernd in an affair that required activity, address, and a general acquaintance with the Party; which he has demonstrated to the world, by living retired in the Country almost ever since; and never so much as concerning himself in the least; but his lordship knew that if it was possible to rouse him from his Lethargy to do business, he was the only person able to accomplish it; and was sure to make him transact it according to his own liking.

The third, a worthy honest man, of an untainted reputation, full of probity and Candour, inheriting every virtue of his family, ever devoted to the Interest of the house of Stuart, but whose age and infirmity render'd him incapable to be of any considerable Service but by way of advice.

Such a man was extreamly fitt for his Lordships purposs: he was agreeable to the party, and his Situation prevented him from thwarting the measures taken; it was but upon some occassions that he could be consulted, and his Lordship tooke the outmost pains, notwithstanding the near connexion betwixt them, to represent him as a weak and timerous man unable to advise, and unfitt to be acquainted with any thing of consequence. This may perhaps surprise some, you it never can, who knows that little souls are uncapable of every thing that is honest and open, their actings are ever low and hidden like those cowardly Curs who bite slyly without barking.

The fourth, a person whose natural temper, and misfortunes in life deprived of the two most essential qualifications to acquire Interest and popularity, in a Country where allmost everybody professed an oposite principle; but there is one thing I must take particular notice of in regard to this Gentleman, not only for his vindication, but to give you if possible a strong Idea of his Lordships veracity.

From the best information possible, and after the stricktest inquiry, I have the greatest reason to believe that he was not at Edʳ during the time of their association, nor had he been there for some time prior to it, so that I most be allow'd to think, till better proofe is brought, that his Lordship named him, judging it necessary to have one in that County, and he the only person of distinction he could pitch upon, the least suspected of being in the Jacobite Interest: tho it is obvious to all who are in any degree acquainted with his history, that he never gave any substantial proofs of it. And I can venture to afirm that there was not a man told of his being ingaged, and the pretended part he was to act, who did not look upon it as an absolute chimera, and foretold what afterwards happened, that he would either do nothing, or gett himself secured as he had done upon a former Occassion. If he was at all inclined that way, or realy and substantialy ingaged, it would appear to have proceeded from discontent not principle, and as people in bad circumstances are generaly esteemed ready to imbarg upon any botom, where there is a Chance to better them, his Lordship must have flatered himself that naming of him would pass with the multitude, which if it was the case, as there is the greatest reason to believe, from his never having made any atempt or shewn the smalest inclination either to join the Chevalier in person, or assist him in any shape: it was a cruel barbarous action, to give it no worse term.

There are cases where a lie is venial and of little moment, but when the consequences proves so fatal, as in the present, it then becomes unsufferable. The Gentleman has been now a prisoner for above these three years, and God knows when he may be releived: but of that we may be assured his Lordship is quite indifferent; happy in his own preservation.

To give you a discription of the other two people concerned, adequate to their merit, I mean the Duke of Perth and Cameron of Lochiel, would require the pen of a Pliny,[1] a Pope, or an Addison, so shall only say, that they were men of real worth and honour, generous, openhearted, and benevolent, equaly just in publick and private life, and inferior to none of any action for undaunted courage, and shining humanity.

Do you think it is possibly for his Lordship to frame an excuse, for having ingaged such two men alongst with the others I have discribed? For my part I do not, nor have I ever met with the man who dared to apologise for him.

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[1] ? Plutarch.

Some there are who tell you that had he not prevailed with such as they, he never could so much as have pretended to offer a Scheme: his own insignificancy in his Country being known to everybody: and Lovats vilainy had long been a proverb, and his name so very dispicable as even to stink in the Nostriles of every Shoe black.

This we will readily grant, and that it was necessary to have people not only whose attachment to that cause was undoubted, but who had both Interest and resolution to support it; yett could I beleive that there was a Scotsman so base and little as to atempt a paliation of this crime, I should lament its being impossible to erase the unhappy day from out of the Calendar, upon which my Country had the missfortune to give him birth.

Why in the name of goodness engage them together with men who had neither Power, Inclinations, nor abilitys for such a task. He was not ignorant of his own Intentions at the beginning: if he had no mind to act up to his professions, why so divilish as to drag to ruin two men who seemed destined to be associated with people of their own Stamp, aliens to such drivilers as his Lordship? If he realy was well inclined from a Spurt of passion or fancied courage, so soon as he found himself either unable or unwilling, why did he not put a stop to the whole or timeously declare off, so as they might have chose another in his place, but to lull them into security by fair and repeated promisses and at the same time do nothing, is never to be forgiven.

The great conductor of this business[1] must now be brought upon the Stage, where I shall exhibit to you an Ambassador, of his Lordships choicing who far out shines all those employed by our late and present Ministers, who must be allowed save in two or three instances to have excelled for this twenty years past all the Europian Courts in their happy appointments.

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[1] Balhaldy.

The Qualifications necessary for such an employment have been so often mentioned, and are generaly so well known, that, I should incline to pass them over, but as his Lordship has been so fortunate and judicious as to make choice of the very reverse, I shall mention some few of them for the sake of the contrast.

An Ambassador ought to be a man of fashion and Character, a man of family and fortune, a man of address, and smooth, gentle insinuating person, master of the modern languages, and his own temper upon all occassion.

In place of which we find the descendant of a Cobler, himself a broken butter and cheese merch^{t}, a stickt Doctor, a Jack of all Trades, a Bankrupt indebted to all the World, the awkwardest, Porterlike fellow alive, allways in a passion, a mere Bully, the most forbiding air imaginable, and master of as much bad French as to procure himself a Whore and a Dinner.

You will certainly be at a loss to guess what could intice his Lordship to make use of this rare piece, but that you may be no longer at a loss, you shall have his own reasons, in substance the same tho not in words.

The man ashumed to himself the name of Drumond (the law not allowing him to carry his own) and thus intitled himself to the protection of the family of Perth, and was first Cousin to Mr. Cameron of Locheil by his Mother. When oblidged to abscond from his creditors, he was protected by Lovat, as a fitt person for his private Jobs, and so became one of his Bull dogs. His poverty made him dependant, was possessed of a Consumate assurance, gasconed to a degree of redicule, extreamly dictatorial, had an exquisite faculty of finding fault, always certain of what he asserted, and ready to swear himself black in the face upon all occassions. His business, and what ought justly to have been expected from him, [was] to use all proper means together with the others concernd to promote the general Interest, and to lay himself out to discover every method whereby to fix those who were wavering, and to gain over such as professed themselves of a different way of thinking.

This was the part that a sincere good honest man ought to have acted, and what he had the assurance to promiss; but so far from keeping his word there are not the least traces to be mett with of one step he ever took with any of his Country men towards either.

If he believed what he advanced, it was a plain demonstration of his ignorance, shewed that he had been indolent enough not to inform himself of the Situation of the party, superlatively weak to take all upon hearsay, and proved beyond a doubt his want of capacity for such an affair.

The business was of no trifling nature, it was of the utmost consequence to his Country, as has since, alas, been too plainly seen, and too severely felt: so that no degree of weakness can ever excuse a man to impose upon people for years together by making them trust to his activity and adress in the management of their affairs by repeated promisses of care and industry when conscious to himself of doing nothing.

Can this be explained away in any sence, save that of studied and premeditated treachoury? A man may be guilty of a sudden folly, heated with Wine or led away by passion, but the height of Stupidity itself could not for so long a time blind him to that degree of ignorance, as not to discover that he was of no Service.

You will perhaps be surprised, and think that whilst I am exposing this man, I yett in some degree do him honour, by aloting him the principal part in the Drama; without mentioning the Consent and aprobation of others to the choice of this new fashioned negotiator, but be assured it is with no other view than to conform to truth, to satisfy your request, and to expose him to the just vengeance of his miserably abused Countrymen.

It is true the others did consent, but why? to please the Earle and Baron,[1] Their own innate uprightness not permiting them to have any suspition, and their over easyness of temper preventing them from inquiring into the Character and Capacity of the person employed, or reflecting on the Life he had led, which would have been more than sufficient to have made them cast about for a better man, at least one not liable to every objection as was his case; so to the Earl and Baron I in Justice and Conscience must Chiefly atribute our miscarriage, and to give the Divil his due, own that had it not been for a most pressing Letter wrote by the former, Drumond would not have attempted his Embassy; so conscious was he of his own inability, at least Charity will have us believe so from his having at first declined it.

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[1] *i.e.* Traquair and Lovat.

We find in the same page of the *Trial*, that at the distance of two years, their agent returns fraught with the agreeable reception he had mett with at Rome, and full of the assurances he had procur'd from the French Court of their favourable inclinations and, after a short stay in Scotland, which he employed in persuading his constituents that all necessary preparations were made for a powerfull Invassion, procured sufficient Credite for his Suport, and like the mock Doctor Struts of the Stage, with ample and positive promisses that his Physick would operate the Autumn following.

You may imagine that I write ludicrously, but if you will look into the trial, you will find in the same page, that our mountibank did not hesitate to assure the few he had acess to see, that everything was prepared: and that so minutely as to specify particulars, such as men, money, arms, amunition, &c., and this with the help of his Lordship and his good freind Lovat then in Town, with whom they had several meetings (tho Murray has took care to keep that to himself), who seemed to give implicit faith to whatever he advanced, so far prevailed upon the integrity of others unacquainted with dissimulation and design, that he gained their belief, and by that means fixed himself in their good graces.

One would imagine that had his Lordship known anything of bussyness, he would immediatly have taken a proper method to put the gentlemen in whose names he had promissed (at least such as he could have trusted with safety) so far upon their guard, as without letting them into the whole affair (know so much in general) as to make preparations in a private manner, suitable to such an undertaking: but instead of this it is all hudled up in the breasts of those first concerned, and they left to depend upon him and his Agent to bring all to the desired Isue as if their summons had been sufficient to make the Country take arms upon an hours notice.

The next proofe of his Zeal, assiduity and good management is a Chasm without any necessary step taken from his agent's departure in the Spring till the Dec^{r} following, and then Parturiant Montes, &c., in place of the powerfull assistance promissed, appears a Letter from Mr. Drumond. Shall we suppose the contents? Was it necessary, the difficulty would not be great nor the danger of erring very probable, but as it is known to many, take the substance in a few words: specious reasons for non-performance according to promise and the same possitive ingagements for the Spring following as had been given for the Autumn preceeding.

This I do in my conscience believe would have mett with a general assent, as his Lordship was pleas'd implicitly to acquiese, had it not been treated by Murray with that redicule it deserved: and no wonder, it must have been treated in the same manner by every man of comon sence the least acquainted with business. If people are always to depend upon general assertions and specious promisses, especialy in affairs of that nature, without specifying particulars, which I am ready to believe you will think indispensably necessary, they may spent ages in an intercourse of such idle letters without ever being a bit the wiser, and perhaps be discoverd in the midle of their Carreer as has been the case of most plots, and have the honour of being hanged for doing of nothing, lamented by some few, and laughed at by ninety-nine of one hundred.

I dare say it is needless to persuade you with how much reluctancy his Lordship consented to Murray's going to learn the truth of what was wrote: the case was that he had persuaded the others to be of his Oppinion, so our little Lord finding that neither his eloquence nor his Interest could prevail, seemingly aproved, and insisted on his going as the person they most relied upon. As I happened to be consulted upon this affair, you may believe I not only aproved of the design, but pressed it very much, for which I have been thankfull ever since, being entirely satisfied upon his return that it was all imposition, and that Drumond continued the farce more to procure victuals than reputation.

To enter into details of every particular might neither be proper at this time, nor suitable to this undertaking: there are many, and these very interesting accidents, that are passed over in Murrays narration; indeed the most, if not all he says, is a general Storey of no consequence to either party, whether known or not, but as he has thought proper to save his Lordship from the shame and disgrace of rendering these facts publick, not for any personal regard, I venture to say, but on Acc^{t} of the party in general, I should be the last man in Scotland to propall them; so shall leave them as they now stand, till some one more able shall think fitt to make them known to the world.

To come nigher to the time when something was expected from him, we find upon Murray's return from France, he gave them to understand, that if any such thing as was promised had been intended, that nothing save fair words was then to be looked for: and at the same time acquainted his Lordship of Drumonds being come to England, and his desire of seeing him in London; to which you will observe he readily complied, as you will find him setting out very soon after, which I can assure you he did with ample protestations that he would soon bring things to a bearing.

It was not then to be imagined, nor would it have enterd into the heart of man, had we not this flagrent example before our Eyes, that any man who had the least regard to the show of honour, lett him despise the reality of it never so heartily, would have taken such an affair in hand if he had not known himself both capable and willing to execute it. This Generous principle made those who knew his design, but who were unhappily prejudiced in his favours, deliver themselves entirely up to his guidance, and flatter themselves that then was the time when affairs would be brought to a Crisis, and that the mighty promisses made would finaly be performed, or a Stop put to the whole.

Let who will blame these concerned for being so far deluded, I can't help thinking them in some degree excusable: they were prejudiced in his Lordship's favour by his continually buzing Zeal and Loyalty in their Ears.

Men of sence have no need of cunning, and men of honour and probity are the least apt to suspect double dealing: it is no easy matter to see through the malicious designs of those who make it their business with uncommon keeness to persuade men of their Sincerity and attachment. His Lordship left no stone unturned to pursuade his fellow associates of his Zeal; but when the affairs became more serious, and that his little shifts and tricks could have no effect, you will find him like a Coward skulking behind the ramparts, when others were generously exposing themselves on the breach to repell the Enemys assaults.

It was more than plain to the meanest capacity that the Scots could not succeed of themselves—I mean those whose courage answered their inclinations. Had all those who were named been unanimous, or even those who had solemnly promisd, acted the honourable and fair part, I may with safety say, that there would have been no occasion for aplying to our neighbours in England, or to the faithless French.

Had even old Lovat, with his detested Cousin, the Laird of Macleod, joined in consequence of repeated ingagements, the Battle of Gladesmuir had never happened: Pug[1] had not stood agast, nor would Hawley have been found with dismall and afrighted looks attempting to raly three cowardly Dragoons three miles from Falkirk: Clifton Muir had not been dishonoured by the precipitant flight of dismayed, dismounted horsemen, one Boot off and t'other on, from a handfull of brave Macphersons, nor had Drumossie Muir proved the fatal field of H[ano]v[eria]n barbarity, followed by every shocking attendant upon inraged and merciless victory. Posterity will have difficulty to believe that their predecessors, Gentlemen and Officers, not only refused to give quarters, but damn'd the more compassionate Soldier for loading themselves with prisoners, their own fellow Citycens: *O Tempora! O mores!*

But to return. To what end did his Lordship undertake the Journey? Was it to ingage the pretended English Jacobites in the Scheme? If they frankly complyed it was no difficult matter to agree upon the time; if they refused, either positively or gave evasive answers, and would not come under any fixed ingagements, they were equaly not to be depended upon, and his Lordships indispensable duty was to have reported so much to his countrymen and fellow conspirators, when they would naturaly either have laid aside their undertaking for that time, or proceeded upon another plan.

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[1] I have consulted many authorities, but I am unable to identify 'Pug.' It may be Cope or the Duke of Newcastle. Mr. Lang prefers the latter.

In place of this we find him, some months after, returning to a few brave, wellmeaning people (big with expectations of his Success), with a parcel of frivolous, childish, and trifling assurances of the favourable inclinations and good intentions of a number of English to the Chevaliers Interest, without being able to say (some very few excepted) who they were, what they were willing to undertake, or in any shape ready to contribute in men or money to the scheme in hand.

Was not this more than enough to satisfie every man of reflection that he was either Rogue or fool? To you I venture to say it appears as plain as the most simple demonstration in Euclide; to those of the poorest, most groveling capacity, it gives ground sufficient to determine that he never was capable to talk seriously with any man of knowledge in the Country; if he did, they certainly discovered him to be a person quite unfitt to manage an affair of such consequence, and neither careing to risk being discovered by his folly, nor absolutly to refuse their principles. They put him off with good words and specious excuses, which he had neither the sence nor honesty to declare. Pardon me to detain you here with a few Observations upon this head, which perhaps may not prove dissagreeable

It was my oppinion, not only then, but ever since, that there was a sett of people in your part of the Island[1] who could with Justice be stiled a Jacobite party, it was to be supposed, or rather taken for granted, that they had the Interest of the cause too much at heart not to keep a necessary correspondence with the Court of Rome; and there to give of sufficient testimony of their attachment and readiness to exert themselves upon a proper Occassion. No body will doubt of their finding persons amongst themselves much more capable then the Earl of Traquair, and as much, if not more so, than any of his Country men. They were the only proper Judges of their own Strength and inclinations, and there are some to whome, justly or not I dare not take upon me to say, the epithet has been given, whose publick appearance in Life has more then aboundantly evinced their abilitys for affairs that require the greatest delicacy.

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[1] *i.e.* England.

Taking this to be the case, the Chevalier must have been thoroughly acquainted with their Situation, and was alone proper to acquaint his freinds in Scotland with what assistance they might expect from their Neighbours, and lay a fit Scheme to make them act in conjunction for the good of the Common cause. Such a Scheme was neither difficult to contrive, nor dangerous to execute, neither did it require any very tedious preparations, nothing so easy where mony and good Will center in the same people, than to provide a Country with Arms and amunition.

Upon the other hand, let us suppose, there either was no such party, or that it was very inconsiderable and composed of members too timorous to acknowledge their principles in a proper maner at Rome; it was the height of folly to imagine that they would ever acquire courage to associate heartily with, or be prevailed upon to appear in the feild by a Set of Scotsmen, whose supperior heat led them to spurn at the dangers which intimidated their more cautious neighbours: and would, to all men of Judgement, have proved a sufficient guard against having the smallest dependance upon them.

Tho' his Lordship's general assertions seemed very uncertain, and little to be trusted to, they did not fail to have a considerable effect: the Cheifs satisfied that in every event they must bear the heat and burden of the day, could not help being tickled; nothing so common as for people to cheat themselves into a beleife of what they hope and wish for: and his more possitive assurances of French assistance, considerably raised the Spirits of the party, which was now become a little more defused, and extensive, in Spite of his pretended caution to the Contrary, and proved to be so well conducted by some few, that nothing ever perspired: nay a Gentleman nearly concerned in the Government, and who during many years had laid himself out for intelligence, took Occassion to express his Surprise by saying that the Jacobites were now become wise, not a word being to be heard of them; whereas formerly an old Woman could not p—ss at Rome, but they were acquainted with it. However odious and unjust the latter part of his alegation was, nothing was more certain than the truth of the former.

It was at the same time the oppinion of some, that the people of England had not stopt at general assurances of good Will, but to his Lordship alone, and had not neglected^{ed} to give the Chevalier an account how far they were ready to go; which, no doubt, was the most Charitable conjecture, as it would have been harsh and cruel to imagine them so abandondly selfish, as to see their neighbours so far involved and in a manner ready to enter into action, without acquainting the Chevalier with their Sentiments, and either preventing what they imagined would prove an unsuccessful undertaking, or effectualy to incourage and strenthen them by giving assurances of what they were ready to do in such and such cases.

His Lordship, it would appear by page 77th of Lord Lovat's *trial*, named some people of distinction as ready to support them; whether true or false, I shall not aver, depending little upon what he says and from what followed, Charity would induce every good man to believe his assertion was false; if he realy told truth I cannot prevail with myself to lament their being exposed, with that feeling of concern and anxiety I at first did. I have been assured from very good hands that Lovat did not scruple during his confinement in the Tower to tell plainly that if he had not depended upon their assistance he had never concerned himself in the bussiness: but Lovats words was so little to be minded, that I should rather from thence infer their innocence.

But to return from this degression—if what so naturaly must occur to every reader can be properly stiled one—his Lordship after his arrival in Scotland retires to the Country careless of what shall be the Isue; and leaves the whole to his all perfect agent, who soon after had the assurance to repair to Rome; there to prevail with P[rin]ce Ed[war]d to come to France.

I have the strongest inclination imaginable to satisfie your curriosity, in regard to this so matterial transaction; but as it is of the most delicate nature, and what has hitherto occassioned so many and various conjectures, not yet proper either to be refuted or confirmed, I hope you will excuse my Silence and be contented with the Little I imagine it prudent to say upon that head.

Is it to be imagined that had he given no stronger assurances from England than his Lordship did to his freinds in Scotland, he could never have prevailed, or is it to be thought that the English would put more confidence in him than in the Duke of Perth, and Cameron of Locheil, men of Established Characters, and undoubted honour? If they did, to what could it be owing? To Nothing surely but the most despicable oppinion of his Lordship: what else could induce them to repose a superior confidence in a person so void of Merit? Was things to be taken in this light we must allow that the Chevaleirs freinds in England were either a parcel of ignorants, which I can never grant, or that he represented them as best fitted his own purpose at the time, which again will admitt of consequence as distant from reason and probability as the former. At least so highly to their discredit as every good man would be sorry to hear, much more to believe.

As I proposed to write my sentiments and knowledge as far as good policcy will allow, I shall here observe one particular which will justly convince you of the littleness of the Object I am now treating of: in point of time, it ought to have been introduced before, but as that could not well be done without breaking the thread of my Storry, I shall hope for forgiveness.

Before his Lordship went to England, L[or]d M[arischa]ll had been for some time living near to Bologne in France, who, as he was sensable what a strange man was employed from Scotland, not only refus'd to be concerned himself, but declared both in publick and private against their proceedings: this raised the Agents Spleen with that of his ever lying associate L[or]d S[em]ple and made them use all methods possible, not only to asperse his Spotless Charracter, but to render him rediculous: and even carried it such a length, as to endeavour to prevail with a Gentleman[1] then at Paris to writ him a Letter finding fault with his conduct, and to give him to understand that his Countrymen in general were dissatisfied with his proceedings;[2] than which nothing on Earth could be more false, for nobody was better belloved, or more justly esteemed by all ranks or denominations of men. The Gentlman, sensible of the base design, and desirious of being an instrument to make up all differences, as the only proper means to propogate the Interest of the party, having sounded Coll^{l} C[eci]l at London, soon after his arrival in Scotland, wrote to his Lordship a most ablidging and polite Letter, setting furth the bad consequences attending on party quarrils, and proposing him as the only fitt person to put an end to all disputes; to reconcile the jarring individuals and bring them to act in concert for the general Good. This Letter, than which none could be better calculated for the present Juncture, was shewn to Traquair at his own house before he sett out to meet with his Agent; and which he seemingly very much approv'd of, not only commending the Letter, as well calculated for the Occassion, but frankly ingaged to forward it: but which we shall see by the Sequel proceeded from nothing, but this laudable custom of temporising, when unable to make sufficient Objections. One would imagine that two lines from his Lordship saying that he had fullfilled his ingagements would not have much incroached upon his time; yett during his whole stay in England, he never had the good manners to lett the Gentl^{n} know whether he had complied with his request or not; but upon his return, saluted him with the agreeable news that he had read it to his freind Mr. Drumond (without any Authority (by the by) from the writer), who dissaproving of the contents, as not suting his purpose, they had with one Consent commited it to the flames. Thus you see how far the Jacobite party are beholden to the Lord in question for promoting their interest; here was a Step which, had it took effect (and where was the ground of Doubt? for my own part I have none) would in all probability have proved the most condusive of all others to procure a good understanding betwixt the different persons employed; and facilitated the Execution of their affairs, with that unanimity and concord to which (I am sorry to say) they have been too often strangers! which he in the midst of his professed Zeal, not only neglects, but puts an effectual Stop to. Is it not unaccountable that, not withstanding his repeated blunders, and premeditated treachery, some few of the party are nevertheless so blinded, as to pity him for his apparent sufferings, however little adequate they are to his demerits and unequal to what he would have been doomed to by every man of Sence and honour.

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[1] Murray.

[2] Cf. pp. 46, 52, and 98, *ante*.

You may easily beleive that the Gentl^{n}, anxious to know the effect of his Letter, rec^{d} the acc^{t} of its fate with the utmost surprise and indignation, and tho at another time and upon an Occassion of less consequence, he would deservedly have used him very ill, yet rather than be the cause of any differences, he stifled his resentment to a more proper opportunity.

No body is more apt to forgett injuries than I am, but I must confess had it been my case, I could not have passed it over. Amongst Gentlemen a letter is esteemed sacred and not to be violated upon any pretext whatever.

You 'le observe from the *trial*, page 79th, that after the elapse of several months, and not till the news papers had given repeated Acco^{tts} of the intended imbarkation at Dunkirk, the result of all his fine spun management proved to be two Letters from Drumond, wrote with so little care and attention, as not only to prove plainly contradictory of each other, but of themselves, and happily became an antidote against the imposition intended: so true is the old Saying that certain folks ought to have good memories. The person he shewed them to easily perceived their deffects, and with great reason insisted that an explination should be procured; as the sole method whereby they might be enabled to judge what steps to take. Tho his Lordship was very much averse to join in anything that seemed to savour of finding fault with his favourite, yet things appeared so obvious, that notwithstanding the utmost reluctancy, he was oblidged for once to shew himself on the side of reason. In the same page last cited, you will find that the Letter proposed was accordingly wrote and subscribed by the Peer himself, and sent with all convenient Speed to London; but as it does not appear that any answere was made, you may, from my former acco^{tt}s of his epistolary conduct, be ready to imagine that he used the same freedom with it, which he had done with t'other, but to do him Justice, he did forward it according to promiss, tho it afterwards was purged by fire in Obedience to his Ajents orders.

I would most willingly give you an Acco^{tt} of this motly transaction, which would not fail to amuse you, and prove of what service his intended marriage was to him upon this Occassion, as mentioned in the Pamphlet before me: but as I can plainly observe through the whole of M—ys Story, he seems only to have intended to expose him, and has industriously studied to leave him a back door whereby to escape, I shall postpone mentioning any particular that might hurt him in the Eye of the Law, or put the ministry upon the Scent, by which they might discover any thing against him; and besides the reflection that from thence might fall upon me, for being too minute, it would in all likelihood prove a detrement to others, who had the Misfortune to be concerned with him: a time may soon fall out, when it will be more proper than at present to oblidge the world by exposing such raritys to publick ruin.

From this time untill the noise of an invasion was over, we find him in the utmost dilemma, and if fairly considering his natural failings, in some small degree to be pitied; uncertain whether a descent might realy be made, in which case it would have been almost impossible for him to evite joining; the consequences of which appeared so horrible, as were more than sufficient to terrify a mind of his timide Stamp: the dangers of the field were of themselves too great, but the Misserable attendants upon Civil Warrs, such as Prisons, Axes, halters, and the Butchers knife, presented a Scene past bearing. On the other hand, to have made a Journey at that critical Juncture to England, foreboded no less than a long confinement; yet as it would not have provd so fatal as the others, he would have risked it without scruple, had any feasable or lawfull excuse presented itself, but it was necesssary that such an one might occur as might leave no room to his freinds to suspect that the Journey was only calculated to save himself: but here his ingenuity failed him; fear got the better, resolution was wanting to determine: uncertain and unable to fix upon any thing, he smugles himself about the Country, like a fraudolent Bankrupt, now publick, now private, not knowing which of the two would render him least suspected: the laugh of his own servants, and mocking stock of the Country.

The Embarkation at Dunkirk blowing over, and peoples minds become less agitated, he resumes a little seeming courage, expressing some small curriosity to know what was agoing forward, with the reasons why the Scheme had not been put in execution when brought to such a length; tho even this did not shew it self till drove to it, by the repeated complaints of others, who were quite angry to find that after all they had done, they should be left in the dark at so critical a Juncture, by an Agent who lay under the greatest Obligations to them, and whose bussiness it was at any rate to transmitt to them the most immediate and satisfactory intelligence.

To suply the deffect of the Agents negligence recourse is had to Murray, the only proper person they could find, ready to neglect his own Interests and run all risks to come at the bottom of an afair, which seemed not easy to be accounted for; but before his Journey could take place, we find the letter mentioned in the same page came to hand; containing reasons for this miscarriage so rediculous as is hardly to be imagined; and stuffed with proposals so chimerical and absurd as never could have been offered to any man but himself; from a false notion that whatever he aproved of, would be agreed to: but the fitch was too plain, and he forced to own that they tended to nothing, but to continue the Agents in their pentions, and to launch out into a boundless Ocean of negotiations of which in all probability there could be no end; if not by bringing ruin and distruction upon the people concerned, by the untimely discovery of an unformed plot. That his Lordship was greatly dissapointed in the Effect of this Embassy we may easily believe: could he have imagined that it was in Murrays power to have kick'd up his favourit's heels, then in a tottering Situation, he had certainly fallen upon an efectual method to prevent his Journey. Sed quos deus vult perdere, etc.

To have recourse again to the *trial*, you will find that upon Murrays arrival at Paris, he makes it his bussiness to demonstrate to the Chevalier from the Letters sent to Scotland that he was told one Story and they another; that Justice was not done him, that they had no good grounds for what they wrote, and that it was rather a means to depress than to keep up the Spirits of the party.

The Scots are a people not acustomed to vapours, and require no Julips to suply the defects of nature; on the Contrary, they look on the least symtom of dispair as a weakness unbecoming their Climate: false glosses, false encouragements have the same effect upon them as strong liquors upon one in a fever: they exhilerate them for a time, and make them think their Salvation is at hand, whereas when they find that things do not answere, the dissapointment is to much for nature, and depresses them below the common run of their expectations, which is ever the case with the people of the highest Spirits: who, tho they are incapable of dispair, and an abject dejection, yet from frequent dissapointments they at length become dubious, tho never indifferent, whether their hopes and desires will have the wished for end.

I don't tell you that he talked in this figurative Stile, but that what he advanced tended to the same purpose; and made it evedent that the Agent they imployed was playing double and amusing his constituents with vain and never to be look'd for promisses which might one day or other have the most dismal efects.

. . . . .

To say more upon this subject might be telling tales, so I shall only add, that as it was done with that openness and honesty becoming a person intirely devoted to the Chevaliers Interest, so it was on the other hand rec^{d} by him with that modesty, caution and reserve, befitting the wisest Statesman. He does not, like most young people, catch at the bait and allow himself to be hurried away, but returns an oblidging and dubious answere; unwilling too hastily to dissaprove of the proceedings of a person in his Service, and at the same time to give all proper countenance to one, who seemed to speak from the heart and upon good Grounds.

As this would apear a proper introduction to a degression from the present subject, I have a mighty impulse to oblidge you with a fair, candid, and dissinterested Charracter of this young Gentleman; who has made so great a noise in the World: imagining it not to be treason to give a just description of the qualitys and perfections of any man: even of one abjured and attainted. Prudence and worldly wisdome often prevails with folks to hold their tongues, tho against their inclinations; however lawfull their speaking out might be: this I assure you is none of my case, I have nothing to hope, and nothing to fear; but what to me appears a far stronger reason, imposes silence upon me. I look upon my self as uncapable to do him Justice, so must confine my self to say happy that nation, peculiarly happy the Country which could injoy such a P—e, such a F—th—r.

Upon M—ys return to Scotland, he says in general terms, page 30th, that he had communicated his proceedings to some concerned, but as he has slurr'd over that affair with great indifference, I shall supply the Story as far as it came to my knowledge.

Immediatly on his arrival at his own house in the beginning of Octr 1744, he dispatched an express to Traquair, who came to him two days after; and being shewn a distinct Journal of every thing that had passed both at London and Paris, and told that the Chevalier expressly required his immediate atendance in England, his Lordship in place of taking the smallest notice of the bussiness about which he had been call'd, and in his acustomed fidle-fadle way, so well discribed in the letter, pretended that he was under a necessity of returning next morning, that the affair required some time to consider it; and so hurried to Bed, declaring his surprise after a childish manner, that the Chevalier should have given such Orders; intimating that he thought it strange that he should imagine that he had nothing to do but to run his Errands.

Locheil on the other hand did not hessitate one Moment to come from the Highlands as soon as a letter could reach him; and after being informed of the true State of the Case, very readily declared his Cousin[1] to be the man he had always suspected him: cursing the hour when he had been imployed.

His Lordship some time after at a meeting with Locheil and others, finding how the Land lay, after shewing the Outmost reluctancy, and in how supreame a degree he was weded to the man, or I aught rather to say affraid of him, as much as ever a School Boy was of his Master, was oblidged seemingly to acquiese, and acknowledge how sensible he was of his misconduct, not withstanding of which we shall after this find him acting in every Step according to his directions.

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[1] *i.e.* Balhaldy.

As there is nothing I am more averse to than trifles, it is with some regreat, that I trouble you with the following particular, yett as general assertions may be thought unfair, it may be necessary to give you an example of the extravagant vanity of the Agent, to shew how unfitt he was to be employ'd in an affair of so much consequence, nor would I do it had I not with several others read it in the Journal above mentioned.

In the way from Holland to Paris, as a means to persuade Murray that he was a man of mighty consequence and in high favour at the French Court, talking in a misterious manner of his Journey to Rome, the winter preceeding, he told him that how soon he had settled with the ministry to go, Mons^{r} Amelott acquainted the French King with his intended Journey; which when his Majisty heard, he should say (the Agent then going under a borrowed name) O Mons^{r} Malloch, that is Mr. Macgregor, I know him very well; he must cary three or four Domestics with him, it is dangerous traveling in Switzerland. From this particular, the truth of which I can see no reason to doubt, lett us suppose no one other instance had been given, was it not alone sufficient to satisfie any reasonable person, that the man was either mad, or at least so stuffed with vanity and self conceit as to render him uncapable of doing anything to purpose?

The Chevaliers resolution of coming to Brittain was so well qualified and calculated so exactly to the humour of the people he had to deal with, as nothing could have been more conducive to his Interest, the probability of Success so apparent, the design conducted with so much Secrecy and the time so well chozen as no impartial person will venture to find fault with.

The Scots, tired of their unhappy Situation, ever since the infamous Union, from an intrinsic bravery, were ready to embrace any Occassion to recover their antient honour and independancy and to shake off the intollerable burthen, under which they had so long groaned: the English, if any such there were, it was to be beleived possessed much the same principle

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[1] Amelot.

tho from different motives; and would not fail to join their Neighbours as soon as they should declare themselves.

The Chevaleir, possessed of too much good sence to make any attempt, without reasonable expectation of Success, was nevertheless desirous to persuade such freinds as are above mentioned, that in all events he was determined to make an attempt, knowing that in proportion to the danger there was in the undertaking, they would in the same proportion act with Vigour and resolution. Thucidides says, that to States as well as individuals, from the greatest danger redounds the greatest Glory.

Lett who will give themselves the air of Criticism, and judge of the prudence of an Attempt from its Success, yett can that be no reason for an honest man to truckle to the voice of the times: the Scheme was good, the time well chosen; and if men were willing to embark in his cause upon their own bottoms without foreign assisstance, what Spirits, what vigour, resolution, and alacrity, must an additional Assistance have given them.

The Chevalier knew their abilitys. No man was ever better vers'd in the humours and dispositions of a Country than he; and tho perhaps within himself he was convinced that with his freinds alone (I would be understood to mean all those who had promissed their concurrence) he was able to effect his Scheme, yett reason and prudence taught him, that to secure the whole beyond a Doubt, the appearance of his Alleys was not only necessary, but decent. S^{t} Evermond observes very justly that, 'Tout ce que parroit extraordinaire, parroit grand si le succes est heureux, come tout ce que est grand parroit fou quand l'evenement est contraire.'

The consternation and unmanly panick in which not only the Country in general was thrown, but those who ought to have known their own Strength (infinitely supperior to what the Chevalier could gather in the north of Scotland, had they been able to make it usefull notwithstanding they would now have us beleive, that they never had any the most distant aprehentions of his Success), was of itself sufficient to demonstrate that the attempt was not so desperate and romantick, as they would persuade the World: would they but allow themselves to reflect upon their many uneasy hours (the memorable black friday cannot so soon have iscaped their memorys) if they did not blush they would at least be asshamed, and would not attempt to impose upon Mankind by such barefaced hypocracy.

Had Publius Scipio joined the Gauls on the oposite banks of the River Rhone, and oblidged Hannible to have return to Spain; his only refuge after a fruitless attempt to pass that River: or had his Army been cut to pieces in the Alps by the Allobroges, the Carthaginian hero would have been transmitted to posterity, as a mad, wrongheaded young fellow, replete with Ambition, without either forethought or reflection. Had Alex^{r} the Great been overpower'd by Darius's numbers, or distroyed by King Porus in passing the River Hydaspes, we may easily determine what Charracter he would have left behind him. Had Hannible been the same Hannible at Zama, he was at Thrasimine and Cannæ, or had Scipio there mett with Xantippe as was the fate of the unhappy Regulus, he had not mounted the Triumphal Car, nor been assigned the glorious Surname of Africanus.

Had Gustavus Erricson [1] been butchered by the Dalecarlians when he first crept from his subterranous habitation, and harrangued his Countrymen to take Arms for the Recovery of their Libertys, people would probably have denounced him a rash fool, who merited no better fate, things then not being ripe for his purpose; nor would his Successor Charles the twelfth have ended his days with greater renown, had his little Army been beat at Narva, by the inundation of Russians.

Let us mention a passage of Diodorus in regard to Dion: [2] who would beleive that a person with two Transports should have conquer'd a Prince with four hundred Ships of War, one hundred thousand Infantry, and ten thousand Horse, provisions, and Money in abundance to maintain, and hire, mercenarys; was besides Master of most of the Citys of Grece, with many Seaports, Arsenals and impregnable Citadales: and infin assissted with many and powerfull allys? The first Cause of Dion's Success was owing to his own magnanimity, and Courage with the Affection of the people for whose Libertys he fought; but the cheife reason was the pusilanimity of the Tyrant, and the hatred his Subjects bore him: upon the whole these particulars concurring at one and the same time, brought his great undertaking to that happy Issue, which posterity will with difficulty beleive. Dion's interprise was more desperate than the one we now treat of; the Action was great, his Success glorious; from whence we may naturaly infere, that those who promiss'd him assistance did not betray him; his small following did not at all intimidate them: it was on his magnanimity, Skill, and Resolution they depended; he was as much a Prince, as much to be revered, and admired with seven followers, as with seven thousand. Don't then lett us pretend to make idle reflections, and draw unfair and ungenerous conclusons when we have such examples before our Eyes: the Chevalier is indued with as great a Soul, as much resolution, as any of those above named: his attempt was as glorious, and required equal fortitude with theirs; and in the oppinion of all the knowing part of mankind, is as worthy of praise and admiration.

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[1] Gustavus I., King of Sweden, b. 1496, d. 1560. Gustavus's Army of Liberation was at first composed of the miners of Dalecarlia, amongst whom he had taken refuge, working with them in the mines.

[2] Dion of Syracuse, who expelled Dionysius the Younger, 356 B.C.

But to return, the Chevalier being wisely and naturaly fixed in his resolution to come to Brittain, he was desirious that his freinds in England should appear immediatly upon his landing; yet left it to their own Choice, whether it should be before, at one and the same time with, or soon after the Scots, to facilitate which he required the Earl of Traquair to go to London for the last time, to procure a categorical answere from the people he pretended to have dealt with; with their ultimate resolution, how, in what manner, where, and when, they would eviddence that attachment and regard for his family which they had so long exprest.

You write me that the author of the Letter is very much blamed for complaining of the English; or so much as supposing that there is a Jacobite in that part of the world; perhaps with reason; I pretend to be no Judge, so wont take upon me to determine; indeed I have often been induced to think that there was none of that Stamp, save the unhappy few who joined us at Manchester: if the Alegation is false, to his Lordship the reflection is only due, against him their batteries of vengeance ought to be erected, for my own part I am so vain glorious as to think that no man could impose himself upon me for a Jacobite was he really not so.

No body has a more sincere regard (I say it without flattery) for the few people named then I have: they have on all Occasions bravely stopt the Gape, and generously presented their breasts, to stem the torrent of Bribery and Corruption, and to support the independant bases of a free nation: but that I may speak as a blunt Scotsman, a freeborn Brittain, and in Conformity to the resolution I laid down to my self, at the beginning of this Letter, the three patriots named ought in Justice to attribute it to his Lordship and his agent, not to Murray.

It is a considerable time since I was informed by a Gentleman in the Office, whose Authority is not to be doubted, that long before Murray was in their custody, nay when they imagined he was dead, they had a Letter of Drumonds, sign'd by himself W^m Macgregor, and address'd to the Chevalier wherein he tells them in express words that he had transacted his affairs for some years with L—d B—re,[1] Sir W. W. W.,[2] and Sir J. H. C.[3] by the means of D. B.[4] if they are wronged, to repeat what I have said above, lett them blame my Lord and his Agent; none else that I know of is in the fault.

I have been the more particular upon this Subject, knowing that Murray alone bears the blame of these Gentlemen's ever being known, further then by the general voice of fame; but I hate oppression of all kinds, who ever the Object be. For my own part, I am far, very far from thinking that any of them were concerned, it would appear to me so very inconsistant with the rest of their Characters, that I should be averse to think there was such a contrast in nature, had they been the men they are designed. I hope there is not a Subject in Brittain so much prejudiced as not to be persuaded that they would not only have Scorned to trukle, but have acted with that Candour and magnanimity they have shewn on all other Occassions.

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[1] Lord Barrymore.

[2] Sir Watkin Williams Wynne.

[3] Sir John Hinde Cotton.

[4] The Duchess of Buckingham, or, more probably, Dr. Barry.

To discus what concerns the packet with which his Lordship was charged, and to shew the many inconveniencys flowing from that neglect would prove endless, the Letter writter has already in that particular stigmatised him pretty effectually; tho he has neglected a very material incident, which happen'd at that time. It must certainly have escaped his memory as I cannot persuade my self he could be alltogether ignorant of a particular known to such numbers: so shall only assure you, that what he says of the assurance his Lordship gave, and his reiterated promisses to forward the packett is to my knowledge a possitive truth, with this addition that his Lordship from his great Zeal and keeness to serve the party did not think the contents of the packet sufficient, tho uncommonly strong, but assured his constituents that he would not only forward it with the utmost dispatch, but follow it himself, let what would prove the Consequences, and support the arguments it contain'd with what he had further to say, concluding the whole with these very remarkable words, that he would see the Chevalier himself, should it be in a bawdy house: this story requires no explination, no man however dull but is able to draw a proper inference from it; so shall leave you to interpret it according to your liking.

Some of our wise heads in this part of the World object to this part of the letter, as if the Chevaliers landing without the force required was intended by the Author as a reflection upon his Judgement; but I hope it will be satisfactory to observe from what has been before mentioned that notwithstanding he would have been sufficiently enabled to have carried his point, with the assisstance of those, by whom he was promiss'd, he nevertheless did not neglect to procure abundant assurances from such as were able to support him from abroad. The Letter writter could have no such intention, nothing more false, otherways. I am most unaccountable deceived in my man; he certainly had no further vein then to shew how much his Lordship had neglected the Interest, together with the Caution of his Countrymen to disprove a rediculous and false oppinion industrously Spread abroad by their Enemys; that they were men of desperate fortunes, ready to ingage in any undertaking however distant from any probability of Success.

You would naturaly be induced to think that any man who had so long pretended an attachment to a family, would immediatly upon intimation of their request have complied; but as I hinted to you before, that he shewed no inclination, but rather an aversness to undertake the Journey immediatly, notwithstanding the necessity there was for it; you won't be surprised when I tell you that it was with the utmost difficulty he could be prevailed upon to go so soon as he did: tho near three months after the time prescribed; and that after repeated Messages, Letters, and Solicitations, in answers to his many excuses and delays; but it was obvious he had no inclination to execute any commiss^{n} not immediatly dictated by his Agent: there was the Loadstone that atracted him, as you will observe, in his former Journey, which as it was at Mr. Drumonds disire alone, he makes the utmost expedition, scarcly letts a week pass from the receipt of his Summons, till he setts out and reaches the Capitoll, in four or five days; but the case was now quite alter'd, no such atractive power moved him. This was the Chevaliers earnest disire, full three months was requisite to consider whither it was reasonable to comply or not, and fifteen days necessary to compleat the Journey.

At last when no better could be, when no further excuses could be framed, he agrees to undertake the task injoined him which perhaps from what is already mentioned you would not have expected, as you most certainly have observed, that he had one very cogent reason to prevent him; as it was obvious by the Commissions imposed upon him, that he must shortly discover the truth or falsity of what he asserted: a thing which he and every man who conducts himself after so unaccountable a manner must be naturaly averse to: and lett me add a second, which perhaps you are a Stranger to: it laid him under the dissagreeable necessity of coming to an eclaircisment about his marriage; a thing he dreaded, allmost as much as any other, having ever shewn peculiar delight in delaying without coming to any explination, save by discovering an unworthy member to shock a Ladys Modesty, and disgust her of his profered addresses: sorry I am from my inmost Soul that he could fall upon no such method to loosen himself from the ties he was bound by to his political associates.

As I am almost tired of a dissagreeable Subject, which nothing could have persuaded me to have handled, but the love of truth, and your earnest desire, I shall endeavour to draw to a Conclusion, as I esteem it unecessary to dwell much longer upon the proofe of his Lordships bad conduct; of which I am persuaded You are fully convinced: so shall only observe some two or three other particulars to support and strengthen the truth of what is contained in the Letter and to satisfie you that I did not accuse him falsely when I told you that you would find him notwithstanding his avowal of his agents double dealing still continue to be actuated by his persuation and example. In the first place then, as to what is mentioned of the Instructions he had given him in Scotland, how to forward the packet by three different Channals, you may beleive me when I assure you that two of the three, to witt Boulogne or Rotterdam, were equaly certain, nor was there any difficulty to be aprehended in the third method propos'd, which was to find a trusty person to go from London to Paris, and there put it into the Chevaliers own hand; that his Lordship did chuse this last method is known to many (amongst others Mrs. Oglethorp) as well as that a person was actualy found ready to undertake it; at which his Lordship seemed extreamly elated till such time as the Gentleman[1] (M'kenzie) made a very reasonable and moderate demand of thirty pounds to defray the expences of his Journey, which put an intire stop to all future attempts of that nature. This particular fact is so well known, and the person intended to have been imploy'd has sufferd so severely and unjustly for his honest intentions, without any gratuity, or consideration from his Lordship, that if he was not lost to all sence of Shame, it must sleeping and waking stare him in the face, and make him hide his dirty head from all intercourse with the world, amongst his Hills in Tweedale.

This will easily convince you of the truth of the fact inserted in the Letter, that he never sent any intelligence from the time of his leaving Scotland; as it was not easy to imagine that a man so abandontly wretched would put himself to any expence to send intelligence to Scotland when he could not so far get the better of his passion as to lay out a trifle to execute a busseness of such vast importance to his Country, there is another piece of secret history, which notwithstanding his Lordships great care to conceal, reach'd the Ears of some of his Constituents; which added to his strong attachment to his purse, allways appeared to me as one of the principal bars to his forwarding the Letters.

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[1] See p. 129.

His freind Mr. Drumond hearing of his Arrival in London, with all convenient dispatch repair'd thither; and might himself have carried over the packet but that he imagined the Contents were as little agreeable to his Schemes, as the letter he had burnt the Year before; nor is it to be doubted but it would have met with the same fate, had it been the dispatch of any single person: but as there were several concerned, his Lordship was affraid that he might not come off at so cheap a rate as he did with the former: tho upon reflection I cannot help thinking it a little strange for as it contained one of his own he would have had a stronger plea; at least, a more plausable excuse, than in the former case: but his having keept it so long made him certain that if it was possible to forward it from Scotland, it could not arrive in time before the Chevalier's departure; or at least not in time sufficient to make him lay aside an interprise his honour was then so deeply ingaged in. I venture to say it is needless to put you on your guard not to overlook the little low cunning of keeping Drumonds being in London a Secret: had that been known by his freinds in Scotland, he had immediatly been blown and no excuse whatever could have paliated his treachery.

Where the author blames him for not repairing to Scotland to join the Chevalier, it is only mentioned in general term, as a Step he was oblidged in honour to take and what ought to have occurd to himself as soon as the first news of the Chevaliers Sailing from France was whisper'd in Town, which, however Just in itself and deserving of the most severe reflection, renders him nevertheless somewhat more excusable than he must appear to you, when I assure you that I was witness to Murrry sending him a letter in the beginning of the month of June, or end of July; two days after he re^{d} the news of the Chevaliers intended Voyage, wrote in a cant stile, but such as he could well understand, and was accustomed to; desiring he would immediatly repair to Scotland. So had he intertain'd the least inclination to do his duty, he had ample warning and could not have mett with the smallest Obstruction as the government had then no suspicion, at least no sufficient grounds to aprehend an Invassion, or secure any of the Subjects.

As to his behaviour in England, whilst his Countrymen were in Arms, it is so universaly well known and spoke of that it would be losing of time to inlarge upon it. The few freinds he now has remaining, however desirious they are to vindicate him in matters of a more asaret[1] nature, are so conscious to themselves of the Justiss of that acusation that they are either silent, or attempt to laugh it over as a matter indifferent; severals of them being sensable, that they were not sparing of their reflections on that Score: little thinking that he was realy the man he has since turn'd out, or that his Vilainys should be minutely [propounded to][2] the world.

It has been objected to the Author of the Letter as if guilty of a particular piece of Cruelty and unjustice if not to all the three at least to one of the Churchmen he names for leaving it in the power of the world to conjecture which of them is meant to be the Spy, as a means equaly to hurt the Charracters of either: but I am greatly deceived, if I have not guesed at the cause.

To acuse a man of a fact of that nature, which cannot admitt of a positive proofe is by no means the proper way to convince the world of the truth of the assertion, no means so effectual as to take such a method as to make a person acuse himself: the old alegation of a Guilty conscience &c. seldom errs, and if I am rightly informed, the dose has opperated upon Mr. Hamilton; as I am assured from the very first moment he took it to himself, and has continued so blinded, as to declare in all companys that he knew himself to be the person meant. Such a behaviour is of itself enough to convince mankind, that the Author only did him Justice, without laying himself under the disagreeable necessity of designing him as a commission broker, an attestor of forged deeds, or puting him in mind of his ungarded Oath in Chancery.

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[1] *Sic.* ? secret or assured.

[2] The MS. is partly torn away at these words.

And now to conclude with a few words concerning the last charge laid against the author, which is alledg'd to have raked unto the dust of his ancestors from private peck and resentment to draw severe conclusions against him, I shall only say that as I have made the history of my Country as much my study as most people, I am sensable he has not brought the hundredth part of the Scandal against the Treasurer[1] he Justly might: his vilanys were so flagrant, that there is scarcely a man of years, even amongst the lower rank of people, however little conversant in books, who are unacquainted with his history, his son was too insignificant to make[2]
noise tho the particular there mentioned is in the mouths of every body:[3] and as to what is said of the Father, was it either necessary, or convenient, or did you even desire it, I could oblidge you with the names of several concern'd yet living; so till I hear better reasons advanced than have hitherto been given, I shall continue to think that the Author of the Letter has in y^t^ particular strickly conformed to the rules of Christianity, by only visiting the Sins of the fathers upon the Children, when the later

[THE MS. BREAKS OFF ABRUPTLY].

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[1] Traquair's great-grandfather. He was Commissioner to the General Assembly of 1638, and is accused with every show of justice of betraying Montrose to Leslie. Cf. Gardiner's *Great Civil War*, vol. ii. p. 335. Sir John Stewart, first Earl of Traquair, was made High Treasurer of Scotland in 1630.

[2] MS. torn away.

[3] The *Letter* says: 'By starving his Father as a pretended punishment for betraying the King, he gained, if not the Favour, at least a kind of indulgence from the Loyalists, without thereby hurting himself in the eyes of the Republicans, who in consideration of his Father's services could not with any tolerable grace distress him.'

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

I

LETTERS FROM THE STUART PAPERS AT WINDSOR.

No. 1.

Sir,—I had the Honour to write you the 3rd curt of the Inclosed came from Mr. John Brown, Merchant, and at same time the Master of Strathallan. He stayed two days with me, and I wrote by him to Gell Ruth as Lord John is gone to Paris. He is a very pretty young Gentleman, and if Generall Ruth would make him Captain Reformed, and if some other small allowence could be got for him so as he might live without Expence to his Father who has eight children and not three hundred pound a year. I have wrote to his Unkle who is my particular friend, and weell able to give him some allowance, but as he had got a Commission in the English army for him am affraid he will be dissobliged. Gell Ruth will I know doe anything in his power for the King, but has not power as his Father keeps the Management of the Regiment and the old Gentleman is infirm and peevish, but hope he will doe something for the Master which will doe service at home, as his coming over will make a Noise.

I cannot help mentioning to you a letter I have from home. Inclosed is a copy of what relates to that affaire, and tho perhaps I ought not trouble you with anything of that kynde I cannot help concerning my self with any thing regairds Mr. Thomsons[1] Authority, and was extreemly shocked when last year at home with the accounts given me of the conduct of these three Bishops of the Loyall party. Both clergy and laity are for one Mr. Blair to be Bishop of Edr., who is one unexceptionable Man as to his character and principles. I know very little of him my self but every body I have ever heard mention that affaire agree that he is the most proper persone of the whole clergy to support Mr. Thomsons Authority and interest in that Countrey, and am affraid the hint in the letter is too true that it is necessity not choyse makes these Gentlemen now apply to Mr. Thomsone. I beg pardon for giving you this trouble, which I hope you will excuse being from a good intention. The cross winds keep the English fleet and Expedition from sailing, but they are in great hopes to be soon Masters of Cuba. In the mean time little care is taken of protecting their own trade for we have got now three privateers of this port: one has taken one English Vessell this morning about a league from my house in the Countrey; and I expect before night to hear my eldest boy is taken in one of my sloopes coming from London, who is coming over to day, as we had no notion of their coming into these narrow seas they have surprised us. Ther is one of them in Calais harbour by bad weather. This will make a prodigious noise in England. I expect some letters for you I should be sorry fell into their hands it being the Man I trust most is coming over. I have sent out a french boat to give him advice if he meets him, and have the honour to be, Sir, your Most humble and Most obedtt servant,

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[1] James.

RAMSAY.[1]

10th Sbre 1740.

No. 2.

WE have not as yet got a Bishop for Reasons I do not weell know how to tell you at this distance. I think I told you when you was last in Scotland that the Conversation of Mr. White, 1735, had been complained of by some of the best people of our Communion both clergy and laity as having a shrewd tendency to set our church upon a footing different from that on which she had subsisted and suffered with honour these fiftee long years. In so far as one persone having Right to be consulted in matters of that importance was quite overlooked and neglected in it, Mr. Freeborrne then Bishop of Edr (with Advice of Bishop of Ouchterlony) who hes alwise been stanch enough in that pwint, I wrote a very strong paper which he called ane admonition to the Bishops concerned in that clandestin consecration at Carsbank;

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[1] I have not been able to find any key giving the interpretation of 'Ramsay.' He may be Mr. Charles Smith of Boulogne.

a copy whereof was sent to each of them, viz.: Messieurs Ratray, Dunbar, and Keith, and absolutely refused to receive Mr. White into their number till the defect above hinted was supplyed. Most of the presbiters and all the loyall Gentry stood with the Bishops Freebairne and Ouchterlony in this question; and however they might like well enough the intrinsick power of the Church (which was the specious pretence on the other side) yet they thought it ane unfit time to cary them so high, and ane unfaire thing to take advantage of ones distress to rob him of a Right or priviledge they would not grudge him in better Circumstances. Accordingly when our Bishop dyed about seven months ago, the very first Resolve formed by the presbiters was that they would endeavour to have the see filled with one of their own Number upon whom they could depend in that delicate point, and at same time to cary it deigntly with the Bishops as we were sure of a Majority in a free election and must ther for cary our poynt agst them even by the use of their own weapons. Whither the Bishops begun now to feel the strength of that admonition (which at first gave them so much displeasure) or if they saw the Game was lost upon their own principles, whither from Conviction or necessity I shall not say, but it beginns now to be whispered about here (perhaps with some truth) that they have of late found means to apply to that persone whom they were once suspected of neglecting and that he is like to be prevailed upon to nominat one of them for the see Edin^{o}. In that case whatever effect it may have in the event upon Religion in generall, or his Interest in particular it may possibly conduce to present peace amongst us as it is ane evidence that those Bishops have come to think better, and as I hope the Gross of the presbiters will be determined by that Authority. For my own part I'm determined to pay due honour to any recomendation comes from that quarter, tho I wish the choice had been otherwise, etc.

[There is no indication of the authorship of this letter.]

No. 3.

JAMES EDGAR TO JOHN MURRAY

April 27th, 1741.

Sr,—My silence since July last proceeded from a caution not to risque any letter in this critical juncture, which I do assure you has been uneasy to me, since it hindered me from answering the letters you have favourd me with and expressing to you the sensible satisfaction it is to me to enter into a correspondence with a Gentleman of your merit and prudence, and one for whom I have the greatest value and esteem. I wont delay longer letting you know so, and that I have received your three letters of the 8th Sept^{r}, 28th Oct^{r}, and 10th Janry as well as one from poor Col. Urquhart of the 24th July, whose loss is much regretted by the King, and in a very particular and sincere manner by me. I had the honour to communicate to H.M. all your letters as I received them, and he now commands me to assure you that he is very sensible of your zeal and good heart towards him, of which you gave him so convincing a proof by your entering into this Correspondence. He makes no doubt but that you will give a general satisfaction by your discreet, prudent, and cautious conduct in it, and directs me, in making you a kind compliment in his name, to begin this correspondence on my part by the following Paragraph, as a mark of the particular confidence he places in you. Vizl. The King is informed, &c. [as in the paper in H. M^{s}. own hand].

Col. Urquhart having informed the King that my Lord Kenmure had charged him to assure H. M. of his zeal and duty, H. M. would have let that Lord know that he does him the justice to be well persuaded of his good heart towards him, that he may rely upon the kindness and regard he has for him and his Family, and upon the desire he has to have it in his power to give him proof of it, and H. M. would have you at the same time make him his kind complim^{ts}.

I observe all you say in your last letter, the papers you have in your custody upon Col. Urquharts death, and of letters being writ from hence to Scotland, and particular by John Stewart, on publick affairs. I have spoke to Mr. Stewart on the matter, he denys boodily his ever writing such a letter as I taxed him with and if he has done so, I beleive he will do it no more. As for any others who may write thither on such subjects, as I dont know who they are, I cant question them on the matter, but on the main I can say with truth that no body should give any such credit to any such letters, since neither Mr. Stewart or any of the other Gentlemen here know no more of any particular relating to H. M^{s}. affairs that is of the least consequence than one of your street Caddes at Edinburgh.

There is a particular lately happened here, which H. M. thinks proper that you should know and I am sorry to be obliged to give you an account of it, since it relates to a Gentleman for whom I and every body had the greatest esteem.

Mr. Hay of Drumellier Brothers lately drew his sword upon another Gentleman here, Mr. Arthur, who would not draw on him, unless he knew wherein he had offended him. Arthur was his intimate friend, had dined with him that day, and there was no drink in the case. The mischief however that might have followed was prevented by their both being confined to their rooms: when the matter was enquired into, Mr. Hay not only owned himself in the wrong, but said Arthur had never given him the least offence; and when he had asked why he had insisted on his fighting with him, he answered he could not tell, but having made excuses to Arthur the affair was looked on as finished and he got his full liberty. After this the King called for him, and gave him a very kind and gentle repremand, but desired him to promise upon the word of a Gentleman and subject, to have no more such quarrels with anybody. But to H. M^{s}. great surprise and concern, Mr. Hay that very night made another quarrel with some English Gentleman, without any kind of foundation, as appeared when the matter was enquired into. Upon this, he was of new confined to his room, and H. M. finding that the odd turn which had seized him could not be remedyed, and that mis-chief might follow from it, if he were allowed to stay here, on Mr. Hays own account and on many others, H. M. thought his removing from hence very necessary, and therefore possitively advised him to go to France, which his great deference and respect to H. M. made him consent to, tho he seemd to think it hard upon him, as it was no wonder, since the true reason could not be told him. In consequence of this he actually went from this two weeks ago, and was as reasonable in all respects as ever unless when touched upon the string of his last groundless quarrel.

As H. M. has a great reguard and esteem for Drumellier and his Family and a real kindness for his Brother he thinks it fit that you should inform him of these particulars, and that H. M. has treated Mr. Hay in all this affair with that tenderness and concern a Father could treat a Son, adding that it is very sensible to H. M. to find himself obliged to give Drumellier so particular an account upon so melancholly a subject, and making him at the same time many kind compliments in his name.

I shall add nothing further on other matters at present. The Family is well and I am, with the most affectionate esteem, &c.

Indorsed—Copy to Mr. John Murray, April 27th, 1741.

No. 4.

COPY OF AN ENCLOSURE WITH THE LETTER TO JOHN MURRAY[1]

The King is informed, that his friends in England being apprehensive that some project might be forming in Scotland for his restoration, without an attempts being made in England, and by consequence without a sufficient prospect of success, his said English friends had advised those in Scotland not to proceed in any such project without heareing from the King. H. Mty agrees entirely with his friends in England that no project should be excused in which both nations have not their share and will himself never authorise or agree to any that hath not a resonable prospect of success, but whatever encouragement can be given to France by his friends in Scotland with prudence and secrecy towards that powers espouseing the Kings cause he thinks may be of advantage at this time especialy, and can be of no inconvenience. H. Mty thought fitt to give you these hints, and directs you to communicate them to Ld Linton,[2] who will know how to make the proper use of them.

No. 5.

JAMES EDGAR TO JOHN MURRAY

June 7th, 1741.

Sr,—You have received, I hope, ere now mine of the 27th Aprile. Since that time Balhaldy has come to Paris, and from thence given the King a particular account of all he was charged with by H. Ms friends in Scotland, with which H. M. is so well pleased that he wont delay letting them know as usual, and therefore commands me to desire you would acquaint Lord Linton that he cannot be more sensible than he is of what they say, and of what they have done on the present occasion, adding that Balhady has waited on Card[l] Fleury, who is perfectly well satisfyed with what he brought him from them, and with the part they engage to act. But as that is not yet the case as to what the Kings friends in England will engage to do, the Card[l] has not yet taken any resolution of acting in H.M[s] favor, all endeavours, however, are using to bring him to it, and it is to be hoped that in the present juncture especially he wont long delay coming to a possitive and favourable resolution with relation to the Kings Cause. In the mean time Balhaldy and another Gentleman neglect nothing towards fixing the matter with the Card[l], and they have great hopes of bringing it to a good Issue. This is what the King thinks necessary—Lord Linton should know, who H.M. doubts not but he will make the proper use of it.

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[1] The Letter No. 3 is from Edgar, though unsigned, and No. 4 is a copy of the paper 'in H. M.'s own handwriting.'

[2] Traquair bore the courtesy title of Lord Linton till his succession to the peerage on June 13, 1741.

I understand from Balhaldy that he discoursed fully with you on the subject of our Episcopal Clergy, an union and a good agreement amongst them, that is betwixt Bishop Oucterlony and his party on one side, and Bishops Ratray, Keith, &c. and their party on t'other, would be a thing very agreable to H. M. I writ to Cha[s] Smith pretty fully on this subject lately who would no doubt inform you of it, aswell as Mr. Harpier, whom H. M. thinks might be of great use in the matter. I dont therefore mention anything of what I writ to Mr. Smith on the subject, but refering you to it, shall only add here that if you can in prudence and with safety meddle in the matter, the King will take very well of you what service you may be able to do in it.

Mr. Hay is still in this country in Tuscany, and, barring the affair of his late quarrel, is as well, and writes as well upon any subject as ever.

The Family is well and I am, &c.

The King had lately a letter from Muscovy from Sir Harie Stirling with an account of Adm[l] Gordons death. H. M. regrets the honnest Admiral very much. He would have you, if you find no inconvenienty in it, tell so much to Sir Hary, and at the same time make him a kind complim[t] from him on that occasion, and in return to the letter he writ to him, by which H. M. understands he designd to be soon in Scotland, and therefore did not think it proper to write to him into Muscovy in answer to it.

Indorsed—Copy to Mr. John Murray, June 7th, 1741.

No. 6.

JAMES EDGAR TO JOHN MURRAY

June 29th, 1741.

Sir,—The King is informed from Paris that you were to receive from thence a copy of a great part of a letter he lately writ upon his sentimets on matters of Governmt. This letter was writ upon a person what had been suggested to him by H.M. both able and willing to promote the good Cause, It was useless to send you a full copy of what related to that particular person, and you will remark that the letter was designd for the English, but still the general sentiments it contains must be equably agreable to the Scots as well as to them, and H. M. thinks that it may be of advantage to have it communicated where that can be done with prudence and caution.

Having writ to you the 7th of this month, I have nothing to add at present to that letter on certain affairs, every thing is as far as I know continuing in the same situation as then. But I think we have still good reason to hope the best. The Family is well. I shall be glad to know if you are acquainted with Sir James Stewart and Mr. Carnegy. If you be assure them, when you see them, of my best complimts and kind remembrance.

I am most sincerely, &c.

If you have no objection to it it wont be amiss you communicate the Kings letter above mentioned to Sir James Stewart and Mr. Carnegy.

Indorsed—Copy to Mr. John Murray, June 29th 1741.

No. 7.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE CHEVALIER

April ye 3d, 1744.

Sir,—Thank God I am in perfect good health, and have don my eter tother day as a private man, being entirely in the same situation as when I writ to you last. You may well immagin the ancteicty and pen I am in for the missing of three posts, and no noing when I shall get any. The situation I am in is very particular, for nobody nose where I am or what has become of me, so that I am entirely burried as to the publick, and cant but say but that it is a very great constrent upon me, for I am obliged very often not to star out of my room, for fier of some bodys noing my face. I very often think that you would laugh very hartelly if you sau me goin about with a single servant bying fish and other things and squabling for a peney more or less. I hope your Majesty will be thouroughly persuaded, that no constrent or trouble what soever either of minde or body will ever stope me in going on with my duty, in doing anything that I think can tend to your service and Glory. Mr. Lumley will inform your Majesty of all particulars, having the sifer and I having none. I have nothing more to say, but that I embrace tenderly my dear Brother, and laying myself at your feet, I moste humbly ask your Blessing.—Your moste dutifull and obedient Son,

Charles P.

P.S.—I take the liberty to put you in minde of sending S^{r} Tomas as soon as possible, but would wish he should com by Land, the se being so uncerten. I ad this which I had writ in my last, for fier that you have not received my letter, it being a time that one dose not no what becoms of the packet or letters.

Indorsed—The Prince to the King, April 3^{d}, 1744.

No. 8.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE CHEVALIER

Paris y^{e} 11th May 1744.

Sir,—I have received yours of Aprill y^{e} 1st y^{e} 7th and 15th at my arrival here where I am come at the desire of the King of France, whose directions I exactly follow according to your orders. Before going down to the Army in Flanders, he sent one word by Lord Semple to come here in the privitest manner, and to continue so untill he sent me word, otherwise; and what I was to do; he sed also that as soon as he would be arrived at the Army, he would discorce with the Marrishall de Noaille about me and the ordering of my Equipage which he would take kere of himself. The K. of France always expressed great tenderness for me, but it is much incresed by my conduct at Gravelin, and a letter which I, writ to Lord Semple for to be shewn him. The K. of France kindness for me is very remarcable, by his speking very often about me, and saying that he regretted mitely that sircumstances had not permitted him to see me hitherto. When he was asked wheather I was to be with him in the Army, he said I will have him with me, and another time that he was asked the same question he answered with an air as if it was not to be doubted (Vreman setoit toujours mon intention de l'avoir opre de moi), and it will certainly be so if Lord Marschal dose not hinder it for he dose all that lise in his power to hinder it, and the Commission ye only has given him, make what he sese of some impresion. He tels them that serving in the Army in flanders, it would disgust entirely the English, by serving in the same Army, that it is to fite against them and so forth. He has done all this without consulting me about it. When I was at the sea side after the storm, I writ to him to do all that was possible for to encourage the people, that the expedition should not be stopped, but he did quite the contrary, by seeing things that discouraged them to the last degree: I was pleaged with his letters, which were reather Books, and had the petience to answer them, article by article, striving to make him act reasonably, but all to no purpose. Your Majesty may judg how busi I was when the answering of his letters alone kept me half the day, besides, C. de S. and others with whom I had continual commerce, and was forced to make there letters longer, to encourage them in what Lord Marschal had discouraged. I had writ so much about S^{r} Thomas that I durst not say any more for fear of importuning, not noing why you kept him so long, and fiering by this that may be you would not send him at all. I was at a loss who to have about me, who should be a man of sence to be with me in the Army, where I did not no but I might have been there by this, Mr. Balhady and Lord Semple being both obliged to be distant from me, where the would be more of use; being therefore at a loss who to have, I consulted both Lord Sempill and Balhady who was the man of tru sence and experience, that that I could have immediately. The both told me that Kelly[1] was a fitt person, the more that it would be verry agreable to ower friends, tother side the water, he being much estimed by them, for which reason I writ a very civil Letter to the Duke of Ormond, desiring him, if he could be spered, to send him to me. I hope your Majesty will approve of this choise, it being always my greatest pene of doing anithing that would not be entirely to your minde. But the misfortune of your being so far off dos not permit wating for an answer, and by consequence am obliged to take many things upon me that I think for your service. It is a great comfort to me your sending S^r^ Tomas, whose caracter is so well none to every body to whom I have spoken to, and even in England the do him the Gustice, that he deservies. I would have been at a loss if you had not sent him, for tho Kelly is very fit for riting letters for me, yet he would have been of no use the letters I rite to you, and not even S^r^ Tomas would have seen them, or put them in sifer unless I had received this last letter in which there is your particular leve to do so. Mr. Balhady rits to you this post, not having been able to have don it sooner, in which there is a short jurnal of all that has passed since his last letter. I have red it, and find it very exact except his partiality for me, whic your Majesty is best of. Your Majesty will easely concieve that this being the first letter that ever I have put in sifer by myself, there may be some faults, which, I hope youl excuse. By next post I hope to send you an exact coppy of the letter here above mentioned that was shewn to the K. of France.

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[1] Cf. *infra*, p. 371 *n.*, Extract from letter from Balhaldy.

I lay myself at your Majestis Feet, moste humbly asking your Blessing.—Your moste Dutifull Son, CHARLS P.

Post Script.—I have seen a letter from Kelly, in which he ses, that my request for him will be very agreable to his Duke, because that he was a great constrent to his Amoors. There is nothing here but what Edgar can unsifer. I mention this, for fear your Majesty might have been at the troble to have done it your self.

Indorsed—The Prince to the King, May 11th, 1744.

No. 9.

THE CHEVALIER TO PRINCE CHARLES

Rome, July 3^d^, 1744.

As I am, Dear Carluccio, without cerimony with you and Sir Tho^s^, and that it is very hot at present, I shall make one letter serve you both, in return to those you write to me of the 8th June. In the first place I am very glad Sir Tho^s^ is come safe to his journeys end, and it is a great satisfaction to me to have him with you, becaus I am sure of his attatchment towards Us, and that we shall never have but truth from him. You will have sufficiently see how uneasy I was on account of the Princes present situation, but I think after all it cannot be doubted now but that it is really the King of France's intention you should remain yet incognito, for, probity apart, no body could find their account in pretending a thing of that nature and consequence, without it were really so. I doubt not indeed but that Lord Sempil endeavors to make the most of the present circumstances to satisfy his own views and picques, but still by what Cardinal I. and Collonel P. write, or rather do not write to me, it appears plain to me that the King of F. does not care Cardinal I. should enter into great details on what relates to the Prince, or that it should appear he did so, being willing I suppose to comply thus far with what Sempil may have represented, tho' he will not debarr himself either entirely of Cardinal I. advice on the more essential points of busines. For as to Obrian it was easy for Sempil to do his business with K. F., who would embarrass himself little on that particular. This is the way I account for these matters, which tho' chiefly grounded on suspicions and inferences, I think are probable, and not without some foundation. But whatever may or may not be in all this, I think we know enough for the present to make it reasonable and even necessary to submit to the incognito. Since as to the King F. good will towards us we cannot doubt of it.

The Prince is not at present much talked of here, but I believe his incognito is wondered at by most people, and I hear that the Pope should lately have expressed himself as much scandalized at it, and at the behavior of the French Court towards us, but I am sure the King gave him no cause in his audience t'other day to speak in that manner. Abbé Canille told me t'other day that he heard the Prince was no more at Paris, and that perhaps at present le Prince rodoit les mer, in which I did not contradict him, and I endeavor at present to be as silent as I can on that subject, but there is no hindering other people from talking, and it is to be sure Mr. Adams[1] politick at this time that the public should think he neglects you. Sempil to be sure will show you all my letters as I directed him, and as Sir Tho^{s} and you will have many idle hours on your hands, I wish you would inform me en gros of what you may learn from Sempil on French Court and English affairs, independent of what Lord Sempil may write to me on such subjects. I remark what Sir Tho^s^ says of Marchal and Sir John Greme, and expect next post to have a long letter from him, after which I shall be, I suppose, able to write fully on all that relates to you. But now Oneglia is abandond, I fear I shall hear from you very irregularly, and the passages being now a new embarrassed, I shall not send Mitchell to you till they are free, for it would be too much trouble and expence to send him at present. Of late my French letters part on Saturdays by a private canal, and as I must make them as little bulky as I can, I shall send you on Wednesday by the usual post the Inventory of the *Roba* you left here. You will see you have a provision of snuff, of which I took upon me to dispose of some pounds that was already rapped. The Armys in our nighbourhood are immovable. They are troublesome nighbours, and the very talking of them is grown to be a *Leccatura.* The Germans have taken my Provision of Hay in the Country, and I hear they have done as much with the Popes. Your Brother is well, and very fine with the Lace you sent him, and I dont remember I have any thing else to say to you at present. Adieu, D^rst^ Carluccio. I beseech God to bless you, and tenderly embrace you.

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[1] The King of France.

You have here a private note a part in answer to S^r^ Thomas's.

No. 10.

THE CHEVALIER TO PRINCE CHARLES

*Rome, Aug^t^ 14^th^*, 1744.

I RECEIVED, Dearest Caluccio, last week yours of the 13th July, and shall say the less here, because of a long letter I now write to Sempil. I own I am in great anxiety at present for fear of your Incognitos ending without either expedition or Campagne, and should this still find you in your Incognito, I shall not know what to think of the matter, and in that case you will, I suppose, have taken some steps already of yourself to get out of it, for there can be no dispute then but it is far from being for our interest that it should continue, and that if it answers other peoples ends, it noways does ours. It is a comfort [1] to me on this occasion that you have Sir Tho^s with you, and for Gods sake have no reserve with him, for I have reason to beleive Sempil hath done his best to hinder you from opening to him, and by your always cyphering your own letters, I am affrayd he has prevailed too much in that respect, secrecy is a great quality, but it may be drove too far, and the pretence of it has, I fear, been made use of in these later affaires, more to answer private views than for our sakes. We were under a necessity of bearing a great dale from Sempil hitherto, and that more on our own account than his, but should our present hopes vanish, the case is altered, and we must think seriously of getting out of his clutches, tho' in a prudent manner, on account of his English Correspondence.

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[1] Cf. Balhaldy's letter to Edgar of 31st May 1747, in which he says that Sheridan was 'so blinded with the furious ambition of governing his young master and his affairs that he appears to have choose to see our unhappy young

I am sorry to find you are not pleased as to money matters, but we must do ower best and stirr as little as we can in them, till this affair of your Incognito is once over, and then the manner in which it ends must direct what is to be represented to the Court of France in that respect. It is certain what you have already received is more than you could have spent for your personal expences in the way you have been in, but if out of that money you have pay'd Courriers, and have been at such like (as I may call them) publick expences, such money cannot properly be said to have been given to you; I suspect I own these matters have not been very well managed, but for what is past there is no remedy, at least now. If you have not done it already, make those who have had the management of your money give you an exact account of what is spent, and how, and of what is owing, and to whom, for in these matters both justice and honour is concernd, and it will be of endless inconvenience to yourself if you do not enter into such details and put things into some method at least for the time to come. As for my part, I receive nothing from Spain, and am even illpayd of my French pension, and if I receive no supply before the 1st of next month, I shall be forced to sell some of my *Lughi di Monti.*

You will hear a great dale of the operations of the Armys here, and I beleive it will not be easy to know the exact truth of all that is past, but what is certain is that there have been many

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Prince perish, and all nature with him, rather than that the world should doubt of the ascendant he had over his mind. The second [Kelly], who now succeeds by the influence the first had, is a monster of quite a different turn: trick, falsehood, deceit, and imposition, joined to those qualities that make up a sycophant . . . are the rules of his policy.'—Browne, vol. iv. p. 4.

prisoners killed and wounded on both sides, and that the Spaniards have lost neither town nor port. It would appear that the great talk and preparations made for an expedition by sea on the Kingdom of Naples was a contrivance to faciltate the surprise of Velitre, so that I take it to be probable their will be no more an expedition on that Kingdom by sea, and I would faen hope that what has now past will make us get the sooner rid of these troublesome nighbours. I dont remember I have anything else to say just now, and so I bid you adieu, embracing you tenderly and besceeching God to bless you.

Indorsed—The King to the Prince, Aug^t^ 14th, 1744.

No. 11.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE CHEVALIER

Francfort, y^e^ 7^th^ Septembre 1744.

Sir,—I have received yours of y^e^ 14^th^ August. The Prince has done all he could to gett out of this enprisonment; but he sees to plainly hitherto, that the K. of France does not concent to it, saying that he should have patience, assuring him that as soon as he can spere the troops that is necessary he will give him what he wants; at the same time he owns that he conceives very well how disagreeable it must be to the Prince his situation till things change ether by an expedition or the Dutch declaring war. I see but to well that the K. of France wount countenance the Prince, thats to say, the K. of France wont appear to do so in any manner of way, and his dessign, I see very well, is that he wont have it appear he has sent for me in that he dessigns to do anything for me. The K. of France cannot possibly be more engaged than he is, after so many promises and assurances in a manner dayly. Now if the K. of France does nothing, as soon as he cann spare the Troops, which really at this individual he cannot, but I recon will be able in a short time, the K. of France will have acted his part so well that he will not only have deceived other people, but even the Prince will be deceived, for the Prince will fiermly believe, and be persuaded that he will never do anything for him unless he should be affred we should do it ourselves or by other assistance, which other is impossible. The King is mistaken as to what he suspects of Lord Sempil, for he never prevented the Prince against Sir Thomas in any manner of way, but on the contrary, for the letter the Prince writ to the K. of France did not dessign to shew it to Sir Thomas out of niceness, for there were severall nems not to be shewn, had not Lord Sempil of himself advised the Prince to consult Sir Thomas about it, at the same time shewing it to him, which the Prince did. At the same time Sempil reccomend to the Prince not to let Balhaldy know or suspect that the Prince had shewn this Letter to Sir Thomas becase of the nams that were in it. The Prince has no reserve towards Sir Thomas, for he has always shewn him the Letters he writs and receives, but at the same time he takes care that nobody should no it. The reason why the Prince siphers is becase Sir Thomas is no ways able to undergo that fatigue. I reffer the rest of my letter to next poste, for I am stretened with time. I am, thank God, in perfect good health, and laying myself at your Majestys feet, moste humbly asking Blessing and remain, —Your moste Dutifull Son, CHARLES P.

Indorsed—The Prince, Sep^{r} 7th, 1744. To Mr. Grevil.

No. 12.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE CHEVALIER

Paris y^{e} 14th *September* 1744.

SIR,—The Roman Letters are not yet comme, which gives me some unnese, for there is a week yesterday I have received none. Thank God I am in perfect good health. I did my devotions yesterday, and hope that at laste the Almighty will have mercy on us. I have nothing more to add here but the remainder of my laste Letter. Should our present hopes evanish, which I am persuaded the French Ministry will keep as long as they can whatever may be their real intention. The Prince shall according to the Kings directions be very willing to get as soon as possible out of all dependence on Lord Sempil or any body else, and yet with all the Prudence that may be on account of his English correspondents. As to money matters, I find myself sufficiently pinched, having got nothing since the laste summe I mentioned to you. It is true I have not taken my accounts with the exactness which might have been requisite, nor was I very sollicitous to do so whilst my head was filled with thoughts of a quite different nature, and I did not care that anybody should suspect me of stinginess. But in this Lord Sempil has had no manner of Share, none of my Money having been fingered by him. I shall for the future put what I receive into S^r^ Thomas's hands, who I doubt not will keep an exact account of it. I shall be shure likewise to see what is already due; and take all possible care to discharge y^e^ debts as soon as it will be in my power to do so, for I still have but hops and words and no money. Mr. Orrey not having got a house for me, where I would not be obliged to be wet for to get to it, and where I would be more at my ese, I was forsed to take a few rooms in Toune, which I hired and which is but a hole, for to be less suspected, and also for want of money, for besids what I owed already, I have been obliged to borrow more, for to metain myself and my Servants. Nobody but S^r^. Thomas and Kelly are with me in this Lodging.

I lay myself at your Majestys feet, moste humbly asking Blessing.—Your Moste Dutifull Son, CHARLES P.

Indorsed—The Prince, Sept^r^ 14, 1744. To Mr. Grevil.

No. 13.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE CHEVALIER

*Septembre y^e^* 18^th^, 1744.

SIR,—I have received yours of y^e^ 21^st^ and 28^th^ August. Thank God I am perfectly well; but have not time to write as fully as necessary becase the Prince has been very busy in seeing Mr. Murray, for which I differ, to next poste, several things which he has communicated to the Prince, and not to Balhaldy and Lord Sempil. I wount delay mentioning a thought of Sir Thomas's which the Prince much approves of; which is that iff I see that the K. of France can do nothing for the Present, the Prince should propose to go to Avignon, for it is moste certain that the K. of France wont let the Prince live otherwise. As long as the Prince is in this Country, at leste the Prince sees no appearance out. The Prince's going to Avignon would be of no hindrance to any thing at all, but on the contrary, if there is something to be done it will be a certain blind to the Government. In the mene time the Prince will be there as he should be and will be able to make himself none to several people who may be of use to me.

This dessign I keep secret both from Balhady and Lord Sempil, untill the Prince takes his resolution, but I asked Mr. Murray's Opinion, he approved it very much. I would wish the King desired the Prince to go to Avignon, iff he cannot live at Paris as he should, for it would be much better so than iff it came of himself. Notwithstanding if I finde it necessary, before the Prince gets the answer of his Letter I will take it upon myself. Sir Thomas has discovered without any bodys noing it to Mr. Murray, at his desire, and has spoke very freely to him. Between this poste and next I hope to inform your Majesty fully, for at present I have not a moment to spere. I lay myself at your feet asking Blessing, and remaining Your Moste Dutifull Son, CHARLES P.

Indorsed—The Prince, Sep^r^ 18th, 1744.
Addressed—To Mr. Grevil.

No. 14.

JOHN MURRAY TO THE PRINCE

*Senlis, Sep^r^ 21^st^*, 1744.

SIR,—I had the honour to obey your Royall Highness's commands in sending this day by Mr. McDonald a detaill of what has passed betwixt Lord Semple, Mr. Drummond, and his Majesty's loyal subjects in Scotland since the time I begun to be so nearly concern'd in the Kings busness. It is but a rough draught of a confused storey, however your Royall Highness may depend up its being Truth, which lett the manner that it is told in be never so ackward must always prevaill in the Eys of a wise Prince.

I have been ruminating with myself if there could anything more be devis'd whereby to strenthen your Royall Highness's interest in Scotland and facilitate the getting of money for the purchasing of arms and ammunition, and am of opinion that the writting something oblidging to Duke Hamilton, who seems very well despos'd towards the Royall Family, and which will be deliverd him by my Lord Elcho or Sr James Steuart may be of great use. I should likewise propose letters be wrote to Mr. Murray of Albercairny and Sr James Hamilton of Rosehall. This last may be deliverd or not as it shall be judged most proper. As to Albercairnys the Duke of Perth has much to say with him and shall give it himself and incase your Royall Highness has not mentioned Mr. Charters in the letter to Lord Elcho, I know he will take it exceedingly well that you honour him by a few lines, and if they agree to what will be propos'd them the money may be gott in a very small time. I am heartily sorrey I should have been so unlucky as not to have thought of this sooner so as I might have carried them with me in case your Royall Highness approves of the proposal, but I shall write to S^{r} Thomas Sheredan by this occasion with regard to the manner of sending them. There is one thing I entirely neglected to mention to your Royall Highness that upon my coming to London in July last Doctor Barrey show'd me a letter he had received from Mr. Drummond acquainting him that there was a gentleman come from Scottland with a particular account of the favourable disposition in which the Country then was. I heard of none att Paris come by chance, and I 'm pretty certain there was none sent on that Errand. I hope your Royall Highness will do me the honour to believe that there is none who is more sincerly desirous to serve you nor who wishes with more ardour to appear for you in the field then, Sir, Your Royall Highness's most devoted faithfully affectionate humble Servant, J. MURRAY.

MEMORIAL FOR SIR JAMES CAMPBELL OF AUCHEN BRECK TO MR. EDGAR DOUGLAS.

THAT whereas Sir James Campbel was determined on account of the low Situation of his Familly to go to Jamaica, having received great encouragement from thence, but att the time he was preparing to sett out upon orders from the King to continue in the Country for his Service he put of his journey with great chearfulness.

He was then made believe that a sum not exceeding three hundred pound would be pay'd him yearly, upon which assurance he immediatly apply'd him self towards promoting the Kings interest in the County in which he lives, which he has done with great Success but with the great neglect of his private Concerns. It was Concerted when Mr. Balhady was in this place that he should receive £300 pound the first year and £200 for every year after. Att this time a sum of money was projected to be rais'd in this Country to serve as a fund for y^{t} and other purposes: but that failing in the Spring follouing Mr. Murray when att Paris represented Sir James's miserable Situation to Mr. Balhady and that he had received but £200 pound of the sum promised, and had then nothing to support him and a very numerous Familly, save what he borrowed from Gentlemen who gave him Credit upon his word of honour, as all the security he had then in his power to give, his Estate being in Creditors hands. Mr. Murray was att that time prevented from writting to the King concerning him by Mr. Balhadys saying it would seem odd to H. M. that People who had promis'd so much for his service such as Duke of Perth and Lord Traquair should not advance a small sum for so necessary a purpose, and to prevent H. M. having a mean opinion of them he had faln upon a methode by the means of Lord Sempil to raise a sum of money in that place payable att Norton with six p^{r} cent of interest; provided the D. of Perth, Lord Traquair, Lochyel younger, and Mr. Murray would bind for it. Mr. Murray did accordingly give up any further thoughts of writting upon the Subject, and upon his return wrote the Bond and sent it him, sign'd by the above mention'd persons for £5000 pound. The money not answering so soon as he promised occasion'd Murray writting to Lord Traquair then att London, desiring he would press Balhady to send the money immediatly, and att the same time acquainted him that Sir James Campbel's house was burnt by accident whereby he had lost all his most valuable effects, and was reduced to the outmost straits, so beg'd a remittance might be made him immediatly. He nevertheless pretended that the affair could not be transacted before he went over himself. This appear'd some what strange to folks here, as he had before said that it was thought Lord Sempil he was to procure the money.

Had this realy been the case, nothing more appears to have been necessary than to transmitt the bond to him. Upon Lord Traquairs being very earnest with him, he engaged that so soon as he return'd he would furthwith remitt the sum desired. Notwithstanding of which he never took the least notice of it, till the month of Jully last, when Lord Sempil in a letter to Lord Traquair told him that had Lord Marischal comed over as was design'd, he would then have paid him up his Arrears, so that he has nether given up the bond nor remitted the money. The consequence of this cruel neglect is, that, this poor Gentleman is reduced to the outmost necessity, obliged to endeavour a Composition with his creditors and then retire from that part of the Country; where from his indigent circumstances he is rendered incappable of continuing any longer, except he is enabled to repay these sums for which his honour is engaged, they being to the full amount of all the arrears due him. Sir James is far from having any idea that the King has been inform'd of the true state of case, for had that been done he is fully convinced that he would soon have had a satisfactory answer, but that it proceeds entirely from Balhady, who in that as well in some other things does not seem to have acted that fair and ingenius part that was till of late expected of him, and of which it is believed H. M. is long e'er now well acquainted.

LOCHYEL YOUNGER.
J. MURRAY.

Sir James Campbel and I cannot help being of opinion that at the time Balhady prevented Mr. Murray from representing Sir James's situation to the King, he was applying for a pension to himself, which he was affray'd might not have proved effectuall, had timeous application been made in favours of the other, and which indeed he had taken in hand to do himself.

THOMAS LUMLEY.[1]

Slip inserted.

'A detail of what passed between John Murray, Lord Semple, and Mr. Drummond [of Balhaldy].[2]

No. 15.

JOHN MURRAY TO THE PRINCE

SIR,—It is about two years past in winter since Mr. Drummond wrote a letter to the Earl of Traquair acquainting him that the Cardinall[3] was then fully resolved to envade England, and desiring the Scotts to be in readiness without specifying any particulars. Mr. Cameron of Locheile was in Edinburgh att this time, who together with my Lord Traquair and I was of opinion that this letter ought not to have been wrote till a short time before things was to come to a Crisis, or rather not at all, as it containd nothing certain or fixed save the Cardinals intuitions. Upon considering of this letter and of the bad consequences that might follow from a landing without any positive and distinct orders how to proceed I offer'd to go to Paris and there endeavour to be inform'd pointedly of every thing by the Minister, taking it al along for granted that they were fully determined; but this I would not do till such time as I had my Lord Lovats consent, whose opinion I then, and still do, esteem on affairs of this kind. He accordingly approved of it, and I came to Paris in the month of February, where I stay'd three weeks before I could have an audience of Mons^r^. Amelot, Car^ll^. Fleury being dead some few weeks before. I acquainted him of the favourable disposition the Scotts were then in, that they propos'd to raise twenty thousand men (which they still assert, and out of those fifteen thousand pick'd) and engaged in six weeks or two months to make themselves entire Masters of the Contry, but all this upon the following conditions. 1^mo^ 15,000 or 20,000 thousand stand of arms, guns, pistols, and broad swords, with five field peices; 2^do^ 3000, 2000, or even 1500 men, one half landed near to S^r^. James Campbell of Auchenbrecks, the other half near to Inverness, and if that should not be found so easy to have them landed in a body at Inverness; 3^to^ amunition and money in proportion. To all which he answer'd that as the King was well satisfied with the assurances from Scottland, so there would be no difficulty in procuring them what they demanded, but till such time as his Majesty had such assurances from England as he might thereby depend upon his troops being join'd when landed in England, and furnished with carriages, victualls, &^c^., he would say nothing possitively as it would be consistant with his honour to be frustrate in such an attempt; and then assured us in general that his Master had all the good inclinations could be wished towards our King, but att the same time owned he had not gott an opportunity of talking seriously to his Master upon the subject, and indeed by some questions he ask'd which att this distance of time I can't distinctly remember, it seem'd to me as if he had never fully considered the papers even in to the late Cardinall. Upon this it was thought absolutely necessary by my Lord Semple and Mr. Drummond that he Mr. D—d should go over to London with me and that my Lord Traquair should come there to bring the English to give some possitive assurances to the French.

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[1] Lumley was Lord Semple.

[2] Murray's letter sent to the King, Nov. 7, 1745. See John Murray's Letter, Senlis, Sept^r. 21, 1744.

[3] Cardinal Fleury.

During the short stay I made att London upon my return I informed myself particularly by Coll^l^. Cecell of all the Complaints then had by him and some few others against Lord Temple, and did immediatly upon my arrivall in Scotland give his Majesty a particular detail of the several accusations laid against him, which were so numerous (and I beleive indeed some of them frivolous enough) that I cant charge my memory with them att this distance of time, otherwise I should have put them down. I came to Ed^{r}. the 21st of March, and next day sent express for my Lord Traquair, who sett out in ten days or a fortnight after. I cant pretend to give any particular account of my Lord and Mr. Drummonds procedure when there nor of the Persons to whom they spoke, as these gentlemen inclined to have everything keept as secret as possible, but so far as I could ever learn the principal were the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Barrymore, S^{r}. Watkin Williams, and S^{r}. John Hinde Cotton, with some leading people in the Citty. What number of those Mr. Buttler spoke with or what assurances he had from them I can't tell, but I am certain S^{r}. John Hind Cotton refused to see him, possibly more from timorousness than want of inclination. I know my Lord Orrery made two severall appointments with my Lord Traquair and Mr. Drummond but keept nether.

I shall upon meetting with his Lordship desire him to make a distinct memorial of everything that hap'd during his stay in England and convey it to your Royall Highness.

My Lord Traquair did not return to Scotland till the month of October, and Mr. Drummond, who left London a great time before in company with Mr. Buttler, promis'd immediately upon his arrival att Paris to write a distinct account of the King of France's resolutions, but to our great surprise no letter came from him or Lord Semple till about a month noe less before the embarkation. In this letter was enclos'd one wrote a long time before acquainting us that the King of France had pitch'd upon the first of Jan^{ry}. (a very singular resolution) for the expedition, and in the letter that inclos'd it he says it was owing to weak hearts, and weaker heads that this letter did not reach us in time. Yett I can't help being of opinion that it was the most fortunate incident that could have happend for his Majestys affairs, for had that letter comed in time it must have putt the Country in such confusion by their severall preparations that the Government would have been immediately alarm'd and so enabled to put themselves in a posture of defense. It was perhaps unlucky for some as the Zeal of his Majestys friends would have been constructed rashness and folly in not waiting for a second letter, which would no doubt have containd the most minute directions with regard to every particular, but it appeard to us very singular that in the cover he gives us nothing certain save that Count de Saxe was to land in England with 12000 men. As for Scottland, he writes in a dark way that he could not really say how we would be provided in arms, and for my Lord Marischal who was to come over he did not know how he would be furnish'd with all necessary as a Commander-in-Chief, but att the same time tells us that we should hear from him once more before thing were to be putt in execution. The Contents of this letter appeard att first even so vague and uncertain in somethings, more in somethings so contradictory one of another that it was thought necessary I should immediatly write a full answer to it and att the same time demand a distinct pointed return to some querys, such as the exact number of men, arms, and money, wither or not upon hearing of your Royal Highness being landed in England we should then gett together what number of arm'd men possible, where my Lord Marshall was to land, and if we should keep quiet till his coming, &c. With this letter a servant of the Duke of Perths was despatch'd to London. The fellow was afterwards arrested and letter burn't by Doctor Barry upon orders from Paris. A Post or two before the Repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act a Letter came to my hand in which he tells us in a few lines that all was now ready and nothing to be thought on but *How to manage a Conference att London* (these are his words), and he did not doubt but about the time that letter reach'd us your Royall Highness would be in London, and desires us as from his Majesty not to stirr till my Lord Marshalls landing so as not to putt our selves in the Power of the Government. Upon receipt of this I acquainted my Lord Kenmure, Sir James Steuart, and some others in the Low Country, and went immediatly along with my Lord Traquair to the Duke of Perths. As for the letters, of them I sent coppys as I received them by express to the Gentlemen of the Highlands. From that time till a few days before I left my own house on the seventh of July last we had not the least information from them of any kind. My Lord Traquair then received a long letter from my Lord Semple, the contents of which I shall endeavour to recapitulate. First he informs us that it was impossible soonner to give us any information by reason that Mr. Drummond had continued so long upon the Coast with your Highness, and that the times were so ticklish that it was impossible to convey any letter in the common way. This we beg leave to think a frivolous excuse from People who pretended to have so much interest att the Court of France. Nothing was more easy to men of Consequence then to have procured a small bark from the French Coast to run over to Scottland; and their own interest should have push'd them to give the most exact intelligence to the people of the greatest consequence in this Country, and by whose credit they att first came to have anything to say in his Majestys affairs. But in short we judge it could proceed from nothing but that they were not able to give any satisfactory account of their proceedings. Secondly, he says, that the french Admirall who had grown old, with a great and untainted Character, had positive orders to block up Portsmouth, but either from Stupidity, Cowardise, or Bribery, he entirely neglected it. This seems to resemble more a fiction of the Poets than that naked truth natural to the Inhabitants of our cold Climate. Imagine the Gentleman as old and stupide as possible, he had his instructions with him (if any such there were) which he had recourse to every hour of the day, so that I cant bring my self to believe that during the three weeks that he was in the Channel his head was not clear enough for five minutes, which I reckon will by all be look'd upon as sufficient time to understand the only materiall part of his orders, and I dont find that these Gentlemen have been able to prove hitherto that he was all the while in a Lethargy. As to his Cowardice the french gentlemen are so seldom justly accused of that failure that it would be childish in me to dwell upon it, and as to his being bribed if the Gentlemen reflected seriously it is bringing shame upon themselves, and plainly disproving that secrecy they have all along so much boasted of, for had things been gone about with so much caution and reserve as they say, it was impossible for the English Ministry to have time so much as propose it to him. His Lordship in the next place says that the french upon their Admiralls disapointing them thought it necessary to delay the Embarkation for some little time to see what effect the present Government would have upon the minds of his Majestys freinds in England, and that after hearing their reasons for it he thought it a cautious and prudent delay. For the following reasons I must be of a contrary opinion: first, the french know that the present Government had a corrupt majority in Parliament who would pass any bills for their security; secondly, they knew that the Habeas Corpus Act would be the first step thereby to take up whom they should think fitt without assigning a reason for their Commitment; thirdly, they knew that there was not a man in the house of the Kings Party who durst make the smallest objection to anything propos'd, as that would have been plainly to declare themselves Enemys to the present Establishment, and they consequently arrested; fourthly, they must have known that it was giving time to the Government not only to draw all their troops to the Coast, and thereby intimidate the Kings friends and make their landing precarious and the junction of his Majestys freinds impossible, but it was enabling the Ministry to send their Emisarys over the Citty and Country to blind the eyes of the People by the power of a standing Army, and freighten them with that State presence of Frecnh influence which will always have a great weight with the meanner sort in England, who are known by all the world to be an inconstant fluctuatting people. And to conclude this articale, if they were not acquainted with all I have said above they ought to have been told it.

He afterwards supposes we are fully satisfied with the frenches serious intentions, in which he is so grosly mistaken, and then he proposes fresh assurances to be sent from Scottland, and that my Lord Traquair should come directly to London to have the like from the English. This, S^{r}, we look'd upon as the most ridiculous of all, to imagine that a people who had been plaid off for four years time with possitive assurances every day, and not the least of them perform'd, should undertake any thing in which there was the least shadow of danger to put it again in their hand, this was a thing I durst not propose, for supposing the persons willing it must have taken a long time to execute it, and the Government were so suspitious that any person running of the Highlands must have alarm'd them greatly, and had it been mention'd, I 'm afraid it would have thrown them into a fattall despondency, and it would have appear'd to be a launching out into a sea of endless triffleing negotiations, which was not to be expected from people who, for five years past, has been everyday running the hazard of their lifes and fortunes by writting and receiving letters from abroad. As to my Lord Traquair's comming to London, it was what he could not do. There is no man in the Island more suspected, and I have good reason to believe that the English att that time would have look'd upon him as a fool to have made such a proposal to them, more Doctor Barrey assured me that had he comed, there was not one of those people would have seen or spoke to him, and surely the Doctor knows them better than either Lord Semple or Mr. Drummond. I had almost forgott to say that Traquair was told that it was att your Royall Highness's speciall desire that he was required to come. Had he thought it either prudent or practible, I can safely aferm he would have done it, and your Royall Highness may be firmly persuaded that there is ne'er a man in Scottland will go greater lengths.

After this he talks of what troops, arms, &c., we requir'd, and where they should land, as if all these particulars had not been long before specified. Then he excuses the not sending of money to S^r^ James Campbell of Auchenbreck by saying that Lord Marishall had orders to give it, tho', so far as I can learn, there was no money to give Lord Marshall except they intended their bills upon London should answer his demands, but if there was any money, it required no particular conveyance, Mr. M^c^Donald could have easily orderd that matter.

I have now only one assertion of Mr. Drummonds to mention, which he told me upon my way to Paris, that he was certain the people of England were ready to join with the Scotts without a foreign force so soon as they were apply'd to. This is, to the best of my remembrance, the substance of what I thought necessary to acquaint your Royall Highness with, if any thing further occure, I shall have the honour to acquaint you to-morrow by Mr. M^c^Donald, and shall now most humbly beg to subscribe myself.—Your Royall Highness's most obedient, most devoted, and most sincerely affectionate humble servant, J. MURRAY.

Senlis, Sep^tr^ 21^st^, 1744.

No. 16.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE CHEVALIER

*Francfort, y^e^ 31^st^ Septem^re^* 1744.

SIR,—I have at laste dispached Mr. Murray. As to what he told me, the particulars he will write that I may be more able to give en exacter account to your Majesty, I shall mention some things here, and the est I reffer to next poste. Mr. Murray recomended particularly to the Prince that what he told him nether Lord Sempil nor Balhady should no anithing, as also several commitions that the Prince gave him, which are a correspondence settled between Mr. Murray and the Prince. The reason of it is that the Prince sees plainly that Lord Traquair wont have Balhaldy nor Lord Sempil no anithing, but as far as he judges it necessary. Mr. Murray is to desire Lord Traquair to come to London, having a good pretence, which is his marriage, and when he is there, to get the English to gree with the Scots and rise unanimously to turn out the E. of Hanover, thats understood.

In kese the K. of France shall do nothing, and no appearance should at furthest in the spring. At the same time the Prince told Murray to tell our friends that I have al reson to believe that the French Court will do it. The Prince recommended to Murray to tell Moor that he should agree with Lord Traquair and not tell or writ to any body but ho he pleses about the marriage.

The Prince told Murray that inkes he should be obliged to go to Avignon, Murray should tell it in a proper manner to the Kings friends in Eng^{ld} and Scotland, saying that it serves for the greater blind to the Government, and so forth. Murray aproves the Princes journey very much, and ses he is sure that our friends will approve it also, insted of being discouraged by it, which is the only thing to be sed against it, as far as I can conceive, hitherto. Murray told the Prince that L. Dunmore, who is in the D. of Hanovers Guards, might be gaind iff he was spoken to in a proper manner. His Brother is a well wisher. Murray speking to him after the embarkation, in a joking manner, told him that his Brother had it in his power to restore the King. He answered that he beleived he might do a great deal. The difficulty is to finde a way of speking to him, or communicating to him a letter from me. Murray sed he new no body more capable than Lord Barrymore, but at the same time not to be attempted until the point of execution. He told me also that there was one Lord Craford, who commands in Flanders, who, if possible to finde a proper person to speke to him, might be gaind, and if so would be of great advantage, for he would bring with him several others. I have considered attentively what you say in both your last, and shewed them to S^{r} Tomas. I am fully convinced of the truth of your observations on the conduct of the French Court towards us; but have still my own fiers of his sincerity, not withstanding the K. of Prussia's declaration; besides may not the K. of Prussia very well have exacted it as a condition that no new expedition shall be made on England, for tho he has a personal pique to E. of Hanover, he may perhaps not desire to see the E. of Hanover dethroned. As for getting out of all dependancy on Lord Sempil or any body else, the Prince will be very glad to do it when it can be done with y^{e} caution which you have recommended to me. I forgot to mention that Sir Thomas nose every thing that passed between Murray and the Prince by Murrays own desire. I am, thank God, in perfect good health, and laying my self at your Majestys feet, I remain,—Your Moste Dutifull Son,

Charles P.

Indorsed—The Prince to the King, Sep^r^ 21^st^, 1744.

No. 17.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE CHEVALIER

Frankfort,[1] *y^e^* 12 *Octobre* 1744.

Sir,—I have just received the Roman Packet with to Letters from you of y^e^ 10^th^ and 11^th^ Sep^re^. Thank God I am perfectly well. I have not time to write as fully as I would wish this post, but will supply it in the next, the reson of it is that I am to see Lord John [2] this day. He is comme here thinking that I was against his regiment, and to spake to me about it; but he is much mistaken, as I have got him so myself, that I am entierly of the same opinion that this Regiment will be of use, and that I approve of it. The only step I have made (which I thought to have mentioned already, but must have forgot it) which proceeded from an Information that Mr. Murray gave me, which was that the Duke of Perth was entierly against his Brothers raising this regiment for fier of bringing People over when there might be use for them there, and that every body there was of the same oppinion, espetially the chiefs. Upon this, I have sent them word that I approved the regiment, but that at this present critical time I would wish that no men should come over, or any disturbance made. I have already lett Lord John no precisely the individual words that I have sed on that subject, which he approves, the more that he ces and owns, that any way whatsoever it would be impossible at this chrittical time to bring people over. Lord John contradicts Mr. Murray entierly as to what he ses about the Regiment, at the same time he gives Murray the best caracter in the world, saying that anything he ces I may depend upon it to be true, *Note bene*, tho Lord John nose I have had fresh accounts from Middlebury, he dose not suspect it was Murray, tho' he immagins I may have seen him, for he has none of his being in the neibourod. I have got at last a Letter from S^r^ Thomas, which gave me great comfort, for I was in great ancteiety and pene for him, becase of a letter I got from Ferbo whom I sent out of precaution with him, which sed that the next day after his arriving at the French Court Lodging, he fell in a moste violent bliding of the nose, which obliges him to keep his room, now he writs to me himself, saying he hopes in a few days to be able to see those he wants to spake to. I am still in fiers till I get another letter. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, moste humbly asking blessing, —Your moste Dutifull Son, CHARLES P.

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[1] Paris.

[2] Lord John Drummond.

P.S.—To night I am to see the Cardinalls Nephew in privat as before.

Indorsed—The Prince, Oct^r 12^th, 1744.

No. 18.

THE CHEVALIER TO PRINCE CHARLES

Rome, Oct^r 23^d, 1744.

THE French post, Dearest Carluccio, is not yet come, but that of Venice brought me your two letters of the 7^th and 14^th Sep^r, which are older than what I received from you last week, so that till I know what Mr. Murray has brought, and how he and you have parted, I can say nothing on great affairs, tho' I am in great hopes his journey will do good all ways. In the mean time, I am grieved at what you say of your present uneasy situation. I am indeed persuaded that the Court of France will not allow you to go entirely out of this Incognito, but I can never think it can be their intention, that you should absolutely see nobody, and much less that you should be in the straits you represent; tho' if they have given you a competency, and that ill management has been the cause of your being now pinched, they are not so much to blame in that particular, and I am persuaded that when you let them know what you really want to pay your debts, and to subsist decently for the future, that they will not refuse to give you what may be necessary for both; and that at the worst if you should not succeed, I may at least be able to do some good in that particular, but then, indeed, you must take care to manage well for the future. As to what relates to you personally, the Court of France is certainly obliged in honor to have all sort of regard and consideration for you (tho' in greater matters I own I dont think that to be the case) and therefore I really cannot doubt but that, if right application is made, will make you as easy as they can in what relates to your own person, and this makes me less uneasy than I would otherways be at your present situation. I easily believe Sir Thomas is not able to undergo certain applications, and that being, you will do well to make use of Kelly for cyphering, for it is not reasonable that you should be at that drugery yourself, and yet it is fit I should be particularly informed of all relates to you, particularly as to what may have past on Mr. Murray's coming over, which will not hinder your writing and even cyphering yourself on any particular subjects as you find proper.[1]

The French post is come but bronght me no letters from you. The Duke writes for himself, and is now very well after a good purging and vomiting last night and this morning. We have the finest weather I ever saw at this season, and I hope next week to tell you that the Germans are gone, for great quantity of their baggage past by these walls to-day. If you have a mind, these letters should come both quick and safe by the Venice post; you have but to send them any time on the Saturday to O—n, from whom this last Venice post brought me a letter of the 27th Sepr. Adieu, Dearest Carluccio. God bless you. I embrace you a thousand times most tenderly.

Indorsed—The King to the Prince, Octr 23d, 1744.

No. 19.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE CHEVALIER

[*Extract*]

Paris, Jan. 3, 1745.

'Morgan [Col. O'Bryan] recommended to me some months ago one Sulevan whom I saw at Room a few years ago. He understands family matters very well, for which I design to take him with me to the country house I am going to. As I am pledged with severalls that would fain be about me, I would fain wish your Majesty would in a manner order me to take him in my Family so that having that to say, nobody can take it amis at my having him preferably to any other.'

No. 20.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE CHEVALIER

[*Extract*]

at Fitzjames, 25 Jan. 1745.

'Thank God I arrived here, Thursday last, in perfect good health being cured of my fluxione.'

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[1] 'Which . . . proper' evidently in James's hand.

No. 21.

THE CHEVALIER TO PRINCE CHARLES

[*Extract*]

Jan. 26, 1745.

'I am very glad you were thinking of taking Mr. O'Sulivan with you into the country, and you may say as much as you please that I put him about you, for it is true I think him a proper person to be with you.'

No. 22.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE CHEVALIER [1]

Paris, y^{e} 7th March 1745.

Sir,—I had not time laste Poste but berely to acknowledg the recets of y^{r} Letters. I have since received en other Packet of y^{e} 16th Feb^{ry}. I am affred not even in this to finish all what I have to say, in which casse I reffer again to the next. I remarqued what the King ces concerning Card^{l} Tencins project at home on Scotland. It was what the Card^{l} never told the Prince directly but it came round about to his years, and he answered in the same manner in which the King has don, by which I thought it was dropt, and that made me not writ it to you before. There are several things that are impossible to be writ on account of the risque, and others which I do not care to writ, for fear of not meeting with entier credit, on account of my age and want of experience, this makes me silent and catious in several things. I have red and considered the D. of Perths message, which is in the first place to buy, if the Prince can possibly, sume—broad sword unmounted for they do that in their own way and that requiers sume time, so that iff their was a sudden Invasion one would be at a loss to have them ready, for as they are mounted in this country they are not so well able to use them, so much that in the former interprizes, they unmounted as they could to do them over at plesure, to have passes for Scots ships so that the Prince may hear from them often. He declared that he disaproved (as Mr. Murray had told the Prince before) entierly Lord Johns bringing men over as long as they may be sume time or other of better use, that he was very sorry that Balhady had behaved in so wrong and disagreeable a manner to severals, but the Prince should still make use of him as a tool, that he was about buying an ecelent little ship for to send messages by, that when ever it was necessary he had almost an absolute way for securing Edinburgh and another Castle, which he dos not name, for he supposes the Prince nose it already, he having formerly mentioned it to the King, but the Prince ether never herd on't or has forgot it. M° that he knew a place where there was a considerable sum of money that he could lay hold on when he plesed, but that not to be attempted till the happy time of action comes. It is a thing absolutely necessary tho' I have little hopes myself of anye things being soon done anywhere for the cause to make our friends think otherwise for to keep them in spirits, and not let them be caste down, for which reson the only thing that was in the Prince's power, the Prince thought should not be lett slip for that end, at any cost whatsoever, for which I look upon me to borrow forty thousand from young Waters for to be able to dispatch the messenger back and buying of Broad Swords, which is the only comfort the Prince can give them at present; rather than to have wanted this sum the Prince would have pawned his shurt. It is but for such uses that the Prince shall ever trouble the King with asking for money. It will never be for Plate and fine Close; but for arms and ammunition or other things that tend to what I am come about to this Cuntry. I therefore wish that the King would pawn all the Princes jewels, for on this side the water the Prince would wear them with a very sore heart, thinking that there might be made a better use of them, so that in an urgent necessity the Prince may have a summ which he can make use of for the cause. For the Prince sees almoste everything at the French Court sticks at the money as it did in this last interprize, which was when the Prince insisted for an expedition in Scotland, at the same time with England. They answered they would give me Troops but had not or would not give money or arms for which reson the having such a sum at commande would be of great use, but at the same time the Court of France must not suspect in the least that I have such a sum, for perhaps they may give it now tho they would not then. For which reason I will nobody but the King, Prince, Edgar, and Sir Thomas Littleton should know of this. Otherwise I can dare to say it will be known at the French Court that would certainly make them say they had no money to spare at any time. The Prince wishes the King would give the Prince such a power, and he may be shure the Prince wont abuse on't or make use on't without absolute necessity; for such an occasion may happen, and the occasion lost by wating for an answer from Rome; and it is this that makes me take the Liberty to press so much for it in his Letter to the King, I think it so necessary for the King's service and interest. Your Majestys Letter to Balhady has produced two Miracles. 1° I have got the Paper I wanted, and 2^d the Correspondance renewed, but this laste I think of little consequence, becase I see plainly they both tell to the King and the Prince as much and as little as they please, but still there is nothing else to be don but to shut our eyes, as we must do to many things else, so as to disgust nobody, nor give them any handle of doing mischife, which is always in the power more or less of the least of People. M^q de Mezieres[1] wanted several times to speak privately to me but I always excused myself in a propper manner. At last he found me out at one of the Balls, and I was affraid he would have spoke to me about Politicks, so for some time I perzisted to say he was mistaken and did not no me, but at last I was forced to yield, and was very much edified that he did not say a word of Politicks, so that all ended in Compliments, which I returned as civilly as I could. I reffer to my next, for which I shall end, laying myself at your Majesty's feet, and most humbly asking Blessing, I remain your most Dutifull Son, CHARLES P.

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[1] An extract from this letter is printed by Lord Mahon in his *History of England*, vol. iii.

Indorsed—The Prince, March 7th, 1745.

No. 23.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE CHEVALIER

Paris, ye 14*th* *March* 1745.

SIR,—After tomorrow I return to the Country, having at last finished what kept me. I can safely say that I was not idle or lost my time, as I enformed you in my laste, and shall here add the rest. The Prince has seen the messenger severall times and have at laste agreed what to say to him, whose name is Blan. 1° that the Prince would spare no time or Labor for to give them all what they want for to help our Trede, and encourage the Kg. of

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[1] Eleanor Oglethorpe married the Marquis de Mezières.

France for to lose no time for to give the Merchants what they so much long for; that in the main time it is a thing absolutely necessary to keep themselves as quiat as possible so as not to give the leste handle to their enemies and creditors to lay them up, for that would ruin their trede for ever. 2° I gave him a letter for John Murry in answer to one I have just received from him, in which there is nothing particular, for it refers entirely to a great Packet in which there are several things about Balhady and Semple, but this packet is not yet com and am affrad is lost, for which reson I desire him to send me a dupplicate ont. 3d the Prince gives him a Letter for Duke of Perth, in which he tells him that I am very sensible of his Zeal, and that he may be well assured of my neglecting nothing for their cervice it being my duty; that the Prince sends him as many Books of that kinde he desires as he can at present, and that he wont fail to send the remainder as soon as possiable, for it is better to send them in little parcels than all at once. 4° I agree with him a cypher, so that our Trede may go on without the leste risque or dangir; for that was another thing he desired as absolutely necessary for the correspondance he will have directly with the Prince. The Prince wishes he could get the Kings friends in Engld. to do the same one. That I beleive will be very hard to cumpas, for I am affred that Lord Semple and Balhady have so strongly prejudized them against the Prince and them about me that it fritens them from writing or having any commerce but by the settled one. This is very unlucky, but their is no help fort but patience. Mr. Kelly and Sq. Thomas has spoken to one Waren, who is going directly for England for to see if possible to get over Col. Bret or Harry Lesley, for he is acquainted with them and can do it without any risque by word of mouth. Iff this takes I shall be in great hops to bring matters to a wright understanding between me and my friends. These numbers that have the points over them signifie that they belong to Lord Semples Cypher. I have received yours of ye 23 Feb. I am mortified to see by it that the King has not so much as the comfort to have quiate in his own Family. I made this morning my Devotions, reccommeding to the Almighty that he should have pity on us, and that wee may see happier days. I lay myself at your Majestys Feet moste humbly asking Blessing.—Your moste Dutifull Son, CHARLES P.

Indorsed—Prince Charles to the King. Paris ye 14th March 1745.

No. 24.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE CHEVALIER

Paris, y^{e} 9th April 1745.

Sir,—I have received y^{rs} of y^{e} 20th April, in which there is the Commition your Majesty has been so good as to grant to Cary. Both Lord Sempil and Balhady tels me that the K. of F. has entierly refused my making the Campain. I cannot conceive what it is that makes them refuse me, unless it be the expence, and iff it be only that, its very shamful and poor of them, supposing that to be the reason, which is the only good one the can have, and bad is the best can be said safely. The man I mentioned last is cum, and brought me a Letter from John Murray, so that cumming upon tother and their being both in cypher, I have not been able to finish nether, but still have made out in this new Packet as in the laste, that they will have nothing to say with ether Lord Sempil or Balhady, but only with the Prince, which I can say is very good. Lord Sempil writes to you about Balhady, as I suppose, so I have nothing to say on that hed. I cannot omit letting you see a little sample of Balhady's and Sempils behaving towards the Prince, and of their falshood. I hapened to see sum days ago, upon George Waters's Chimne a Letter from the private Correspondent for Balhady, at the same time expecting what has happened, I told George Waters not to say I had perceived such a paper in his room, tell him before hand the tryal, of which I told him I was shure that it would happen as it did. I had scarce spoke that in came a servant of Lord Sempils and asked for Letters. That Letter was given him, but in a manner as iff I did not see it. I went out in a little while after, and at the door I perceive Sempil in his Coach reding it, but he, by good luck, did not perceive me. Yesterday I brought it in artfully to both of these strange people, in a manner that they could not in the least suspect, whether the had had the good luck of receiving any Letter from the private correspondent since I saw them laste, and it was absolutely denide, saying that I might be assured, if there had been any, I wou'd see it, saying it woud be very insolent for anybody to hide anything from me; *en fin* sum expretion in that sence: you may see by this absolut fact, what one can believe of thes people after such a thing. For the present, it wou'd be of the worst consequen iff they new that ether you or I was noing to their proceedings, for they are very capable of turning cards; at leste they wou'd do a great deal of harm to our Affairs. I came here to see again the Duke of Boullion before he sets out for the Campain (which will be to-morrow) and thank him for his having anew offered me use of his howse at Navar, and where I can see the staghunting, which is quite new to me. I have accepted of his offer, which was not to be refused, it being offered so civilly. I return to-morrow, for to rede all my letters, and to dispatch the bearer with en answer to them. I lay myself at y^r^ Majestys feet, moste humbly asking Blessing.—Your moste Dutifull Son, Charles P.

No. 25.

THE PRINCE TO THE CHEVALIER

Fitz James, y^e^ 12^th^ April 1745.

Sir,—I have received yours of y^e^ 23^d^ March, which consisted in three separat papers. I am very sory to see by it that Strickland has given you again occasion of mentioning his name. I cant but do justice on this occasion to Obadiah, in saying that hitherto he has given me all reson to be plesed with him in every way, which makes me fiere that sume people have don him unjustice towards you; what I know for certain is that sume people here have sed that I had nobody at all about me that was discreet. I remarke what you say of y^e^ correspondent, and I really donte remember that Kery or Morrice said anything particular from him at that time. What I am very shure is that they have been very silent, and a fained reserve towards me this long while, for in reallity they were ashemed to have nothing to say. I take the liberty to advertise you that there is no believeing anything they say; but not withstanding they seem to swallow everything; for I know them to be dangerous people, and might certainly do a great dell of hurt, iff disgusted. I am very young, and it is very hard for me to forsee many things, for which all I aim at is at leste not to do harm, not being able to do good. I here nothing about my getting leave to serve, which makes me take for granted I will be refused, the time being so near, and everybody passing here for y^e^ Army.

I lay myself at your Majestys Feet, moste humbly asking Blessing and remaining, your moste Dutifull Son, Charles P.

Indorsed—The Prince to the King, April 12, 1745.

No. 26.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE CHEVALIER

Fitz James, y^e 26 April 1745.

Sir,—I have received y^{rs} of y^e 6^{th} current allong with a note in y^r own hand. I have nothing new to say about y^r Campaigne, but that both Obrien and Sempil are doing all they can for to geat me leave, the particulars of which, I suppose, they write to you an account, so that I have nothing remaining to say on that hed. I remark what you say of y^r being glad I had seen Lord Sempil and Balhady, and that they were pleased with my discorse; by that I see plainly that they must have writ to you complaining I would not see them, which I can say is absolutely faulths, for I always maide them welcum at my howse, and have repeted severall times ether by word of mouth, or by wryting, that where ever I was they were always welcum. It wou'd seem by this that their concience reproaches them for all the lys and little regard they shew for me, for which one must really have a great deal of patience to bere, and seem to swallow things as I do, and which I take it to be of y^e greatest importance to continue to do so, and at the same time not to lett anybody know of my perceiving their ways; for they have so many *Rigiros* that they might finde it out, and iff so wou'd turn cards and do us a great deal of harm to our affairs. I am glad to see that their is a probability of the Dukes making y^e campaigne. I wish I had as much to say on my side, for by all I can remarke I do not see where withall to have great hopes. I lay myself at your Majestys feet moste humbly asking Blessing.—Your most Dutifull Son, Charles P.

No. 27.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LORD SEMPIL TO THE KING

[*Printed in Browne's History of the Highlands,* vol. ii. p. 645.]

28^{th} June 1745.

* * * This affair detained me till the 26^{th}, when I received another letter from Balhaldy, in which he informs me that Sir Hector Maclean is arrived in Scotland, and that upon his arrival Lord Elcho, who had been some time at London, was immediately sent for, and set out accordingly in all haste for Scotland, from

whence Mr. Erskine, Lord Traquair and Balhady apprehend that something very weak and rash may be attempted, and that some great misfortune will ensue. They are induced to this apprehension by the part that John Murray has acted since he returned from hence. Murray said that Sir Thomas Sheridan had told him that Balhady, in concert with Lord Sempil, had brought the Prince hither without the consent or knowledge of the King of France; that Balhady had kept His Royal Highness in his own appartment at Paris, without letting the court of France know where the Prince was; that he afterwards carried the Prince to Gravelines also without the courts knowledge, and detained him there several weeks in order to engross the Prince to himself; that the said Balhady and Sempil had sent Lord Marischal to Dunkirk, without money, arms, or any destination of troops for Scotland; and lastly, that while Sir James Campbell was neglected, Balhady had extorted for himself a pension of 6000 livres a year from your Majesty: all these particulars Murray declares he had from Sir Thomas Sheridan, to whom the Prince referred him, adding that he is authorised by the Prince to apprise the King's friends in Scotland of them. Lord Traquair and Mr. Erskine assure that our sages, and indeed all men of sense, perceived the malice and absurdity of these accusations, but that Lord Elcho's, Sir James Stewart, and one, Mr. Nisbet of Dirleton, all influenced by Lord Marischal and Charles Smith, have joyned with John Murray in repeating those heads of grievances to all that would hear them. From this connexion of Murray with Sir Thomas Sheridan, and Lord Elcho's sudden call upon Sir Hector Maclean's arrival, the three gentlemen I have named above dread a deal of mischief. They are persuaded Sir Hector's journey was concerted, or rather directed, by Sir Thomas, and they think nothing but a letter from the Prince to Murray can prevent the bad consequences of it; wherefore they charge me to beg of his royal highness a proper letter on the occasion, desiring all your majestys friends to remain quiet, and to give no cause of suspicion to the government until they receive further orders from your majesty or himself. The Prince did me the honour to write to me above ten days ago, that he intended to be in town a few days latter, which made me depend on his coming the beginning of last week; nevertheless I wrote to inform him that I was ready to go to Flanders whenever his royal highness would be pleased to send me his commands, but I have as yet no answer.

No. 28.

LORD JOHN DRUMMOND TO THE CHEVALIER

Donkirque, 13 *November* 1745.

Sir,—I send to your Majesty here inclosed a Coppy of the Orders and Instructions I have got from the King of France, and tho the nomber of Troupes is not considerable, at least we have obtaint a positive and open Declaration of ther Intentions. I proffited of the time that they war persuaded my Brother had been fitted to speak with much more strenth. Mr. Obrien has, I supose, given your Majesty a full account how this negotiation went one.

I embarck to-day for Scotland at the Head, I may say, of about a thousand men that ar full of zeal and desire to sheding to the last drop of ther Blood in contributing to your Majesty's Restoration. I will add nothing more but that I am inflamed with the very same desire, and am, with the most profound respect, Sir, Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servant and subject,

J. Drummond.

Indorsed—Lord John Drummond, Nov^r 13th, 1745.

No. 29.

THE PRINCE TO THE CHEVALIER

Paris, y^e 10^th Aprill 1747.

Sir,—It is a melancholi thing this Affair of Murray y^e Secretary of which I send a Coppy of a Letter writ by y^e very man that carried a French Commission he so much pressed for. I have good reason to suspect by circumstances together that Murray he was in a click with L. George, tho' he pretended and appeared to be otherwise. This perhaps may be reffining to much, and so shall suspend my judgment upon that till I can make it absolutely clier. I have received a civill note from Count d'Argenson, in which he desiers I should give him an adress by which he can be always able to communicate to me his masters pleasure without its ever being suspected, which I did, giving him a cant name to be sent under cover to Waters jounior, so that now everything is at their door. I am seeking out for a cuntry house near the town where I shall be able to brese a little fresh air, and be a porte for any business that may happen. I have got accounts that B. arrived safe after a very narow eskape, for he fell into y^e Sea getting out of y^e ship into a little bote, being pursued by a man of war. I am very impatient to have accounts from himself. I have got a cold in my head a little troblesom, but of no consequence, God willing.

I lay myself at yr Majesty's feet, moste humbly asking Blessing.

P.S.—I have just received by ye Spanish post yrs of ye 27th Janry 3d, and 17th Febry, but have not yet read them.

Indorsed—To the King, ye 10th Aprill, 1747.

No. 30.

THE PRINCE TO THE CHEVALIER

Paris, ye 17th Aprill, 1747.

Sir,—I am, thank God, much better of my cold, and have read all ye letters I accused lost, having received since yrs of ye 21st Febry. It gives me great concern to see by them how unnesy yr Majesty was, and not approving my Conduct. I flatter myself yow will be fully satisfied long before recieveing this, having endeavored explain everything as distinctly as possiable. I can assure yr Majesty, Kelly never blode to me anything, and I never made any use of him but telling him to do so and so. *A la* letter I must do him this justice, as also that iff I have commited any false step I am the only man to blame, having done everything hitherto of my own hid. I have received from Obryon ye almoste Livers you have been so good as to order for me. I can protest that never anybody made me any missrepresentation as to that money. Iff anybody was capable of any such Insolence I hope your Majesty wou'd do me ye justice not to think me capable of lissening to it, which can never be the case. All that happened was I desired Waters to no from Marcy whether it was ye intention to give me ye hole some in ye account, or only ye 8000 I had already received. I shall make up all my accounts, and as soon as finished, shall give yr Majesty en exact detail of all I have received since I came from Scotland, and what is remeaning. I finde my brother more cummunicative to me than usual, which gives me great pleasure, as I love him with all my heart, and he me in ye same manner. Your Majesty may be absolutely shure what any little coldness or broalierie that may ever hapen to be betwixt us is nothing, but venting one anothers spleen, which, God nose, we have occasion enough to have, seeing every day so many follise of our own people, besides strangers. I must have forgot to mention to you before I laste parted from hence what a work

Malock and Sempill was making amongts our own people, complaining I wou'd not give them time, or here all they had to say which was of importance. This, however falce (for my Door was always open to them) yet comming to my knowledg, I gave him an express rendevous, telling him that when he had the least thing to communicate I would always appoint him an ower, in which he would have full time to discorce at that time in all our intrevues. He never told me anything I thought of y^e^ least consequence, but baterd La Campagne. I shall not fail now to send to him again, letting him no where to finde me when ever he has y^e^ least thing to say. I need say nothing more about L. George after what I have already writ, as, I suppose, Sulivan has already given you en exact account of all his proceedings in Scotland, and y^r^ Majesty can absolutely depende on his account of everything that past. I lay myself moste humbly at your Feet asking Blessing.

Indorsed—To the King, Aprill y^{e} 17th, 1747.

No. 31.

THE CHEVALIER TO THE PRINCE

Rome, Aprill 17th, 1747.

Being at last to dispatch O Sulivan, My Dearest Carluccio, and after having discoursed several times with him about your affairs, I have read over again your letter of the 12th February, and shall endeavor to put down here in as few words as I can my reflexions on your present situation, and to begin with what relates to England. I am sorry to see that you are putting yourself entirely into B's and K's hands, and that by the footing you are putting those matters upon, you put it also in their power to apply the name and advice of the K. Friends to all their own little views and purposes, without its being possible for you to know whether the K. friends are really of the opinions they may represent. I dont say but B. deserves to be considerd, and may be of some use to you; but, at the same time, whatever may be Sempil's faults, or whatever you or I may think of him, by all I can see he has more to say with the K. Friends than any body else, and I am affrayed you will have done yourself no good by charging B. to say you had no confidence in him, for by that means you make yourself in reality a party against Sempill, and deprieve yourself of the services he might be able to render you; whereas your business is to hear everybody, direct everything, and to endeavor to draw the best service you can from whoever is able or willing to render any to you. I see you proposed to B's. friends to send over somebody of confidence to be a sort of Agent with the C. of F., and another to be Secretary to yourself. One sufficiently authorized and empowerd might, no doubt, do good with the C. of F. at this time, but as for yourself, whoever might be sent to you would be the man, or may be the Tool of the few that sent him to you, and other people would probably have nothing to say to him; whereas by choising a proper Secretary for yourself there will be a greater appearance of his being agreable, or, at least, not disagreable to the generality of people in E. than any person who might be sent you from thence. I wish I had a proper person to propose to you myself, but that is not the case, tho' surely amongst the number of our Countrymen who are now on this side of the Sea, it is impossible but that you must be able to find out some one person capable to serve you as Secretary, for the wisest men, and much more those of your age, will always want both assistance and advice. To do all one's self is impossible, and to act always of one's own head is both presumptuous and dangerous.

As for the opinion of the K. Friends in relation to your conduct abroad, I really dont think them competent Judges of it, and as for the place of your abode, the question is not where it might be adviseable for you to go, but where you may be allowed to stay. In general to be sure the nearer home the better, but, for my part, I should prefer Rome either to Avignon or Switzerland.

There are certain general maxims of politick and popularity which it is both lawful and necessary to follow to support our intrest in our own Country, but they must not be drove too far neither, and the notion of being directed in every thing as to your conduct abroad, by advice from thence, can, as matters stand, only end in making yourself a slave to a few designing men, and may be fatal to your interest at last.

I am much more concerned than surprized you had not a better reception in Spain, but, however, I am in hopes your journey thither will be of no ill consequence, provided you manage your matters in a proper manner on your return to Paris, where, I think, you should have equally in your view the solliciting another expedition, and the endeavoring to make your situation as little bad as possible in case of Peace. I am affrayd there is but little appearance of your succeeding in the first point, but in all cases it certainly behoves you much to cultivate the good will of the K. of F. ministry. You can never faill in making your applications to such of them as the K. of F. may direct, and I hope you will no longer refuse accepting the pension that was offerd to you, and continue to remain either in or about Paris till an expedition or a Peace sends you from thence. In the time of war your presence there will be necessary to sollicite assistance, and in case of a peace, you will make a much better bargain by letting yourself be sent from thence than by retiring before of your own accord to Avignon, and with an appearance of discontent against the K. of F., for should the Peace find you in such a situation, the French would think themselves authorized in some measure to abandon you, without acting against their honor, whereas by continuing in France, that Court will be obliged on all accounts to soften as much as possible the step of sending you out of it; and I am persuaded on such an occasion they would be willing to promote and facilitate a Match betwixt you and one of the Duke of Modena's Daughters, if you proposed it to them at such a time. As long as wee are abroad it would be a jest to think that you could have either a Daughter of France or Spain, and I should think that during our misfortunes we may be very well satisfied if you can marry a Princess of the same Family as my mother, and I doubt if you could have even one of them, except you nick the time in which the Court of France may be willing to do all in their power to soften the turning you out of France.

After this, My Dear Child, I cannot but say that without you put your affairs on another footing than they now are, I take it to be next to impossible that any thing you go about can succeed. You must of necessity choise a person properly qualifyed to be your Secretary, and another to employ with the Court of France, for neither you nor your Brother can be going backward and foreward to those ministers, and tho' you could, you would be a very unequal match for such old and experienced men. As to the choice of two such persons as I propose, you must please yourself. All I can do for your Service is to leave you master in that, and in everything else that relates to your own affairs, in which you will always find me ready and willing to give you what advice and assistance may depend on me. You must be sensible that I have had little occasion of late of giving you either one or t'other, and I shall perhaps have less for the time to come. For my age and infirmities encrease, I am really unfit to do anything but to pray for you, and I am even under the necessity of taking the party to live and dy in this Country.

I could have enlarged much more on several particulars containd in this letter, but considering what I have formerly writ to you, and what I have now said to O'Sulivan, I think what I have here writ to you is sufficient. I have made him a Knight, since you desire it, and he deserves it, tho' it be against my present rule, but I have desired him not to say when he was knighted, so that that small mark of favor will be of no inconvenience. I must do him the justice to say that by all I have heard or remarked of him myself, I am glad you have him about you, and I am persuaded he will serve you with dilligence and fidelity, and never give you reason to be disatisfyed with him.

You have never mentiond of money matters to me, tho' I have done it often to you, but that is a point you must not neglect, and which no ways interferes with greater matters. Should you continue not to accept the pension now offerd you by the King of France, you would run the risque, I am affrayd, of getting nothing from him after a Peace, and in that case without you were to return to live with me at Rome, you know I have not wherewithall to maintain you elsewhere, whereas if you once accept the pension, I hope it would be continued to you wherever you may be.

I cannot end this without expressing to you my concern to remark from your own letters your uneasynesses and jealousies in relation to your Brother, by which means it is impossible he can be of any service to you, and he will even become a constant subject of uneasyness to you, so that I own I am tempted to send for him back hither, and tho' I dont order him to return to me, yet I now write to him that he may do so when he pleases, and the truth is, as matters now stand, I think it would be more for your service that he should be here, were it but for a few months, and were he to stay here, he would be of the less expence to me, and I could be better able to supply you on a pinch. Enfin, my Dear Child, my whole thoughts are turned to provide as much as is possible for the real good and advantage of both of you; In this world it happens but too often that one has no good partys to take, and in such cases one must endeavour to take the least bad. I think I have now said all that I think can be of any use and advantage to you, and this letter is long enough to put an end to it.

I had already writ what is above when I received my dearest Carluccio's of the 12th and 14th March from Guadalaxara, and of the 26th from Paris, where I thank God you were arrived in good health after your journey. I take very well of you, my dear Child, your giving me so particular an account of what happend to you in Spain, and on which it is useless for me to enlarge here. You will certainly do very well to keep a Correspondence with

Caravajal, and I cannot always too much recommend to you to endeavor to keep well with that Court and that of France, whatever their behaveour towards you may be, for whether Peace or War they are equally our only resource. I shan't write to you by the Wednesdays post, having writ so fully to you now, but must not forget before I end to thank you for your kind token of the China Box, which is really very pretty. God bless my drst child whom I tenderly embrace, JAMES R.

No. 32.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE CHEVALIER

Paris, Aprill ye 24th, 1747.

SIR,—I have received yrs of ye 28th Febry and 7th March by ye Spanish Poste. I also had ye Comfort of receiving yrs of ye 10th Aprill by ye Courier of ye Promotion. Having already explained myself as to Lord George Murray leaves me nothing to say at present. I thought it necessary to make an attempt (tho' I am affraid to no purpose) for making ye Campaine with ye K. of France, which I did by wryting a sivill Letter to ye Counte d'Argenson for that purpose. I am thank God in good health, but wou'd be yet better iff I had occasion again to be in action. I lay myself at yr Majestys Feet, moste humbly asking Blessing.

No. 33.

THE PRINCE TO THE CHEVALIER

Paris, ye 28th Aprill 1747.

SIR,—This gose by ye Courier of ye Promotion that returns. He saw me, and so can give yr Majesty en account of my being in good health. Poor Ld Lovat is executed by ye Rascality of Jn Murray, and it is much fierd many others will suffer in ye same manner. These are to melancholy subjects to dwell upon, and having nothing else to say at present, I shall end. Laying myself moste humbly at yr Majestys Feet.—Your moste Dutifull Son,

C. P.

Indorsed—To the King, Aprill ye 24th, 1747 and 28th.

No. 34.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE CHEVALIER

Paris, ye 1st May 1747.

SIR,—I have seen Maloch[1] tother day and caled him apart, to give him room in case he had anything to say or propose, but found he had nether. I also received a Letter from L^d Sempill (upon his having got notice of my being glad to see him) I perceive he is out of umer, and nothing to say by his not telling me when hi'l cume. I believe the poor man is in very bad Circumstances. I have just received en answer from C^l d'Argenson, and it cannot be more cyvill for it contains assurances of Friendship from his Master, but at y^e same time politely refusing at present my offer. I returned y^e Compliments in it by a polite Letter to y^e said Count. It is greeving the melancholy news we here every day. S^r Watkins is taken up, and by that it is much fiered L^d Traquair is turned a Companion to Murray. God grant that may not be the Kece.

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[1] Balhaldy.

There is one Makinzi, a Gesuit, son to Lady Kilden, that came to me tother day, and said he was come from my Friends with assurances of their Constancy and rediness. As he as yet has not given me any token that satisfise me, I have but his word for what he says and so am upon my guard, the more I should think this to critical a time for our Friends sending any Message particularly by one that is not fully nown. The only particular thing he says is from one Bishop, Brother to S^r Cecill Bishop, offering iff I thought proper to raise a sum of money for y^e common case, as also to strive to bring over (by Promises in my name) some of y^e principal People in our Favour. Makinzi ads that he is persuaded this Bp will come over to me iff I plese to receive any orders I may give him by word of mouth. I shall put him off giving him any answer untill I receive y^e return of this, in which time I may also get other Ligts about y^e matter. I received just now from Avignon y^{rs} of y^e 4th Aprill. Madame de Mezier never received any such Letter from me as you mention, but am not in y^e least surprised at her saying so, being well known to her od ways. I am sorry for y^e poor Bishop of Soissons misfortune; y^e coadjutors promotion is much liked here, being spoken well of by everybody.

I have nothing more to ad at present, so laying myself at your Majesty's Feet, I remaine, moste humbly asking Blessing, Your moste Dutifull Son,
Charles P.

P.S.—Peyton is willing to flatter himself that what he herd of Read is not true by its not being as yet confirmed, and some Letters mentioning nothing new of that kind; but y^e proverb says that bad accounts come always first, and proves to true at last.

II

PAPERS FROM THE RECORD OFFICE AND THE BRITISH MUSEUM

No. 1.

LIST OF LETTERS AND PAPERS TAKEN AT COL. CECIL'S, WITH OBSERVATIONS [1]

1. *A Paper entitled a Scheme to be proposed by the Trustees to the Procurator General, without date or name.*

This Paper is in cant Words, but appears to be a scheme for invading this Kingdom by Spain during his Majesty's absence.

N.B.—This Paper was taken out of Col. Cecil's Breeches pocket.

2. *A Paper, dated Dec.* 10*th from Paris* (*no Year*).

This seems to have been torn from a Letter from Mad^{m} de Mezieres, and to be written in her hand, containing an advertisement of France intending to make war upon England this summer, and that the Dutch will be neuter.

3, 4, 5. *Letters, or rather copies of Letters, without Signature, Place, Date, or Direction.*

These Letters seem to be written in the year 1742 from Paris by some agent of the Pretender's, who gives an account of the steps he is taking to induce the French to invade England in favour of the Pretender. He says his Proposal is what Mr. Ba. (who is in the following line called his Lordship) suggested, viz., 'That if the English Forces then ordered to Flanders should actually be transported thither, in that case the K— might land with (S. 1721) or tenn thousand French troops upon the coast of Sussex, Kent, or Essex, and march directly to London, where he was persuaded, His Majestie would be received with general satisfaction, and joyn'd by such numbers as would determine the rest of the Kingdom to follow the example of the Capitall, and that if a small body were sent at the same time into Scotland, the speedy acquisition of that Kingdom, and the numbers that would take arms in itt for the service of the lawful sovereign would convince his most harddened enemys that they could have no reasonable hope but in His Majesty's clemency.'

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 59, No. 66.

N.B.—In the Paper No. 5 mention is made by the writer that he finds the French Minister in England's accounts, with regard to the Dispositions of the People in favour of the Pretender are more favourable since he has conversed with the Ea. Barramore, and great joy is expressed upon the entire Union between the English and Scotch Jacobites.

6. *An English Cypher in Figures and Cant Words, very much worn.*

N.B.—There are figures in it standing for the names of Col. Cecil and Mr. Carte.

7. *A Paper containing some lines decyphered in which the above Cypher was wrapt up.*

The Writing in this Paper seems to be of the same handwriting with the three copys, No. 3, 4, 5, supposed to be of Letters from the Pretender's Agent at Paris.

8. *A scrap of Paper without Name or Date.*

This is in the same handwriting with the copys mentioned in the last article, and seems to be part of a Jacobite correspondence.

9. *A Letter dated* 12 *Dec*^{r} *N. S.* 1742, *Signed T. Lacy, and directed to Mr. Dawkins, and wrapt up in Blank Cover that had been sealed with black wax.*

This Letter appears to have been written from Paris, and to be from Lord Sempil, Lacy standing for Lord Sempil in the cypher, but the name Dawkins is not to be found in it. Part of the said Letter is written in cant names, and appears by the key to signify that nothing material has been done in the Pretender's affair since his last, tho' the French Ministry seem more desirous than ever to forward it, and that the delay seems to proceed in a great measure from the Cardinal's[1] bad state of health.

N.B.—Mr. Drake, as appears by the cypher, stands in this Letter for the Pretender, Mess^{rs} Andrews, the French Ministers, and Ashley, the Cardinal de Fleury.

There were a few other Papers taken which upon revising appear to be of no importance.

Some of them are Letters signed C. H., which Col. Cecil explained to be Cap^{t} Hardy. But they contain only News and compliments, and an Invitation of the Col. to Paris. It may be observed that Capt. Hardy has a Figure standing for his name in the cypher.

There were likewise taken several Letters from the late Dutchess of Buckingham which are not legible.

Indorsed—List of Letters and Papers taken at Col. Cecil's, with observations. 1742, Dec^{r} 12.

No. 2.

THE EXAMINATION OF COLONEL WILLIAM CECIL OF MASHAM STREET, WESTMINSTER[2]

Who being ask'd, whether he had, within a year, or two years past, had any Correspondence with any Persons in France, or receiv'd any Letters from thence, saith that to the best of his remembrance he hath not received any Letters from France for three or four years past, except two or three Letters from Mad^{me} de Meziere. That he formerly had a correspondence with some persons in that country relating to private and family affairs; but that for some time past he hath frequently not been able on account of his Illness to write or read, and that he hath not received from any person in England any Copy or Copies of Letters received by them from France. That he is firmly persuaded that France never intended to assist the Pretender. Being ask'd whether he ever receiv'd any Letters or Papers proposing or mentioning any Invasion of this Kingdom by Spanish or French Troops, he saith that upon his salvation he never did. That he has formerly heard that France would have stir'd up the people to make an Insurrection in Wales or Scotland if they had been Fools enough to have attended to them; that he cannot remember exactly how long ago this was, but it must be six or seven years ago at the least, he having seldom been able to stir out of his Chamber for these three years past. Being ask'd whether he had ever seen or had in his custody a Paper entitled *a scheme to be proposed by the Trustees to the Procurator General,* he saith that to the best of his knowledge he hath not. Being shew'd a paper so entitled, he acknowledges the said paper to have been mark'd by him with the initial Letters of his name; but declares that if the said paper was taken out of his Pocket when he was taken into Custody, he doth not know how it came thither; that when he removed from the House he last lived in he took a heap of papers without examining them, and that this Paper might have been put by him into his Pocket amongst other promiscuous papers as foul papers without looking into it. Being exhorted to use Candour in giving an account how he came by this paper, he acknowledges that it will not seem probable that a paper should be found in his Breeches Pocket, without his knowing how it came thither, but protests to God that it is Fact. Being again shew'd the said paper and ask'd whether he knows the Handwriting of it, he declares that he doth not, nor does he know what or who is meant by the words Signior Mauritius used in the said paper. He saith that he hath seen the Earl of Barrymore but once in these two years past, and that then he met him in Company with five or six other persons, unknown to him at that time, at the house of Dr. Beaufort his Physician; that he afterwards heard one of the said persons was Mr. Arundel. Being shew'd another Paper appearing to be the Copy of a Letter, but without Direction, and not signd, beginning with these words, 'Sir, I find very luckily,' he acknowledges it to have been mark'd by him, but does not know whose Handwriting it is; that he has seen writing like it, but never received any Letters in that writing to his Knowledge or Beleif. Being ask'd who is meant by *Mr. Ba.,* mention'd in the said Letter or Paper, he protests to God he doth not know. Being then shew'd two other papers in the same Handwriting with the last, he acknowledges that he mark'd them also, but vows to God that he knows nothing of them, nor in whose Handwriting they are. The Paper, first described, being then read to him, he saith that to the best of his Knowledge and Beleif he never read it himself nor heard the Contents of it before; but affirms in the most solemn manner that he doth not know how any of the said papers came into his Custody. Being ask'd whether he knows a person who calls himself the Lord Sempil, he saith that he knows him, having met him, six or seven years ago, at the late Duchess of Buckingham's house. That the said person then talk'd of Beginning a Rising in Wales, as of a Project of the Court of France, but that he this examinant said that if he knew of any such thing he would inform the Government of it, which put an End to the Discourse. That the s^{d} L. Sempil was in England two years ago or upwards, and call'd at his house, but he refused to see him being extremely ill; that he never wrote to nor received any Letters from him, and that he neither knows nor beleives that he hath received from any other persons Copies of any Letters wrote by the L^{d} Sempil to any other persons. Being ask'd whether he ever had any Cypher in his Custody, he saith that he had one about twelve years ago, but has had none since to the best of his Knowledge. Being then shew'd a Cypher he acknowledges it to have been mark'd by him, but doth not know in whose Handwriting it is, nor how it came into his custody. Being ask'd whether he knows Mr. Thomas Carte, he saith he does, but does not know whether this cypher is in Mr. Carte's Handwriting, but beleives it is not. He denies that he ever received any Letter in this Cypher, or that he ever decyphered any Letter by it. Being ask'd whether he knows any person named Lacy or who goes by that name, he saith he does not. Being ask'd whether he knows any one that goes by the name of Dawkins, he saith he does not know any one of that name except Mr. Dawkins, a member of the House of Commons. Being then shew'd a Letter sign'd Lacy, and directed to Mr. Dawkins, what was found in his custody, he acknowledges it to have been mark'd by him, but knows nothing of it, nor by what Methods or what meens it came into his Custody. Being ask'd whether he hath seen or heard of any Declaration, or draught'd a Declaration, to be published in England in the name of the Pretender, or of his Son, he protests to God that he never saw or heard of any such thing. Being ask'd whether he has ever seen anything in the Pretender's Handwriting, or received anything in his Handwriting, he saith he has seen papers said to be in the Pretender's Handwriting, but hath never received any Letters or Papers in his Handwriting address'd to himself, and that he never forwarded or convey'd any such Letters or Papers to other persons. Being ask'd whether he has seen privately or conceal'd any Foreigner or Foreigners lately arrived in England, he protests he hath not. But saith, that about a fortnight ago, he saw a note sent from a person at a Coffeehouse in St. Martin's Church Yard, desiring to know when Colonel Cecil might be waited upon. To which he answered he was always at home, and that the person who sent the note might come when he would; that he sent to enquire who the person was who wrote the note, but could not find it out, nor does he now know. Being ask'd whether he knows one Mr. Wogan, he saith he does, and that he saw him often at Paris. Being ask'd whether he knows of any person having been sent from England the last summer, and introduced to the French Ministers, who made Proposals to them in favour of the Pretender, he solemnly declares he doth not, nor doth he know that the Jacobites in England sent any person to France on such a Commission, or that any such person sent any Account to the Pretender of the execution of the said commission.

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[1] Cardinal Fleury.

[2] S.P.D. George II., B. 63, No. 30.

Westminster, Febry 26th, 174¾.

Taken before us Hardwicke C., Holles Newcastle, T. Carteret.

Indorsed—Examination of Colonel William Cecill, Febry 26th, 174¾.

No. 3.

THE LORD JUSTICE CLERK TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE [1]

My Lord Duke,—Upon the information of a Herd Boy that John Murray of Broughton, late Secretary to the Pretender's Son, had, on Friday last, dined at Kilbucco, and had that night gone to the House of Mr. Hunter of Polmood, who married Mr. Murrays Sister, John Smith, Sergeant in St. Georges Dragoons, with seven private men, then under his Command at Broughton, proceeded with their Informer as a Guide, and yesterday, at three a clock in the Morning, seized Mr. Murray at the house of Polmood, who, upon the alarm, had rose out of Bed. They found in his Bretches under his pillow 95 Guineas and a Silver watch, which they seized, as also a Gold watch pined to the Curtain of the Bed, which Lady Polmood claimed as her own watch, and they say that Lady Polmood offered them a hundred Guineas over and above what they seized if they would permit the Prisoner to make his escape. They delivered Mr. Murray Prisoner to me yesternight. What with Fatigue or Drink he was in such disorder that it required some hours sleep before he recovered, and then in answer to some Questions I put to him, he told me that all his Papers were burnt by his Clerks, that his late Master with Sullivan and Oneil, both Irish, and no other person in Company, did, about four days after the Battle of Culloden, go off from Moidart in an open Boat in order to get aboard of a Ship, but being at that time himself unable to travel, he was not let further into the Secret, nor does he know, or has he heard, what became of them since.

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 33, No. 26.

That sometime after he received 35,000 Louis d'or's from on board of the two French ships, which he distributed among those concerned in the Rebellion, great part of which was on account of their arrear of pay, but has no account how it was divided, nor can he remember the Sums each of them had, only that he saved no more than what was now seized on him, which, he says, was from 140 to 150 Guineas in two purses. That there was also landed by the said French Ships 1500 Stand of Arms, considerable quantitys of Ammunition, and severall hundred casks of Brandy, all which the Highlanders soon carried off, beginning with the Brandy, which disappeared in a few hours, and that it was impossible to express the rapaciousness of the Highland Theives.

That since that time he has been mostly with Lochiel and his uncle, Major Kennedy and his brother in a skulking, starveing way, lyeing on the side of Hills all the day, and travelling, or rather wandering, all the night with scouts at a mile or half a miles distance, never dareing to stay two nights in one place; that Lochiel was very ill, wounded in the ancle, and oblidged to use a horse; that he, Mr. Murray, unable to bear fatigue and want any longer, crossed the hills without a servant, and came by Menteith to the place where he was seized. I have committed him close Prisoner to the Castle of Edenburgh, and no person is to have access to him till I have the Honour of further Directions.

I send your Grace inclosed a Copy of a Letter to me from Leu^{tt} Collonell Arabin of Gen^{ll} St. George's Reg^{t} of Dragoons, with a Copy of my answer therto, to which I beg leave to refer. They relate to a notorious insult on the Government by the barbarous murder of John Catenoch for being supposed an informer of the Governments. The two murderers have confessed that they decoyed Catenoch to the back of a House where they threw him down and murdered him with stones, the Copys of the Examinations I put immediately into the hands of his Majestys Solliciters, who have prepared inditements ready to be served on the Criminals how soon they are brought hither, and upon their conviction, I presume, the Court will order them to be hung in chains.

I give your Grace also the trouble of a Copy of a Letter I received this morning from Lord Elcho. Had his Lo^{p} been sooner sensible of the obligations he owed me as to have followed my advice, he had not now been in the situation he finds himself at present. I have also sent a Copy of his Letter to the Duke of Argyll without any commentary, as his Grace well knows how often I pressed Lord Elcho to try to get into the Army as the best way to get the better of the prejudice of Education.

I beg leave also to put your Grace in mind that by the 12th of nixt month several Estates in this Countrey will probably become forfeited to his Majesty, that being the Day limited for the persons contained in the late act of attainder, their surrendring themselves, and as the Rents of those Estates must perish, and the Houses go to ruin, and possibly other waste be committed in them unless proper care of them be taken, your Grace will, no doubt, in due time provide a Remedy that the Crown's Interest may not suffer.

Yesterday I spoke with a Captain of a Ship belonging to Irvine employed in bringing Sclate from the west Islands by the Orkney to Leith, who, of the coast of Stranaver upon the 9th instant, was forcibly taken aboard a french ship of 25 Jun., a Cutter w^{ch} belonged to foulkstone, in which were 18 Hands and 4 or 5 Gentlemen in fine Cloaths, who, with the Captain, spoke all very good English, and they forced him to pilot them to Lochbroom. When they came near that place they put him ashore and took a Hollander aboard and sailed for the Lewis. They were inquisitive about news, and what had become of the Pretenders Son.

I have the Honour to be with the utmost Respect, Your Graces most obedient and most humble Servant, AND. FLETCHER.

Mr. Sharp haveing sent for two more witnesses, I have acquainted Mr. Sharp that they set out this morning.

Indorsed—Edenburgh, June 29, 1746. Lord Justice Clerk.

R. July 2^{d}, by Express.

No. 4.

LORD ELCHO TO LORD JUSTICE CLERK [1]

Paris, June y^e 27 N.S., 1746.

My Lord,—I have so often had experience of your Lordship's friendship, that I would fain hope I shall not be forsaken by you at this critical juncture. I have done myself the honour to write to the Duke of Argyle to beg his Grace to take me into his protection, and to assure the King that if his Majesty will allow me to come home, I will give any assurances whatever for my making his Majesty a most loyal Subject for the future.

What I ask is that your Lordship would put the Duke of Argyle in mind of me. By doing so, your Lordship will add much to the many obligations you have already heaped upon me, and which, I am sure, shall always be remembered with the greatest sense of Gratitude by, My Lord, Your Lordships most obedient humble Servant, [Sign'd] Elcho.

Indorsed—Coppy of Lord Elcho's Letter to Lord Justice Clerk. June 1746.

In Ld Justice Clerk's of June 29, 1746.

No. 5.

SIR EVERARD FAWKENER [2] TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE [3]

Fort Augustus, the 2^d July 1746.

My Lord,—His Royal Highness has been pleased to command me, as he is himself emploied, to give your Grace an account of his disposition for sending to you, Mr. Murray the Pretenders Sons Secretary. Captain Gore carrys this to Edinburgh to be forwarded immediately by Express, and with orders to the Lord Justice Clerk to cause the Prisoner to be deliverd to him, and to the Commanding Officer at Edinburgh to furnish such a number of Dragoons as Captain Gore may judge sufficient for an escorte.

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 33, No. 26.

[2] Sir Everard Fawkener, the Duke of Cumberland's secretary, was the Earl of Leicester's colleague as Joint Postmaster-General from 1745 to 1758. He was previously Ambassador to Constantinople. Voltaire lived with him during his first visit to England, 1726-1729. Fawkener was a witness at Lovat's trial, and died in 1758.

[3] S.P.D. George II. 1746, B. 33, No. 29.

This is a Prisoner of Consequence, and from whose capture it is to be hoped many advantages may result.

Yesterday was brought hither by a Party of Kingstones who were sent in search after him, Hugh Fraser, who was the Secretary and Confident of Lovat, and who was trusted with his Errands to the Pretender, and with the care of the Master. Your Grace will find frequent mention of his name in the Letters I sent you by His Royal Highness's Order by Brittle the Messenger. Not to detain Captain Gore I will only add that I am with the greatest respect and truth, My Lord, your Graces most obedient and devoted humble Servant. EVERARD FAWKENER.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle.

Indorsed—Fort Augustus, July 2d, 1746. Sir Everard Fawkener.

Recd by Express.

No. 6.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE LORD JUSTICE CLERK[1]

Whitehall, July 3d, 1746.

MY LORD,—I received, late last night, by Express, the Honor of your Lordship's Letter of 29th past, with an Account of the Seizure, and Commitment of Murray, Secretary to the Pretender's Son. I have laid it before the King; who is very sensible of your Lordship's attention to His Service on this Occasion.

His Majesty doubts not but your Lordship will have taken particular Care to have him kept in the safest Manner, and so as to prevent any Possibility of his making an Escape. And that, agreably to the Orders, your Lordship gave for that Purpose, no Person will have been permitted to have access to him. And as His Majesty thinks it proper that he should be immediately brought to London, I am to acquaint your Lordship with His Majesty's Pleasure, that you should give immediate Directions for sending him from Edinburgh, under a sufficient Guard, which you will take care may be strong enough to prevent any Apprehension of his being rescued. And that it may be commanded by a discreet Officer, to whom you will give such Directions as you shall think proper, with regard to the Manner of conveying the Prisoner to London, where he is to be delivered to the Constable or Commanding Officer of the Tower.

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[1] S.P.D. George II. 1746, B. 33, No. 33.

His Majesty would have your Lordship take an Opportunity of seeing Murray before he sets out for London. And you will talk to him in such a manner (without however giving him any Promise of His Majesty's Pardon) as may dispose him to make a full and ample Discovery of all he knows, which must be very material for His Majesty's Service, and your Lordship will send me a particular Account, before the Prisoner can arrive in Town, of the Temper you find him in, and of everything that shall have passed between you, that we may the better judge in what manner to talk to him here.

His Majesty's Servants have it under Consideration what should be done with regard to the Estates of the Persons attainted by the late Act, which will be vested in the Crown, on the 12th Ins^{t}., and I shall have His Majesty's Orders to write to your Lordship very shortly on that Subject.

As it will be necessary to have a particular Account of all the Persons now confined in any of the Prisons in Scotland who were taken in Arms against His Majesty, I am to desire, that your Lordship would, as soon as possible, transmit to me, exact Lists of all such Persons accordingly, that the proper care may be taken, and Directions given for removing them to Carlisle, or to such other Places, where their Tryals shall be appointed, I am, &c^{a}.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

Indorsed—Dra^{t} to Lord Justice Clerk, July 3^{d}, 1746. By HOWE.

No. 7.

LORD JUSTICE CLERK TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE[1]

Ed^{r}. 10 *July* 1746.

MY LORD DUKE,—Last friday night Captain Gore arrived here from Fort Augustus, haveing been sent by His Royall Highness to carry Mr. Murray of Broughton to London; wherof I would have acquainted your Grace had not he not also brought a packet to your Grace, which no doubt acquainted your Grace of his orders, and was sent to your Grace by Express.

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[1] S.P.D. George II. 1746, B. 33, No. 39.

Mr. Murrays bad state of health made it unsafe for him to make the Journey on horseback, as was certifyed to me by the Kings Apothecary here, whom I sent with a physician to attend him in presence of y^e^ Captain of y^e^ Guard. Therefore a Coach was provided, and he sett out on his Journey early on Munday morning, before I had the Honour of your Graces Letter of the 3^{d}, which did not arrive till betwixt 3 and four in the afternoon, and in an hour after (in order to give Obedience to His Majesty's Commands) I followed Mr. Murray in a post chase, and overtook him that night at Dumbar; and nixt morning took a proper opportunity of seeing Mr. Murray and told him y^{t} as I had occasion to be at Dumbar, I thought it the properest place to see him, and to take that opportunity of knowing how his journey agreed with him, and if he wanted anything. I endeavoured to conciliate his Favour by telling him, that on account of his indisposition, a Coach was ordered for him, that I had particularly recommended it to Captain Gore to be civil to him, and to use him well, that he was to be carried to the Tower and not to the common Goal. That tho' I had not permitted any of his Friends to see him in the Castle, that was not doing him any real Hardship; on the contrair, it was rather putting respect on him and showing the world of what importance I thought him, but that I had allowed his infant children at his request (who are but 4 or 5 years old), in presence of the Captain of the Guard, to see him; because I accompted them as nobody, which was all y^{t} I considered to be in my Power, but that if he now had any message to his Freinds I would deliver it. He was very thankfull and seemed sensible of the Humanity with which he had been treated, and said that he had no message to any of his Freinds, but to tell Mr. Thomas Hay, Advocate (who married his Sister) that if his Freinds intended to employ any Body at London to act for him that they should loose no time in doing it.

I nixt expostulated with him about the Madness of the Undertaking, in trusting either to the perfidy of France or the sham valour of a Highland Rabble. He agreed perfectly with me in both these. I then asked him when he last saw the pretender's Son. He said that he had not seen him since he (himself) was taken ill at Elgin, and had not thereafter seen him upon his Return to Inverness or in the West Highlands. I then asked him who then officiated as Secretary. He said, John Hay! and who had managed very ill, because he had starved their men while they had Oatmeal in plenty. I then asked him if it was true what I heard, that the attempting a Rebellion at this time was against his opinion and advice; and he said it was very true; and upon that I observed that he had been ill-used by the Pretender and his Son in engaging him to venture his Life and Fortune for them and not take his advice, and after he was taken ill in taking so little notice of him; and, I said, that he must now be sensible what Distress and Ruin he had brought upon his own Countrey by that rash undertakeing, and he could not but now think himself oblidged to make all the Reparations in his Power by discovering what he knew. He said he was very sensible and sorry for the Distress that was brought on the Countrey, and would willingly make any amends in his Power, but could not think of accuseing any man. I said I did not think he would be desired to be an Evidence, but he should make such discoverys as might direct where to find the Evidence. He then said that if he could have any Hopes given him he would discover all he knew. I answered that I had no authority to give him any hopes, but now that he was sensible of the Hurt he had done, and that such attempts tho' unsuccessful behoved always to be ruinous to the Countrey, the only Reparation that he could now make to the King and Countrey was to discover everything, so as to enable the Administration to prevent such attempts in time comeing. He said if they would make him safe of anything he would discover all. I answered it would be folly in him to propose or expect that they would make a Bargain with him or assure him of anything. You must (I said to him) endeavour by the importance of your discoverys, and the Sincereity and openness with which you make them, endeavour to merite their Favour and convince them of the Sincereity of your Repentance; and after some more conversation to the same Purpose, whereof I cannot precisely remember the words, he said he was resolved to follow my advice, that he would discover all he knew, that he would attempt no Bargain, nor ask no promises or assurance but leave it to them to do with him whatever they should think proper; but wished that if possible that he might not be examined in open Councell but only by two or three of them. I said I supposed that favour might be granted to him.

When he was first brought to Edenburgh, I asked him what was become of his Papers, and he had told me that they were all burnt. I therefore now asked him where they were burnt. He said at Carlyll, that he had left them there when their army returned to Scotland, and that Mr. Hamilton, the Governour they left there, burnt them when he found himself oblidged to surrender, and that after burning these papers he never had any of Consequence and none except some missive Letters he received afterwards that were not material.

At parting I called in Captain Gore, and in Mr. Murray's presence recommended it to the Captain to be carefull of his health, as well as of Mr. Murray's person on the Road, which I know he will do.

This is rather too minute a detail of our Conversation, but as your Grace ordered me to send you a particular account of all that passed, I could not omitt anything that passed so far as I remembred in the very words; and would have sent it sooner but was taken ill on Tuesday night upon my return hither.

And I did not think myself authorised bye your Graces Letter to descend to particular Questions, or to take down any Examination in writeing, nor did it seem proper I should have done it, where he was to be afterwards examined by your Grace I thought it better to keep the Matter entire and to leave it to be wholly managed by your Graces prudence.

Captain Gore has directions to let no Person have access to him, or any Letter or Message to be delivered but what is seen and done by himself, and to endeavour to preserve Mr. Murrays Health, support his Spirits upon the Journey, and to deliver him Prisoner to Constable or Commanding Officer of the Tower.

Yesterday I received a Letter bearing date the 8th, signed Kellie, of which I send a Copy inclosed. I believe it came from the Person designed, Alexander, Earl of Kellie, in the late Bill of Attainder; by which, if he shall not render himself, on or before the twelth of this month of July, to one of His Majestys Justices of the Peace, he is to stand attainted of High Treason. I am informed by the Bearer of the Letter that he is to put himself into the Hands of one of the Macers of the Court of Justiciary tomorrow being the eleventh, at Kinghorn, to be conducted to me. If he comes before me I shall committ him to the Castle of Edinburgh, and immediately give notice to your Grace as the Law directs. I have no Knowledge of him but by reputation, being a Person who notwithstanding his Quality lived obscure and little regarded by any Body, his Fortune small and his Understanding of an inferiour Size, not many removes from the very lowest.

I have got most of the returns from the Sheriffs and Magistrates of Burghs, of the Persons confined in any of the Prisons in Scotland on account of the Rebellion, and as they are bulky and not done with Exactness I have put them into the hands of His Majestys Solliciters to prepare a particular List of those who were taken in Arms against His Majesty with the names of the Witnesses as they prove the being in Arms against every particular Person, which I hope will be soon ready to be sent to your Grace.

I have the Honour to be with the utmost Respect, My Lord Duke, your Grace's most obedient and most humble Servant,

AND. FLETCHER.

P.S.—Since I came to Town, I heard it already reported that Murray is to confess everything. What has given rise to this Report I do not know for nobody was present or could overhear what past betwixt him and me except the last part of it, the Recommēdation to Captain Gore, which I gave in presence of the prisoner and Collenel Cockaine at parting. Coll. Cockaine goes in the Coach with them and he cannot be in better Company.

Indorsed—Edinburgh, July 10, 1746. Lord Justice Clerk.
R. 16th (by Express).

Copy.

MY LORD,—I am now resolved to surrender myself in obedience to the law to your Lordship, and I beg your Lordship's directions how to be safely conducted to you lest I should be seized in my way to Edinburgh. Your Lordship may please name any Justice of Peace under whose protection I may be safely conducted to Edinburgh. And I am, My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble Servt. [Signed] KELLIE.

July 8, 1746.

Indorsed—Copy of Alexr Earl of Kellie's Letter to Lord Justice Clerk, 8 July, 1746.

In Ld Justice Clerk's, of July 10, 1746.

No. 8.

THE EXAMINATION OF CHARLES, EARL OF TRAQUAIR [1]

THIS Examinant being ask'd whether he knew of any Design to support the Pretender or his adherents in the late attempt in Scotland, he saith he never did. Being ask'd whether he knew a person named Drummond, otherwise MacGregor, he saith he beleives he knew a person of that name, but that, to the best of his Memory, he hath not seen him later than six or seven Year ago. Being asked whether he knows anything of the s^d^ Drummond's being sent to Rome, in, or about the Year 1740, he saith he knows nothing of it. Being askd whether he had any Correspondence about that time with Lord Lovat or L^d^ John Drummond, Uncle to the late L^d^ Perth, he saith L^d^ J. Drummond married this Exam^t's^ Sister, but that he had no correspondence with either of those persons relating to Drummond's being sent to Rome. Being askd whether he knew anything of any Memorial signd by any Lords or Gentlemen in Scotland being sent to Cardinal Fleury, or any other French Minister in the year 1740, or at any other Time, he saith he does not remember ever to have heard of any such Memorial. Being askd whether he saw Drummond or Cluny Macpherson in Scotland in the year 1743, he saith he did not see Drummond in that year, but is not sure whether he might not see Cluny Macpherson. Being askd whether he was ever told by Drummond that the French Ministers would send a body of Troops in to Scotland in 1743, or whether he received any Letter from Drummond to that Effect, he says he never was told so, nor ever received any Letter to that effect from Drummond. Being ask'd whether he was in London in 1743, he says he believes he might be here at that Time. Being askd whether he saw Drummond in London in that year, he saith he did not. This Ex^t^ saith that he returned into Scotland in Nov^r^ or Dec^r^ 1743. Being askd whether he gave an account to any person in Scotland at that Time that there were persons in England well disposed to the Pretender if they might depend upon assistance from France, and whether he named any particular persons who were inclined to the Pretender's Interest, he answers in the negative. Being ask'd whether he did not particularly name the Earl of Barrymore and say that he had had Discourse with that Lord upon the affairs of the Pretender, he absolutely denies that he ever did. Being ask'd whether he named any person who, he said, was at first shy in talking with him, he answers in the negative.

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 86, No. 47.

This Ex^t^ being ask'd whether he has ever had any Conversation with Mr. Murray, Secretary to the Pretender's Son, relating to any persons in England, whom this Ex^t^ represented to be in the interest of the Pretender, he saith he was acquainted with Mr. Murray who was his Neighbour in Scotland, but never had any such conversation with him. Being ask'd whether he ever named to the said Murray the E. of Barrymore or Dr. Barry as being so disposed, he saith he never did. Being ask'd whether the s^{d} Murray ever sent a Letter to this Ex^{t} to be forwarded to the Pretender's Son, he answers in the negative. Being ask'd whether he knows of any Letters sent by the Pretender to Scotland last year, he saith he doth not. This Ex^{t} being asked, saith that he is acquainted with S^{r} John Douglas who is his relation; that the said S^{r} J. Douglas went to Scotland, as this Ex^{t} beleives, in Jan^{ry} or Feb^{r}y last. Being ask'd whether he knows the occasion of Sir J. Douglas then going to Scotland, he saith he does not know any particular reason, but beleives it was on his private affairs.

Being ask'd whether he is acquainted with one Butler, Equerry to the French King, he saith he hath seen the said Butler in London in the year 1742 or 1743 in mix'd Company, but had never any particular acquaintance or Conversation with him. Being ask'd, he saith that, to the best of his remembrance, he never heard the said Butler say that he was going to, or had been at, the Horse races at Litchfield to meet any particular persons.

Whitehall, Aug^{t} 8th, 1746.

Taken before Lord Chanceller, Duke of Newcastle, Earl of Harrington, Mr. Pelham.

Indorsed—Examination of the Earl of Traquair. Aug^{t} 8th, 1746.

No. 9.

EXAMINATION OF JOHN MURRAY OF BROUGHTON, ESQ., IN THE COUNTY OF PEEBLES[1]

This Examinant being asked what he knew of any Invitation made to the Pretender previous to his coming into Scotland, and by whom, saith, that to the best of his Memory, the first motion made in this affair was in 1740. That he did not know it till the Beginning of the Year 1743, when the Earl of Traquair acquainted him that one Drummond (otherwise M^{c}Gregor) was then at Edenburgh, who, in 1740, had been sent to Rome by Lord Lovat, Lord Traquair, Lord John Drummond, Uncle to the Lord Perth, lately dead, Sir James Campbel of Achenbreck, Cameron of Lochiel, the Younger, the late Lord Perth, and Mr. John Stuart, Brother to Lord Traquair. That the occasion of sending this Messenger to the Pretender at Rome was (as this Examinant apprehends) the opposition which was then made to his Majesty's administration, which it was apprehended in Scotland was owing to a disaffection to the Government. That at the same time Drummond went to Rome, the abovementioned Persons, who sent him, sent a Memorial, under their hands and seals, addressed to Cardinal Fleury, to encourage him to send a Body of Troops into Scotland. That at the same time they sent to Cardinal Fleury a list of the Gentlemen in the Highlands, who, they imagined, would support the Pretender's Cause. Being asked whether he can remember the Names of any Persons in the said List, he saith that, to the best of his Memory, there were the Names of Sir Alexander MacDonald, the Laird of M^cLeod, Mackenzie of Fairburn, M^cKenzie of Apple Cross, and another Gentleman of the Name of MacKenzie, Cameron of Lochiel, M^cDonald of Glengary, M^cDonald of Clanronald, Stewart of Appin, M^cDougal of Lorn, M^cPherson of Cluny, M^cGregor of Glengyle, the Clan of M^cIntosh, but the Laird of M^cIntosh was not named in the List, the Farquharsons, M^cDonald of Glencoe, Lord Lovat and his Clan, Grant of Glenmorison, and Sir James Campbel of Auchenbreck for the people of Argyleshire. That it was computed in this Memorial that there would appear 20,000 Men in the Highlands for the Pretender; but this $Exam^t$ thinks the number was very greatly overrated. This $Exam^t$ saith that, as he was informed, Drummond went first to Rome, and from thence to Paris, where this $Exam^t$ saith he believes him now to be. That this $Exam^t$ has been informed that the said Drummond was in London about the month of April 1745. Being asked whether he has ever heard that any Persons in England were privy to the sending Drummond to Rome; he saith that he never heard that any Persons in England were privy to it. This $Exam^t$ saith that Sempil, called Lord Sempil, introduced Drummond to Cardinal Fleury at Paris; and that Drummond and Sempil kept a Correspondence with the seven Persons abovementioned in Scotland. That Cardinal Fleury gave them great encouragement, and that Drummond assured the Cardinal that, if he required it, any of the Persons in the List, would come to him in France. That in the year 1743 Drummond returned to Scotland and came to Edenburgh, and sent for Lord Traquair, Lochiel, and M^c^Pherson of Cluny to come to him, and gave them an account of his negotiations with Cardinal Fleury, and told them that if he, the Cardinal, could procure any Encouragement from England he would send the Troops desired into Scotland in the Autumn of 1743. That Lord Traquair was employed to come to London to endeavour to get such encouragement. That Drummond also came to London. That when Lord Traquair returned to Scotland from London, he told this Exam^t^ that People in England seemed to be well inclined to the Pretender if they might depend upon encouragement from abroad. That Lord Traquair told this Exam^t^ that the principal Persons with whom he, Lord Traquair, conversed in London, relating to this Matter, were the Earl of Barrymore, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and Sir Watkin Williams Wynn. That Dr. Barry, a Physician in London, was employed as an Agent. That there were many Persons in the City well affected to the Pretender. That Lord Traquair told this Exam^t^ that Sir John Hynde Cotton was at first very shy and unwilling to meet with him, Lord Traquair, or to talk with him upon the Pretender's affairs. That Lord Traquair was in London lately, and, this Exam^t^ beleives, may be here at this time. That Lord Traquair came to London in January 1741 ; but that this Exam^t^ does not know that Lord Traquair has kept any Correspondence with the Pretender since the Pretender has been in Scotland. This Exam^t^ saith that Colonel Cecil, who did live in London, corresponded with Lord Marshal and Sempil. That Colonel Brett was engaged in the same Correspondence.

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 86, No. 69.

That Lord Traquair returned to Scotland from London before the Winter in 1742. That, in Dec^r^ 1742, Letters came from Drummond to Lord Traquair with Assurances that the Project would be forthwith put in Execution. That about that time Lord Traquair sent for this Exam^t^ and shew'd him the Letters from Drummond. That this Exam^t^ told Traquair that he very much apprehended those assurances were not to be depended upon. That Lord Traquair, and Mr. Cameron of Lochiel (who was present at this Conversation) proposed to this Exam^t^ to go himself to Paris, which, after some objections, he consented to do. That in March or April 1743 this Exam^t^ came to London, and after staying here a Week or a Fortnight went to France. Being asked with what Persons he conversed whilst he was in London, he saith he is not sure whether he saw Col. Cecil or not; but declares that he never talked with any Englishman whatever upon the Pretender's affairs. That this Exam^{t}, upon his arrival at Paris, was carried by Drummond to Sempil, who told him that the Cardinal (who was then lately dead) had been very warm in the Pretender's Cause. That nothing but the Cardinal's Death had prevented the Execution of the projected Invasion of Scotland. That the Cardinal's Intention was that Monsieur Maillebois should have marched to the Coast in order to be ready to embark the Troops, but that some Persons about the French King had persuaded him to let M^{or} Maillebois march towards Hanover.

That this Exam^{t} went to Versailles and was introduced to Cardinal Tencin, where nothing passed relating to these affairs. That he was afterwards introduced to Mo^{r} Amelot and acquainted him that he came from the Persons who had sent the Memorial to Cardinal Fleury; that Mo^{r} Amelot told this Exam^{t} that Cardinal Fleury had been much disposed to execute the Scheme of an Invasion; that Amelot asked this Exam^{t} what Strength might be depended upon in the Highlands, for which this Exam^{t} referr'd him to Mr. Drummond, then present. That Amelot told this Exam^{t} that he had spoke to the French King upon his this Exam^{t}'s arrival in France, and that the French King had bid him, Amelot, assure this Exam^{t} that he might tell the Persons from whom he came that he had the Interest of their Master as much at heart as they had, and that as soon as his affairs would permit, he would execute the Scheme.

That this Exam^{t} returned to London in the Summer 1743, and after staying a few Days here, went to Scotland; that he made a Report of what had passed in France to Lord Traquair and Lord Perth, and, as he thinks, to no one else, but that all the Persons who signed the Memorial were afterwards acquainted with it (except Mr. Stuart who, before that time, had married and retired into the Country, and, to the best of this Exam$^{t's}$ Knowledge, has not since been concerned in these affairs); that the Scheme proposed was that 3000 French Troops were to be sent to Scotland, 1500 to Inverness to join Lord Lovat and the Frasers; and 1500 to be landed in the West near Sir James Campbel's House; that Sir James Campbel was to go to the Isle of Mul to raise the MacLeans, and from thence to Ila; that the M^{c}Donalds and M^{c}Leods were to march thro' Rosshire to join the Frasers, thence to Athol, Dunblain, and Creif; that Lord Marshal was to command these 3000 Men; that Count Saxe was to land with 12,000 Men within two or three days march of London.

That Drummond went from France to Rome and desired that the Young Pretender might be sent with him to France; that Drummond returned alone to France, and from thence came to London, where he staid a short time and returned to France; that this Exam^{t} has been informed by Lord Traquair that Drummond, whilst he was at London, had meetings with Lord Barrymore, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, relating to these matters; that Drummond wrote two Letters to Lord Traquair, one dated from Paris, and the other from London, which Lord Traquair shewed to this Examinant, in one of which Drummond acquainted Lord Traquair that it was probable before he received that Letter the French Troops might be landed in England; that some Part of one of these Letters was in Cypher; that Lord Traquair proposed to this Exam^{t} to write to Drummond to desire him to reconcile some seeming Contradictions in his Letters; that this Exam^{t} accordingly prepared a Letter to Drummond, which Letter Lord Traquair sign'd in his presence, but this Exam^{t} cannot recollect whether he sign'd it himself or not. That Lord Traquair took the Letter and acquainted this Exam^{t} afterwards that he had sent it to Dr. Barry in London to be forwarded to Paris, but Dr. Barry, sometime afterwards, told this Exam^{t} when he saw him in London, that Drummond had desired that Letter might not be sent to him, and that he had therefore burnt it.

This Exam^{t} saith that Lord Traquair told him that the Persons he depended upon in England were Lord Barrymore, Sir J. H. Cotton, and Sir W. W. Wynn; that the Pretender had also a great Party in the City and in the Country, but this Exam^{t} does not remember that he named any other Persons but the three above mentioned.

That after the Disappointment of the Invasion in 1743/4, they received no Letters from France for a considerable time, which made them uneasy.

That Lord Traquair, in June 1744, knowing that this Ex^{t} had a design to go to see the Army in Flanders, proposed to him to go again to France to see how things went there, which he was unwilling to do, but at last agreed to go; that a few days before this Exam^{t} set out for France a long Letter came from Sempil, accounting for, and excusing the miscarriage of the Invasion, and desiring that new assurances might be sent to France from the Pretender's Friends in England and Scotland. That on the 7th of

July 1744, this Exam^t sat out for London, and staid here a Fortnight or three Weeks; that he saw Dr. Barry at his House in Craven Street and introduced himself to him by a Letter, which he brought for that purpose from L^d Traquair to Dr. Barry; told Dr. Barry the Business he was going upon, and asked his advice how he should get to France; that Dr. Barry advised this Ex^t as the safest way to make use of a Cutter, or smugling Vessel to carry him directly to Dieppe in France, which this Ex^t declined, chusing to go by Flanders in order to see the Army, as he at first attended; that Lord Elcho was then in London and went with this Exam^t to Dover, and from thence to Flanders, where he staid 5 or 6 Days in our Army; from thence went to Brussels, and so into Holland; from whence he returned privately by the same Road, and got into the French Territory, and proceeded to Paris.

That Drummond met this Exam^t at Rotterdam; that he told Drummond that Lord Traquair and Lord Perth had employed him to go to France to see whether anything was likely to be done; that Drummond dissuaded him from going to France, but upon his insisting to go, as he had undertaken to do, they went into France together.

That this Exam^t, upon his arrival at Paris, went to M^cDonald's, a Banker, where the Pretender then was; that the next day this Exam^t was introduced to the Pretender by Sempil and Drummond, and told him the occasion of his being sent to France. That the Pretender assured him that the French had been serious in the Invasion, which had been disappointed by the Weather and other accidents; that he, the Pretender, had the strongest assurances from the French King and his Ministers that it would be put into execution that Harvest.

That this Exam^t having desired to see the Pretender alone, the Pretender appointed him to come to him the next day at Eleven o'clock, which he did; that this Exam^t then represented to him that his Friends in Scotland were dissatisfied with the Letters sent from Drummond and Sempil, and doubted whether the French were in earnest to support him. To which the Pretender answered that he was well assured of their good Intentions, but that he could say nothing to Drummond's and Sempil's Letters, not having seen them. That this Exam^t had no conversation abroad relating to these affairs, except with Lord Elcho, the Persons above-mentioned, and Sir Thomas Sheridan; that he saw Kelly in France, for the first time, but had no particular conversation with him.

That he knows Sheridan's Handwriting when he sees it.

That this Exam^{t} returned to Scotland in Oct. 1744; that he called at Lord Traquair's House, but he, not being at home, Lord Traquair came afterwards to him at this Exam$^{t's}$ Request.

This Exam^{t} saith that when he saw the Pretender at Paris, he told this Exam^{t} he was determined to come over into this Kingdom if he brought only a single Footman; that this Exam^{t} represented the Danger of his coming unless he was sure of assistance. To which the Pretender answered he did not doubt of assistance, but that, however, he would come in all events, and asked this Exam^{t} how many men (this Exam^{t} thought) might join him. To which this Exam^{t} said that at the most he thought there would not be above 4 or 5000, even if all those who were looked upon to be the most attached to his Family should appear for him. That this Exam^{t} communicated this Conversation to Lord Traquair, and afterwards to Cameron of Lochiel and Lord Perth; that Lochiel thought it was a rash and desperate undertaking; that Lord Perth thought otherwise.

That Letters were written to the seven Persons of the Concert who had signed the Memorial to apprize them of this Design; that the Laird of M^{c}Leod came to Edinburgh in Nov^{r} 1744; that M^{c}Leod, Lochiel, and this Exam^{t} met together at a Tavern, where they talked of this Design, which M^{c}Leod thought a very mad one, and said no one would join him; that this Exam^{t} asked M^{c}Leod what he would do himself, to which he said that tho' it was a rash Design, he would join the Pretender if he came over, but that as M^{c}Leod had been drinking, this Exam^{t} desired Lochiel to speak to him the next Morning and learn his real sentiments upon this matter, which Lochiel accordingly did, and told this Exam^{t} that M^{c}Leod continued to say that it was a rash undertaking, but, however, that if the Pretender came, he would join him.

Being asked whether he had any correspondence or dealings with Mr. Stuart, Provost of Edenburgh, relating to these matters, he saith that he never had, nor do's he beleive that Mr. Stuart had any thing to do with any of that Party.

That Lochiel sent one of the Pretender's Letters to Sir Alexander M^{c}Donald, but he always absolutely refused having anything to do with the Pretender.

That the Pretender sent six or seven Letters (as abovementioned) to Scotland which were in the hands of Lord Traquair or this Exam^{t}, which Letters were accompanied with a Power to each

Person to whom they should be sent to treat with other Persons relating to the Pretender's interests.

That these Letters were without Directions, but signed by the Pretender, and left to be directed to such Persons as should be thought proper after they came to Scotland; that these Letters were sent to Lochiel, M^c^Leod, Sir Alex. M^c^Donald, Sir James Campbel, and some others. That this Exam^t^ wrote a Letter to the Pretender to dissuade him very strongly from pursuing his Design of coming to Scotland; that this Exam^t^ delivered the said Letter to L^d^ Traquair at Edenburgh who undertook to send it from London to Paris, his L^p^ intending soon to come to London; that Lord Traquair afterwards wrote to this Exam^t^ from London by Mr. M^c^Leod, who returned to Scotland in April 1745, acquainting him that his Friends in London were as well disposed as ever, but were against undertaking anything without assistance from France; that Mr. M^c^Leod brought to this Exam^t^ from Lord Traquair the Letter which his L^dp^ had undertaken to send to the Pretender, but had not sent it; that this Exam^t^ expressed his surprise to M^c^Leod that Lord Traquair should have neglected to send that Letter, which was of great Importance; that this Exam^t^, at that time, thought no attempt would have been made, and was therefore making Interest to get into the Dutch Service.

That about the latter end of June 1745, this Exam^t^ received a Letter from the Pretender which was sent to him by one Cockburn a Merchant at Edenburgh, in which the Pretender acquainted this Exam^t^ that he was determined to come to Scotland and desired his Friends might be informed of it; that this Exam^t^ apprehends this Letter was sent from France by Drummond.

That the contents of the Letter were, that he, the Pretender was determined to come to Scotland to the West Coast, the Isle of Ouist or Mull, and hoped to be there in June, appointing Signals, etc.

That the Exam^t^ upon receiving this Letter was in great Perplexity but soon determined to go to Lochiel in the Highlands, which he did, and they agreed to persuade the Pretender so soon as he should arrive to go back again. That this Letter from the Pretender, or a Copy of it, was carried to Lord Lovat by Lochiel's Brother; that M^c^Leod was with Lord Lovat when Lochiel's Brother arrived there; that Lord Lovat and M^c^Leod entirely disapproved the Design. That this Exam^t^ afterwards sent M^c^Donald of Scotus to M^c^Leod at Glenelg, to desire to know his Thoughts as to what should be done to prevent the Pretender from coming on Shore; that McLeod sent him word in answer that he disapproved the Undertaking, but that if the Pretender came he would join him; however that he thought a Letter should be wrote to dissuade him from landing in Scotland; that this Examt accordingly wrote two Letters and left them in the Hands of Macdonald of Scotus to be delivered to the Pretender upon, or before his Landing, advising him by all means to return to France; that the Examt heard that one or both of those Letters were delivered; that this Examt then returned to his own house.

That about a Fortnight or three Weeks after, he heard the Pretender was landed: that there came with the Pretender, Lord Tullibardine, Sir Thos Sheridan, Sullivan, Strickland, Sir John MacDonald, and McDonald the Banker at Paris.

This Examt being asked whether he knew anything of the sending of Sir Hector McLean to Scotland, he saith that it was generally understood that Sir Hector McLean came over with a View to this Design, but knows no particulars, and is not acquainted with Sir Hector McLean.

Being asked whether Mr. Smith of Boulogne was apprised of the Design of the Pretender's coming, he saith he does not believe he was.

This Examt saith that some time in July he received from Edenburgh a short Letter, not signed, which gave him Reason to apprehend that the Pretender was arrived in Scotland and desiring him to come immediately to Ld John Drummond's house in the Highlands: that he went accordingly and found the Pretender at Kinloch Moydart's.

That the first time this Examt acted as Secretary to the Pretender was in signing a Passport for two officers of His Majesty's Troops, taken Prisoners by the Rebels at Fessfairn.

This Examt saith, that the only Letter that he knows to have been sent into England from the Pretender was a Letter to Lord Barrymore, which was carried from Perth by an English Merchant who, as this Examt was informed, came from the West of England but whose name he cannot recollect: that at Edenburgh, Sir Thomas Sheridan told him that he had sent one Hickson[1] to talk to People in the North, but named Nobody.

That the contents of the Letter to Lord Barrymore from the

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[1] Hickson's instructions printed by Lord Mahon. *The Forty-Five*, ed. 1869, p. 153.

Pretender were to acquaint him with his Landing, with his good Intentions to the People of England, and how much he depended upon his Lordship's Assistance; that the Person who carried that Letter to Lord Barrymore came back to the Pretender at Edenburgh and, said that he had delivered the Letter, but brought no answer that this Exam^t^ knows of. This Ex^t^ being asked whether the name of the person who carried the Letter to L^d^ Barrymore from Perth and returned thither is *Corne*, he saith, he is certain that that is his name, tho' he could not recollect it till he heard it: that he is a young Man, tall and thin; with a round full Face.

Being asked what Letters he received during the Pretender's being in this Kingdom from any Persons who did not join in Arms with the Pretender, he saith that he believes he did not receive any Letter from any Person under that Description except only Lord Lovat.

Being asked whether he ever received any Letters from Sir James Stuart, in France, he says he never did nor even saw any Letters from him to any other Person in the Pretender's Service.

This Exam^t^ saith that Sir Thomas Sheridan was the Person of principal confidence with the Pretender and wrote all the Letters to France; that Sir Thomas Sheridan corresponded with Kelly after he went to France.

That this Exam^t^ received a Letter from Mr. Carnegie at Paris, acquainting him, that the Ministers gave to the Pretender's Adherents there hopes of Assistance. That an English Baronet was expected in France and that it was not doubted, but upon his arrival and the Assurances he should give the French would send the promised Succours.

Being asked whether he received any Letters from a Northumberland Gentleman called Mr. Bowry Charlton or from Mr. Hodson, he absolutely denies it, and says he never had a Letter from any English Gentleman whatever, relating to the Pretender's Affairs.

He saith that to the best of his Knowledge there was never any Money remitted from England to the Pretender since his Landing in Scotland; that there were small Sums of Money sent from different People in Scotland, whose Names he does not know: that he remembers three different sums amounting in the whole to about 1000£ sterling.

Being asked whether he knows of any Person sent to France in August last to sollicit for Assistance, he says there can be no Doubt but there was a close correspondence kept, but does not know the Name of any Person employed.

Being asked whether he ever heard of Lord Clancarty's being employed on such a Commission, he says that he has often heard that L^{d} Clancarty was busy in that way, but does not particularly know whether, or when he was sent to France.

This Exam^{t} being shewn a Letter beginning with the words, 'I had the Honour to receive *etc^{a}.*,' he saith he apprehends it to be the hand Writing of Drummond.

Being shewn the word *Assistance,* and the Words *Beaufort, Barrymore* and *Orrery,* interlined over Figures in the same Letter, he saith that he apprehends those Words to be of the Handwriting of Sir Thomas Sheridan, but cannot pretend to be certain.

This Exam^{t} saith that he came with the Pretender to Derby; that, during the whole time of their being in England, they received no Application or Message from any Persons in England, which surprised and disappointed them extremely.

This Exam^{t} saith that when the Rebel army first came within a Mile or two of Edenburgh upon a Summons sent by Sheridan, a Deputation of the Magistrates came out to meet them; that Sir Tho^{s} Sheridan demanded, that they should open the Gates, and give up their Arms, *etc.* That this Exam^{t} knows of no private correspondence between the Rebels and any of the Principal People in Edenburgh. That one Dr. Trepland came from Edenburgh to the Pretender's Army at Lithgow, and joined the Rebels there. That this Exam^{t} did not receive a single Letter from any Person in Edenburgh nor does he beleive there was any Body in that Town that at that time would have corresponded with him. That to the best of this Exam$^{t's}$ Knowledge, no Person about the Pretender had any Correspondence with Mr. Stuart, Provost of Edenburgh, nor any Dependance upon his Assistance. That during the Pretender's Stay at Holyrood House, no Person of Rank came to the Pretender (besides those who openly joined him) except Lord Kenmure and Lord Nithsdale who appeared but once with him, and then left him. That this Exam^{t} saw Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath at Edenburgh but to the best of his Knowledge Mr. Lockhart was not introduced to the Pretender, nor had they any Dependance upon Mr. Lockhart: that this Exam^{t} had some general conversation with Mr. Lockhart, but nothing passed of any Consequence.

This Exam^{t} saith that he recollects that one John Haliburton came to Inverness from France about two Days before the Battle of Culloden; that this Exam^{t} asked him whether he had brought any Intelligence, to which Haliburton said, he had brought a good deal of Information by his Memory which he had put in writing and given to Sheridan; that Mr. Alex. M^{c}Leod told this Exam^{t} that Haliburton had given in a long Memorial to Sheridan which he had put in writing from what had been told him by Sir James Stuart.

This Exam^{t} being asked who drew the Declarations and Manifestos *etc^{a}.*, published by the Pretender, and in his Name at Edenburgh and particularly the Second Declaration, he saith it was drawn by Sheridan and Sir James Stuart.

Being asked as to another Declaration dated at the Head of Lochiel with this Exam$^{t's}$ Name to it, he saith he apprehends it was drawn by Sheridan; that it was dated before this Exam^{t} was appointed Secretary; that however he will not be positive whether he put his name to it or not.

Being shewn a Sheet of Paper written on every Page, beginning with the Words, *After we have represented, etc^{a}.*, he says he takes it to be Kelley's hand Writing and thinks that he may have seen it before but does not recollect the contents.

This Exam^{t} recollects that after the Pretender came from Carlisle, a Letter was sent to Lord Barrymore, which Letter he supposes was wrote by Sheridan; that he does not know the Contents of the Letter, nor does he know of any Letter sent by the Pretender to any other Person in England, nor did the Pretender or any Person about him, receive (to the best of this Exam$^{t's}$ Knowledge) any Message or Letter, or any Money from any Person in England.

This Exam^{t} recollects that Sir John Douglass came from London to Bannockburn during the siege of the Castle of Stirling. That Sir John Douglass told this Exam^{t} at Bannockburn that he had a Message to deliver to the Pretender from his Friends in England. That this Exam^{t} carried Sir J. Douglass into his Chamber, he being obliged himself to go to Stirling. That when he returned from Stirling some hours after, he found Sir J. Douglass in his Chamber. That Sir John then told him that he had seen the Pretender and Sir Thomas Sheridan, since this Exam^{t} had left him, and had delivered his Message to them. That Sir J. Douglas told this Exam^{t} that a Message had been sent from the Pretender's Friends to France some time before. That another Message was going to France at the time he left London. That there was a large Sum of Money (10,000£ as this Exam^{t} thinks) lying in the City of London for the use of the Pretender. That Sir J. Douglass did not tell this Exam^{t} by whom these Messages were sent to France; but that this Exam^{t} concluded, when the Pretender's Friends were mentioned, the Persons above-mentioned, viz., Lord Barrymore, Sir J. H. Cotton, Sir W. W. Wynn were meant.

This Exam^{t} saith that one, Mr. Morgan, a Councillor at Law, who joined the Rebels after they came into England, as soon as it was determined to return towards Scotland, proposed to go to London to procure Intelligence, and left the Army accordingly, with the Knowledge and Consent of the Pretender and of Sir Thomas Sheridan.

This Exam^{t} saith that, when the Army was at Derby, he accidentally went into the Room where a Council of War was at that time sitting. That he offered to go back, but the Pretender called him into the Room, and told him, in some heat, that he was quite scandalised, for that they were pressing him to go back to Scotland, instead of marching directly to London as had been intended. That they, Lord George Murray, Lord Elcho, and every Body present, except Lord Perth, declared their opinion for marching back to Scotland. That the Pretender insisted to go on to London, but at last yielded to the opinion of the Council of War (as this Exam^{t} advised him to do), and it was resolved to march back to Scotland.

That this Exam^{t} does not beleive that there were above 5000 Men at Derby.

Being asked whether any Persons in England sent them any Intelligence relating to the motions of his Majesty's Troops, he saith they received no Intelligence from any English, and indeed had little or no Intelligence from any Quarter whatever. Being shewn the Letter already mentioned, beginning with the Words, 'I have had the honour, etc.,' and signed M^{c}Griger, and having read that Letter, and being asked whether he has seen that Letter before, he says he thinks Sir Thomas Sheridan shew'd him that Letter, but does not remember any particular Conversation that passed upon the contents of it. That he very well remembers the Pretender told him, in a sneering way, that he had received a Letter from Drummond. That Drummond told this Exam^{t}, the first time he returned from Paris, that he had a Letter from Sempil to introduce him to the Earl of Orrery. That he afterwards told this Exam^{t} that he had been in the Country to see Lord Orrery, and had delivered Sempil's Letter to him, and been well received by him. That Lord Traquair afterwards told this Exam^{t} that Drummond and he had been at a Tavern in order to meet Lord Orrery, but that Lord Orrery disappointed them. That the next Day Lord Traquair met Lord Orrery in a Chair, and spoke to him. That another appointment was then made to meet the following Evening, but Lord Orrery failed them again, which made Lord Traquair imagine that Drummond had not been so well received by Lord Orrery as he pretended.

This Exam^{t} saith that Marquis d'Aiguilles had a short Credential from the French King to the Pretender's Son. That, after the Battle of Culloden, two French Ships arrived with 35,000 Louis d'ors. That a considerable Part of it was distributed amongst the Highlanders; that 15,000£ was buried about a mile and a half from the Loch of Orkik, on the west end of the south side of the Lake, in three Places, and 12,000£ about a mile and half from Lochiel's House, the south side of the Lake. That this Exam^{t} beleives the Money to be still in those Places.

The Exam^{t} thinks that the Jacobites in Scotland do not flatter themselves with the Hopes of getting any Troops together again, but look upon their affairs to be quite desperate.

That Marquis d'Aiguilles at Carlisle shew'd his Instructions to this Exam^{t}, which were pretty long. That the purport of them was to learn, as particularly as possible, the situation of things in Scotland; the strength of the Pretender's Army; what Friends he had, and what he would be able to do; and to send an exact account of it to the French Ministers, and that if things looked favourable for the Pretender they would assist him with troops, etc.

This Exam^{t} saith that he hath heard the Duke of Beaufort named by the Pretender's Friends as a Person from whom they had some Expectations of Assistance. But that he knows nothing of any Correspondence kept by any of that Party with the Duke of Beaufort. This Exam^{t} further saith that M^{c}Donald of Loch Gary proposed to this Exam^{t} at Invermaly, some time after the Battle of Culloden, that he, M^{c}Donald, would lie in wait with six or seven Persons, who were good Marksmen, in order to shoot his R. H. the Duke of Cumberland, on the Road between Fort

Augustus and Fort William; which this Exam^{t} prevented by absolutely forbidding him to think of making such an attempt, which this Exam^{t} verily beleives M^{c}Donald would otherwise have done, and that he might have succeeded in it.

This Exam^{t} being asked whether he recollects a Person called Doctor Burton[1] being with the Pretender's Army in Lancashire, he saith he does remember a Person who, he thinks, was a Physician, but cannot recollect his Name. That this Person came to them at Lancaster, and said that he had been at Hornby Castle; that he desired this Exam^{t} to introduce him to the Pretender, which he did accordingly. That the said Person told the Pretender, in this Exam$^{t's}$ Presence, that he came from York, and that there were many Persons there who would have joined him if he had come that way. JO. MURRAY.

Tower of London, Aug^{t} 13, 1746. Signed before me.
ANDREW STONE.

Indorsed—The Examination of John Murray of Broughton, Esq^{r}. Aug^{t} 13, 1746.

[*This Examination is signed on the bottom of every page J^{o} Murray.*]

No. 10.

MR. MURRAY'S EXAMINATION RELATING TO SIR JOHN DOUGLAS[2]

THIS Examinant recollects that Sir John Douglas came from London to Bannockburn during the Siege of the Castle of Stirling. That he told this Examinant at Bannockburn, that he had a Message to deliver to the Pretender from his Friends in England, That this Examinant carried Sir John Douglas into his Chamber, he being obliged himself to go to Stirling. That when he returned from Stirling some hours after, he found Sir J. Douglas in his Chamber. That Sir John Douglas then told him that he had seen the Pretender since this Examinant had left him, and had delivered his Message to them. That Sir John Douglas told this Examinant that a Message had been sent from the Pretender's Friends to France, some time before. That another Message was going to France at the time he left London. That there was a large sum of money (as this Examinant thinks 10,000 £) lying in the City of London for the use of the Pretender. That Sir J. Douglas did not tell this Examinant by whom these Messages were sent to France; but that this Examinant concluded, when the Pretender's Friends were mentioned, the Persons abovementioned, viz., L^{d} Barrymore, Sir J. H. Cotton, and Sir W. W. Winne were meant.

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[1] John Burton, M.D., of York, author of an account of the Prince's escape, supposed to be the original of Dr. Slop in *Tristram Shandy*. See Dr. Macnaughton's *Medical Heroes of the Forty-Five*: Glasgow, 1897.

[2] S. P. D. George II., B. 86, No. 70.

Indorsed—Extract of Mr. Murray's Examination relating to Sir John Douglas.

13 Aug. 1746.

No. 11.

THE FURTHER EXAMINATION OF JOHN MURRAY OF BROUGHTON, ESQ.[1]

This Examinant saith that all the Time that Stirling Castle was besieged by the Rebels, which was in Jan^{ry} last, this Examinant's Quarters were at Banockbourn, which is distant about two or three miles from Stirling. That one evening, about eight or nine o'clock, this Examinant being alone in his Chamber, he was told by a Servant that a Gentleman was below who desired to see him. That this Examinant thereupon went downstairs and found Sir John Douglas of Killhead, Bar^{t}, Member of this present Parliament for the County or Town of Dumfries. That this Examinant was surprised to see S^{r} John Douglas in that Place, never having suspected him to be in the Pretender's Interest. That S^{r} John Douglas asked this Examinant how things went, and then told him that he was come from London with a Message to the Prince (as he called the Pretender), to whom this Examinant told him he would take care he should be introduced the next day. That Sir John Douglas lodged that night at this Examinant's Quarters, and in conversation told him, in general, that his Business was to acquaint the Pretender that there had been a message sent to him, the Pretender, from his Friends in London (which this Examinant told Sir John Douglas he believed had not been received), tho' S^{r} John Douglas farther told this Examinant that there was the Sum of ten thousand Pound, then ready in London, which had been collected for the Pretender's Service.

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[1] S. P. D. George II., B. 86, No. 71.

That S^r^ John Douglas also told this Examinant that a Message had been lately sent from the Pretender's Friends in London to France; and that another Messenger would soon be dispatch'd. That these are all the particulars that S^r^ John Douglas mention'd to this Examinant. That the next morning this Examinant was obliged to go to Stirling. That he accordingly went to Stirling about noon, and left S^r^ John Douglas in his Chamber at Bannockbourn, having first carried S^r^ Thom^s^ Sheridan to S^r^ John Douglas and this Examinant left S^r^ Tho. Sheridan and Sir John Douglas in his Chamber together. That this Examinant returned from Stirling in the evening of the same day, and found S^r^ John Douglas alone in the Chamber where he left him. That S^r^ John Douglas said very little to this Examinant, and seem'd to be very uneasy and discontented. That he, however, told this Examinant that he had been introduced to the Pretender. That soon after this Examinant's return from Stirling, and the short conversation above mentioned, Sir John Douglas sat out from Bannockbourn; and this Examinant apprehends that he went to his own House, but cannot say certainly whither he went. That this Examinant had no particular conversation with Sheridan relating to S^r^ John Douglas but remembers to have heard Sheridan say, in a peevish manner, 'Since they have collected Money, why the Devil did not they send it?' This Examinant saith that when he first saw S^r^ John Douglas at Bannockbourn, he seem'd to be (and this Examinant verily believes he was) just alighted from his horse, being in Boots, and very dirty. That this Examinant has been acquainted with Sir John Douglas several years, and is not certain whether he is not related to him. That he is a strong, well built man, and wears his own Hair; that he is a Widower, and has nine or ten children. That this Examinant does not believe that anyone who is acquainted with S^r^ John Douglas saw him at Bannockbourn except himself, and those to whom he was introduced at his own Desire. Jo. MURRAY.

Tower of London, Aug^t^ 13, 1746. Taken and sign'd before me,
ANDREW STONE.[1]

Indorsed—Further the Examination of John Murray of Broughton, Esq. Aug^t^ 13, 1746.

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[1] Andrew Stone was appointed Under-Secretary of State in 1726. In 1754 he was made a member of the Board of Trade, where he remained till 1761. Horace Walpole calls him 'the Duke's man, Stone.'

No. 12.

ACCOUNT OF THE HIGHLAND CLANS BY JOHN MURRAY OF BROUGHTON[1]

Sir,—The misfortunes of my Country naturally incline me to reflect upon whatever I think may tend to his Majestys interest by settling the peace and quiet of the Highlands upon such a footting as to prevent the like Calamity for the future; this, Sir, together with a most hearty and sincere desire to make all possible reparation for my past misconduct, occasions me to give you the trouble of this long letter, which contains a Character of the Inhabitants with the present Situation of the principal famillys concern'd in the late Rebellion, the Characters of the Leaders, and how far they are connected or att variance one with another. The Highlanders are naturaly sagacious, cunning, and extreamly curious, very hospitable to strangers when not to remain amongst them, but jealous to a degree of any who propose to settle in their Country, and seldome fail to use all methodes, however unjust, to distress them; very much addicted to theift, which is much owing to the indolence of the Cheifs, who, if honest and active, can easily prevent it. Their Cheif is their God, their every thing, especially when a man of address and resolution, but if weak or off an easy temper, no farther regarded than so far as custom prevails, or interest directs. This appeard obvious during the late Rebellion, for as amongst the leaders there were very few men of Education or Capacity, their people went and came, plundered or not as they pleased themselves, in short they are not to be traite with an over severity, nor too much lenity, but a certain familiarity without seeming too much to deviate from that absolute authority by which they were formerly ruled.

As His Majesty has been graciously pleas'd to grant a reprive to the Earl of Cromarty, which, it is to be hoped, will in time produce a pardon all Scotland by north the Town of Inverness must be strongly attach'd to His Majestys interest; nor is it to be doubted that freinds will take away the difference that has for some time subsisted betwixt Lord Fortrose and him, which will make all publick matters go on more smoothly, both in Country and Burrows than formerly.

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 86, No. 114.

The Country which lies contiguous to the above mentioned is the Property of the Lord Lovat, whose character is so well known to the world that it would be tedious, as well as impertinent in me, to enlarge upon it. He has three sons, two by a Sister of S^{r} James Grants, and one by a Sister of General Campbells. The eldest son of the first marriage was in the Rebellion, the second, young, in person not unlike the Father, and in mind to all appearance a lively coppy. Should the Law reach Lord Lovat himself, I must beg leave, with all submission, to insinuate how far it might not tend to advance His Majestys interest to give the Estate to his Son by Mrs. Campbell, who will be educated by the Duke of Argyle and his Uncle, General Campbell's, directions, and cant fail of being a firm friend to the present happy Establishment. The following are mostly Protestant, and tho considerable, yett by no means so formidable as an equal number of the other Clanns. There is more Agriculture in their Country, and the severe labour of the body, together with poor feeding, naturaly innervates the mind; nether are they in any great repute or freindship with their neighbours, except some few in the Country of Straherick, who ly contiguous to the M^{c}donells of Glengary. His eldest Daughter is married to M^{c}pherson of Cluney. This Relation in the Highlands generaly begetts a strong connection, but as his Lordship is look'd upon ever to have studied what he imagined his interest, without the least regard to that of others, I am ready to think this alliance has not done much to cement the two Clanns. Lord Lovats nearest connection is with the Clann of M^{c}leod; his mother was of that familly, and he educated by M^{c}leod, his Uncle. It may be objected that the Grants of Urquhart and Chisholms of Straglass intervene, and are disafected, but it will necessarly happen to them as it seldome fails in such like cases that the lesser yeilds to the greater; they will see the impossibility of their being of any service to their own party, and consequently fall in with the opposite, and if I remember right, the Chisholms Son is in the Army; but however that be, their followings are so inconsiderable, y^{t} they can be of no disservice. I cant fail here, in justice to the Grants of Urquhart, to take notice that they were absolutely forced out by M^{c}donnel of Lochgarry, and when they came to Inverness, where they probably expected redress, upon desireing liberty to return home, their leaders were disarmed and made prisoners by the same gentlemen, and they of necessity oblidged to stay. The next most northern country belongs to M^{c}donell of Glengarry, and reaches from Fort Augustus in a streight line to the west sea. The Clann are Roman Catholicks to a man, and reckoned the most daring and expert theives in the Country, in so much that they over aw almost all their neighbours. This is much oweing to their Chief who is an indolent Creature, and entirely given up to Drink. He did not appear in the late Rebellion, his following being commanded by his second Son till some days after the Battle of Falkirk, when he was shot by accident, and after that headed by his Cousin, Lochgarry, but how far his procedure, which occasioned his house to be burnt, may render him liable to Forfeitry, I cant say; yett supposing him legaly possessed, could his son, now prisoner in the Tower, be prevail'd upon to quite the service he is in, it would prove an effectual methode to civilize that Clann. He has been most barbarously used by his father and mother in law, and probably engaged himself more from necessity than inclination. Glengary married first one of the name of M^c^kenzie, and his present wife is daughter to Gordon of Glenbucket, by whom he gained no connection of any consequence; but it is to be observed that when he, or indeed any of the other M^c^donalds happens to have a dispute with their neighbours of a different name, they are generally supported by the rest lett their Plea be never so unjust.

M^c^donell of Barrisdale is a man whose character is almost as well known as that of Lord Lovats, and has a son, now a man, very fitt to represent him. He has a small interest called Apin in the County of Ross, and is presently married to a Daughter of M^c^kenzie of Fairburn, which enabled him to raise betwixt two or three hundred men in that Country who he join'd to those living on his wadsett lands in Knoydart, and then declared himself independent of Glengarry, his Cheif. He has, for some years past, faln upon a way to procure an yearly pension from a great many gentlemen of the Country to protect them from theift, by which he has gained a good deal of interest, which nevertheless proceeds much more from fear than love.

Cameron of Lochiel is a man of pretty good understanding, tho of no learning, and esteem'd by everybody to be in private life a man of strict honour. He is married to a Daughter of S^r^ James Campbell of Auchenbreck, and has a large familly. S^r^ James is a man of a desperate fortune and little interest, so that his Son in law has no considerable Connections through him, and is the person in the Highlands (I mean that part of them) who took the most care to civilize his people by curbing of theift. His Estate lys on both sides the Loch of Lochy, and borders with Glengary and Clanronald, and on the other side along the River of Lochy extending some milles below Fort William. His following are mostly Protestant, and the major part of them liveing on other peoples lands. His Grace the Duke of Argyle is his superior, and the late Duke might have had access to it, this gentlemans father haveing forfeited in the year 1715, and I am apt to believe it wont be so hard to manage now as it would then, the Clann haveing suffered exceedingly in the late Rebellion. I shall only further observe in Relation to them that they are the Clan alone able to cope with the M^c^donalds, by whom they are surrounded on three sides. They are continualy quarreling but never come to blows, being afraid of one another. The two neighbouring Countrys, Moydart and Arraseck, extend to the sea and belong to Clanronald, the number of the Inhabitants is small, the most considerable part of his Estate being in the Isle of Weist. They are all Roman Catholicks, and were, generaly speaking, the Acters and Abeteres of all the irregularities and outrages committed during the Rebellion. The old Gentleman keept att home, and did not allow the people of Weist to join his Son. He is but a weak man, and much given to his bottle, but is advised by his Brother, M^c^Donald of Borrisdale, who is reckoned a man of good sense. His son is an indolent, headstrong boy, guided by his Priests, and permitts his people to act without controle. I have been told that the son was in possession of these two Country by virtue of a disposition from the late Lady Clanronald, who gott a Grant of the Forfeitry after the year 1715. Were these lands the property of S^r^ Alexander M^c^donald, it might be a means to preserve the peace and quiet of the Country. His Clan is already considerable, which will enable him to keep them in aw, as that part of the Island of Skey which belongs to him lys almost quite opposite, and only a few milles over; upon the whole it would seem that this methode will lay at least 400 of Clanronalds following aside, seeing they will have no longer footting upon the main land, those of Moydart and Araseck are hated and dispised by all their neighbours. Steuart of Appin is a bashfull man, of few words, and but ordinary parts. He did not appear in the Rebellion, his Clan being commanded by Steuart of Ardsheil, from whos familly it is reckon'd near to a half of the following are descended, and will join him without regard to Appin. This gentleman has no son, and his nearest Connection of any consequence was with the late M^c^donald of Cappoch, who married his Sister. The late Appin forfeited to the Duke of Argyle in 1715, and the present Duke was so generous as to give his son a Charter some little time before the Rebellion broke out. The Steuarts are mostly of the Church of England, and esteemd the least given to theift of any in the Highlands. M^c^donald of Glencoe was but a smal following, and is Vassal to Steuart of Appin. He is exceedingly proud, and his people reckoned false and traitorous, so that they are seldome trusted by their neighbours. The Country of Brae Lochaber is the Property of the Laird of M^c^intosh, but has been long in the possession of Kappochs familly. During the life of the late Kappochs father, the then M^c^intosh marched a part of his own Clan, together with some of the Kings Troops intending to dispossess Kappoch, who defeat and made him prisoner, upon which M^c^intosh granted a long and advantagious Leese which is not yet expired. Kappoch has left several children very young, and perhaps it may not be judged amiss to continue his Son in possession, provided S^r^ Alexander M^c^donald, who is nearly related to him, will take the boy under his care and become answerable for his Education, and, I am inclined to believe, that this methode will do more to promote the peace and quiet of the Country than by giveing it to M^c^intosh, for as his Estate lys att a great distance, a part of the Duke of Gordons, Cluneys, and Lord Lovats lands interveening, it is impossible for him to have an eye over them, especially as they are pretty much given to the same way of life with their neighbours of Glengary. They are almost all Roman Catholicks, notwithstanding their Cheif is Protestant. The Country of Badenoch belongs cheifly to the Duke of Gordon, but the Inhabitants follow M^c^pherson of Cluney. The father was not in the Rebellion, but it is probable the son was put in possession of the Estate upon his marriage with Lord Lovats Daughter, by whome he has only one girl. This Clan is looked upon as one of the most civilized in the Highlands. Cluney, the Son, is esteemed to have both sense and activity, and has as much if not more the command of his Clan than any Cheif amongst them. His strongest Connection and intimacy is with the familly of Lochiel, and his people all Protestants. The Laird of M^c^intosh is an officer in the Army, his following all Protestants, and little given to theift; those of them who joind the rebell army were almost entirely cutt off att the Battle of Collodoun. The Country of Rannoch belongs to S^r^ Robert Menzies of Weem, and Robinson of Struan. The people of that Country are not only theives themselves, but assisting to the Rogues of all the other Clans. S^r Rob^t Menzies is not lookd upon as a Cheif, haveing few of his name. The Camerons that live there join Lochiel, so that Struans following is but small, and all Protestants. He is an old Batcheler, lived long abroad, and is reckoned a man of letters. The next to be mentioned are the M^cGregores, who, tho undetermined as to their real Cheif, the Laird of M^cGregores familly haveing been extinct of a long time, and the name dispersed over all Scotland, cheifly inhabite the Countrys of Balwhidder and Montieth. Their numbers are but small and little union amongst them, but yeild the Command to M^cGreger of Glengyle, who is a very humain, honest man in private life, but seldom to be depended upon, being frequently delirious. They are lookd upon to [be] a very false people, in so much that it is generaly said that a M^cGreger is never betray'd but by one of his own name. My Lord Perths lands are inhabited by a mixture of all different names, mostly Protestant, and in no great repute for Bravery. The late Lords Character was well known, his Brother, Lord Johns, differs widely in many particulars. I have heard Gordon of Glenbucket lookd upon as a man of Consequence, whereas, in fact, he is quite the reverse. He is not liked by his own name, a man of no property nor natural following, of very mean understanding, with a vast deal of vanity. A few of the Farquharsons appeard in the Rebellion under a Cadet of Invercald's familly. He keept at home himself, and his son is an officer in the Army. In short, the Farquharsons, the Duke of Gordon's people, those of Braemar, Strathdon, Glenlivet, with Lord Ogilveys followers are esteemd bad mimicks of the real Clans. I have now gone through them all save that of Athol, which I decline to put in writting, but if I have the honour to see you, shall give you a full account of its situation. In case you think there is anything in what I have wrote that can be of use, I beg you will take the trouble to intimate it to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle that when any proposals are made in relation to these famillys, his Grace may the easier judge how far they proceed from Interest or Connection, or may, from their natural Consequences, prove hurtfull to the State. I hope you will pardon me if I pray you to take the trouble of reading that part of my letter to the Lord President, when I flatter myself you will find it to be a pretty genuine account of the several Highland famillys, nor indeed can it with reason be imagined that I have made any wilfull mistake, as I have not the smallest Relation or Connection with any of them; att the same time, I could wish his Lordship did not know the writter, and I beg you will do me the justice to believe that I am, with a most sincere regard and esteem, Sir, Your most obedient and most obliged humble Servant,

Jo. Murray.

Tower of London, Augst y^{e} 22^{d}, 1746.

Indorsed—Tower of London, Aug^{t} 22, 1746. Mr. John Murray.

No. 13.

JOHN MURRAY TO [1]

Sir,—I had the honour to send you a letter Saturday last, containing some remarks upon the Situation of the Highland famillys concerned in the late Rebellion, which grew to such a lenth, that I choosed to take an other opportunity to mention some two three things that then occurred to me; and shall begin with one Circumstance that happened prior to the Pretender's landing in Scotland. I remember^{d} you asked me whither Lord Traquair had meettings with the three English Gentlemen I mentioned seperatly or together, which I then could not answer possitively, but the following circumstance has since occurred which plainly shews he did meet with them together. He told me upon his return the last time from London that one night when in company with S^{r} Watkin Williams and Lord Barrimore (but don't remember if he mentioned any others) in talking of the Pretender's affairs it was thought necessary that a Sum of twelve thousand pounds should be had ready, upon which S^{r} Watkin Williams said that it was natural as he had a large Estate that he should contribute a considerable share of it, but that as he was oblidged to live att a great expense, he generally spent his whole income. My Lord Barrimore then said that the money should be no stop for he would find the twelve thousand pound himself. The Laird of Lochiel had been for some days after the battle of Collodoun with M^{c}Pherson of Cluney and Steuart of Ardsheil, when they agreed that Lochiel should have a meetting with the other gentlemen of the Countrey to concert with them what were the most proper methodes to be taken in their then Situation. The meeting was some time after agreed upon att a place called Murligan,[1] about two milles from the head of Locharkik, where were present the Lord Lovat, Lochiel, M^c^donell of Barisdale, M^c^donnell of Lochgarry, Gordon of Glenbucket, John Roy Steuart, with some others. Lord Lovat spoke first, and made them a long harangue, wherein he told them how much it would tend to their honnour to reassemble their men, and make a stout defence, that in no other shape they could expect to make any terms for themselves and Famillys, and att worst it was better to die with their swords in their hands than to suffer as malefactores; that as for his own part he was sorrey he was not young enough to have a share in their fate, but that his son should join them with four hundered pict men. This speech had the effect he desired, and they all agreed to meet the week following with each a convenient number of their best men, which nevertheless was not accomplished, their people being unwilling to come out a second time. Last time I had the honour to see you I offered to lay my hand upon the fifteen thousand Louis d'ors and am still certain I can do it, but as the season is now advancing, and the parties will probably be soon called in, it is not in that event impossible but the money may be raised. This I beg leave to mention, that some methode may be faln upon to prevent it. I should be heartily sorrey if my writting to you prove troublesome. It proceeds from a sincere and unfeigned desire to be of service. Could I know that it was not disagreeable I would venture to give you the trouble of what further occurs to me and I am with a most sincere regard and esteem, Sir, your most obedient and most oblidged hum^ble^ servant,

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 86, No. 144. This letter is probably to Stone.

Jo. Murray.

Tower of London, Ag^st^ y^e^ 27, 1746.

Indorsed—Tower of London, Aug^t^ 27^th^, 1746. Mr. Murray.

No. 14.

JOHN MURRAY TO [2]

Sir,—There has a particular circumstance occurred to me of late which I hope may be of service, but as I may not probably explain my self so fully as necessary by writting, I must beg that any hour you cannot dispose of better you will do me the honour to take a step so far as the Tower, and I am with the utmost regard, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

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[1] Muir Laggan on Loch Arkaig.

[2] S.P.D. George II., B. 88, No. 43.

Jo. Murray.

Tower, Oct^r^ y^e^ 8^th^, 1746.

Indorsement over first page, W^m^ Fox [?][1]

Indorsed—Oct. 8, 1746. Mr. J. Murray.

No. 15.

JOHN MURRAY TO[2]

Sir,—To my very great surprise I was this day informed by Mr. Fuller, the gentleman jailer, that Mrs. Murray had pass'd into Holland, which you may believe after the letter I had the honour to write you lately concerning hir gives me the outmost uneasiness. I hope nevertheless you will as I do impute it entirely to a womanish fear, and her ignorance of my Situation, as I am apt to believe that had she known of my being a Prisoner, no Consideration would have made her take so imprudent a step. I thought it my Duty to acquaint you of this by the first opportunity least any wrong Construction should be put upon it. I hope the letter I had the honour to write you some days ago came safe, and I am with the most sincere regard and esteem, Sir, your most obed^t^ and most oblidged hum^ble^ servant,

Jo. Murray.

Tower of London, Octob^r^ y^e^ 16, 1746.

Indorsement over first page, W^m^ Fox [?]

Indorsed—Oct. 16, 1746. Mr. J. Murray.

No. 16.

ÆNEAS MACDONALD TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.[3]

My Lord —I should not have made bold to have troubled your Grace directly with a Letter, if I was not persuaded that you would approve of the Contents thereof being proposed immediately to your Grace, without the Communication of any other whither you thought them worth consideration or not.

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[1] Neither this nor the succeeding letter bears any address. It is possible that they were written to Henry Fox, the first Lord Holland, who was appointed Secretary at War in July 1746. I can find no trace of a *William* Fox.

[2] S.P.D. George II., B. 88, No. 86.

[3] *Ibid.* No. 125.

The late Rebellion, my Lord, was a thing that appear'd so unaccountable to me, that (tho' I could not save my own family, att a time when Brothers rose up against Brothers, and Sons against their Fathers) yett I can demonstrate that it was not possible for a person under my Circumstances to doe more towards crushing it than I did, having allways from the doctrine of the most sensible people even of that party abroad (such as Lord Marischal) look'd upon any such attempt (tho' concerted with some forethought) as unlawfull without the Consent of the nation), and I so much detest such mad flights, that if your Grace thinks well of it, I'm very willing to engadge to give you all the Intelligence that for the future I shall be able to gather att the French Court of such or any other attempts, and I dare be bold to say there is not one man belonging to the Isle of Brittain so capable of serving your Grace that way as I am. In case you think such Intelligence worth while, and the least enquiry into my character will leave no room to doubt but that whatever I solemnly promise I shall perform to a title.

I hope your Grace will pardon this great presumption, and look upon it as att least a certain signe that I know nothing more of the late affair that can be of any service to the Government and repose of the nation than what I told att my examination.—I am, with the most profound submission, my Lord, your Grace's most humble and most obedient servant, ÆNEAS MACDONALD.

Indorsed—Oct. 26th, 1746. Mr. Æneas Macdonald.

No. 17.

THE FURTHER EXAMINATION OF JOHN MURRAY OF BROUGHTON, ESQ., ETC.[1]

THIS Examinant being asked whether he can recollect with Certainty at what time Drummond, otherwise M^cGregor, was first sent to Rome from Scotland, he saith that he beleives it to have been in the year 1740 and that he returned to Scotland in Feb^ry 174$\frac{1}{2}$, and that this Exam^t's first meeting and conversation with

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 89, No. 43.

Lord Traquair on this Subject, as mention'd in his former Examination, was in the said month and year. This Exam^t being asked saith he is ready to declare in the Presence of Lord Traquair, Sir John Douglas and Dr. Barry what he has said in his former Examination relating to them.

Lord Traquair was then called in, and acquainted that it was thought proper to examine him in the Presence of Mr. Murray, as to what he knows relating to the late Rebellion and intended Invasion from France. Mr. Murray was then desired to give an account of what had passed between him and Lord Traquair on that Subject; upon which Mr. Murray declared that in the Month of February in the year 174$\frac{1}{2}$, Lord Traquair acquainted him that Drummond otherwise Macgregor was then at Edinburgh; that the said Drummond had been sent to Rome by Lord Perth, Lord Traquair, Lord Lovat, Cameron of Lochiel, Lord John Drummond the Elder, Sir James Campel of Auchterbright and Mr. Stuart Lord Traquair's Brother. That the said Drummond went from Rome to France; that he carried with him from Scotland a Memorial address'd to Cardinal Fleury and signed by the seven Persons above-mentioned, the purport of which was that there was a considerable Number of People in Scotland ready to appear in Arms for the Pretender, if they were assured of the Assistance of a Body of Troops from France; that Lord Traquair further told this Exam^t that Drummond had presented this Memorial to Cardinal Fleury, who was very much pleased with the Assurances contained in it, and promised to send a Body of Troops if he could have the same Assurances from the Pretender's Friends in England. This Exam^t saith that he was in Company at Edinburgh with Drummond, Lord Traquair, Cameron of Lochiel and (he thinks) Cluny Macpherson; that Drummond then told them, that the Cardinal was pleased with the Memorial, and promised to assist them with Troops if he could have the same Assurances from England as he had from Scotland; that Drummond staid some Weeks at Edinburgh and then went to London; that in the month of December 1742, Lord Traquair shew'd this Exam^t Letters from Drummond in which it was said that the Cardinal promised to put the Scheme in Execution in a few months.

Lord Traquair was then asked whether he had any Conversation with Mr. Murray to the purport above-mentioned, relating to Drummond's Voyage to Rome and Paris, the Memorial sent to Cardinal Fleury and the other particulars above-mentioned. To which he saith that he does not remember that he ever had any Conversation with Mr. Murray relating to any of those particulars. Being asked whether he introduced Drummond to Mr. Murray, he saith he cannot be sure whether he did or not; being asked whether he had any meeting at any time at Edenburgh with Drummond, Mr. Murray and any other persons, he saith he does not remember that he ever was present at any such Meeting.

Lord Traquair being asked whether he knows that Drummond was an Agent for the Pretender, he saith that he had heard it said that he was; that when Drummond went abroad some said he was gone to the West Indies and others to Paris.

He further saith that he never was concern'd in sending any Memorial to invite or desire an Invasion from France, in favour of the Pretender, and that he never told Murray that he was concerned in any such Transaction.

Mr. Murray being then asked whether it was in Lord Traquair's presence that Drummond told him that Cardinal Fleury had promised a Body of Troops to assist the Pretender, he saith that Drummond gave him that account in the Presence of Lord Traquair. Lord Traquair saith that the first time he came to London was in 1741, when he was in Mourning for his Father, that he return'd to Scotland in May 1741, that he staid in Scotland till the Year 1743, that he came to London in April 1743.

Mr. Murray being asked whether he knows on what occasion Lord Traquair came to London in April 1743, saith that in the Beginning of that Year, he had been sent to France by Lord Traquair, Lord Perth and Cameron of Lochiel, to know what the Court of France would do in favour of the Pretender, and that he was order'd to declare to the French Ministers by Lord Traquair, Lord Perth and Lochiel that, if the French would send over a Body of Troops into Scotland, the greatest part of the Highlands would rise in Arms for the Pretender.

Lord Traquair being asked whether this was true, absolutely denied it.

Being asked whether he was present when Mr. Murray agreed to go to France with the Commission above-mentioned, he saith that he was not, and that he knew nothing of the Business on which Murray went to France, tho' he admits that Murray told him he was going thither.

Mr. Murray saith that he returned to London from France and from thence went to Scotland, where he acquainted Lord Traquair that Mo^{r} Amelot had acquainted him, that as soon as the French King's Affairs would permit, he would assist the Pretender with a Body of Troops, and that he, Murray, might assure the Gentlemen by whom he was sent of it; that he, Murray, then desired Lord Traquair to go to London to meet Drummond (as Drummond had desired) to get Assurances from the Jacobites in England of their Readiness to assist the Pretender; that Lord Traquair's Journey to London was on that Account and that when Lord Traquair return'd to Scotland, he acquainted this Exam^{t} that he had talked with Lord Barrymore, Sir John Hind Cotton and Sir Watkin Williams Wynn upon that Subject; that they had refused to give any assurance under their hands in favour of the Pretender, and that they said they would not do anything unless a sufficient Body of Troops were landed from France.

Lord Traquair being ask'd whether this is true, he saith that he absolutely denies it all; that he has a very slight and superficial acquaintance with Lord Barrymore, Sir John Hind Cotton and Sir Watkins Williams Wynne, but not sufficient for him to talk with them upon Business of such consequence; that he saw them once or twice in London, in Coffeehouses or other publick Places, and might possibly talk to them upon publick news.

Mr. Murray saith that Lord Traquair communicated to him two Letters from Drummond at Paris to his Lordship; the Purport of the first of which was that the French would invade England in January, and of the Second that the Invasion might probably take place before that Letter came to his hand; that this Letter was dated in January or the Beginning of February 174$\frac{3}{4}$.

Lord Traquair being asked whether he shew'd Mr. Murray the Letters above-mentioned, he saith he does not know what Letters Murray may have seen, but that he shew'd him no such Letters, and that he never corresponded with Drummond in his Life.

Mr. Murray being asked who the Persons were with whom Lord Traquair told him that he transacted the Pretender's Affairs in London, he saith he is positive Lord Traquair told him that he met Lord Barrymore, Sir John Hind Cotton and Sir Watkin Williams Wynne in London and talked with them upon the Pretender's affairs.

Mr. Murray withdrew, and then Lord Traquair persisting in his denial of the Facts upon which he had been examined, he was directed to withdraw.

Mr. Murray was called in and confirmed the particulars contained in his former Examinations relating to Sir John Douglass's coming to him in January last at Bannockburn.

Sir John Douglass was then called in and Mr. Murray was asked where he saw Sir John Douglass during the Siege of Stirling Castle.

Upon which Mr. Murray declared that at the time above-mentioned Sir John Douglass came to him at Bannockburn late at night and acquainted him that he came with a message from Lord Traquair and others in London (whom he did not name) to the Pretender; that Murray told him he should be introduced the next day to the Pretender but could not see him that night; that Sir John Douglass told Murray that a Message had been before sent to the Pretender from his Friends in England, that 10,000 £ was collected in London for the Pretender and was ready to be paid; that Sir John Douglass staid that night at Murray's Quarters; that the next morning Murray introduc'd Sir John Douglass to Sir Tho^{s} Sheridan and desired him to carry Sir John Douglass to the Pretender; that Murray went then to Stirling and return'd to Bannockburn the same day; that Sir John Douglass then told him that he had been introduced to the Pretender, but did not tell him what had passed; that Murray told the Pretender's Son the night before of Sir John Douglass's arrival, and that the Pretender's Son said he would see him the next day.

Sir John Douglass being then asked what he has to say to the Facts above-mentioned, he saith that he shall make no answer in any shape; that perhaps this may be ill manners, but that being no Lawyer he doth not think fit to give any answer.

The above examination of Mr. Murray relating to Sir John Douglass having been read over to Sir John Douglass in the presence of the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Chesterfield and Right Hon^{ble} Henry Pelham Esq^{r}., and he being asked whether he abides by his Resolution to give no answer to it in any shape, he saith he does abide by that Resolution.

Sir John Douglass and Mr. Murray were both order'd to withdraw, and after some time Sir John Douglass was again called in and acquainted that before he was remanded the Lords were desirous to know whether he had anything further to say upon the Matters that had been mentioned to him, to which he answered that he had nothing further to say, and then he was directed to withdraw.

Mr. Murray was again called in, and being asked relating to Dr.

Barry, he saith that to the best of his Memory, Lord Traquair gave him a Letter of Recommendation to Dr. Barry; that Murray sent one Cockburn an Hosier at whose house Drummond, otherwise M^{c}Gregor, used to lodge, to enquire whether Dr. Barry was at home: that he then went to Dr. Barry at his house in Craven Street and deliver'd Lord Traquair's Letter to him; that Dr. Barry told this Exam^{t} that he had received a Letter from Drummond acquainting him that the French designed to send a Body of Troops immediately to England, and desiring Dr. Barry to send some English Pilots to Dieppe; that he the Exam^{t} told Dr. Barry that he thought Drummond imposed upon him; that when this Exam^{t} returned from Paris to London he saw Doctor Barry again, who then appeared very shy and reserved to him, which he imagined proceeded from what Drummond had wrote concerning him. This Exam^{t} saith that he beleives that the Person abovementioned, whose name is Cockburn, was employed by Dr. Barry in carrying Letters into the City to be forwarded to France. This Exam^{t} saith that Lord Traquair told him that Dr. Barry went by the name of Moor in the secret correspondence.

Dr. Barry was then called in, and Mr. Murray being asked whether he knows Dr. Barry, he saith he does. Dr. Barry being asked whether he knows Mr. Murray, he saith he thinks he has seen him but cannot be certain.

Mr. Murray then declared that about July 1744 he had a recommendatory Letter from Lord Traquair to Dr. Barry; that when he came to London he sent one Cockburn an Hosier to enquire whether Dr. Barry was in Town; that the next day Murray went himself to Dr. Barry and found him at home at his house in Craven Street; that he told Dr. Barry that the occasion of his coming to him was to know from Lord Traquair what accounts he had received from Drummond, otherwise MacGregor, at Paris; that Dr. Barry told this Exam^{t} that he had an account from Drummond that the French Ministers were determined to send a Body of Troops immediately to England, and that Drummond desired him, Dr. Barry, to send some Pilots to Dieppe; that Dr. Barry some time after told him that he had another Letter from Dieppe relating to the sending the said Pilots to Dieppe.

Mr. Murray saith that he dined with Dr. Barry at his house.

Dr. Barry being asked what he has to say to what is alleged by Mr. Murray, he saith that he beleives Mr. Murray came to his house once; that he told him he was an officer in the Grey Dragoons, that his only Business was to desire his advice as a Physician; that he accordingly prescribed to him as a Physician; that Mr. Murray brought him no Letter from Lord Traquair or any other Person; that he might possibly dine at his house, as he often invites his Patients to dine with him; that he is not acquainted with any Person whose name is M^c^Gregor, nor ever had any correspondence with him; that he never had any Conversation with Murray relating to the procuring Pilots, nor was he ever employed for that Purpose, that all that Murray says relating to his Transactions with him is absolutely false and purely invented by him.

Mr. Murray says that when he returned from France, he saw Dr. Barry again and had Discourse with him relating to Drummond or M^c^Gregor, which Dr. Barry being asked, absolutely denies. Dr. Barry says that he knows a Person whose name is Cockburn who lives near Charing Cross.

Mr. Murray desired that Doctor Barry might be asked whether he ever received any Letter from any Person who subscribed himself Mallet at Paris, which Dr. Barry being asked, absolutely denies.

Being asked whether he ever received any Letter directed to him under the name of Moor, or whether he ever wrote any Letters and subscribed them by the name of Moor, he absolutely denies that he ever wrote or received any Letter in that manner, or that he ever went by any other name than Barry.

The above Examination of Mr. Murray relating to Doctor Barry was read over to Dr. Barry in the Presence of the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Chesterfield and the Right Hon^{ble} Henry Pelham Esq^{r}, and he adheres to the answers he has given, and then he withdrew.

Mr. Murray says that Dr. Barry told him that M^{c}Gregor wrote to him and subscribed his Letters by the name of Mallet. Mr. Murray saith that Cockburn the Hosier did live in Johnson's Court, Charing Cross; that M^{c}Gregor used to lodge at Cockburn's house; that Cockburn told this Exam^{t} that he used to carry Letters from Dr. Barry to a Merchant in the City to be forwarded to France and to bring Letters from that Merchant to Dr. Barry, but that Cockburn did not tell him the name of that Merchant, nor does he know who he was.

Lord Traquair was again called in and being asked whether he had anything further to offer to the Lords, he said that he had nothing to offer and had no other answer to give than he had given before.

Whitehall, 11 Nov^r^ 1746. Taken before Lord Chancellor, Duke of Newcastle, Earl of Chesterfield, Mr. Pelham.

Indorsed—The further examon of John Murray of Broughton, Esq^r^. the Earl of Traquair, Sir John Douglas and Dr. Barry.

11 Nov^r^ 1746.

No. 18.

JOHN MURRAY TO[1] [ANDREW STONE]

Sir,—According to my Lord Chancellers and Duke of Newcastles orders I have sent you some few particulars, which I perhaps may either have neglected or not so fully mentioned on my first examination. My Lord Chanceller desired me to be particular in regard to what I knew of M^c^donald the Banker. I have already mentioned what I knew of him whille att Paris, but if it is judged necessary to say any further of his Character whille abroad or his Behaviour when in Scotland you have only to honour me with your Commands when I wont fail to obey, and I am with great regard, Sir, Your most obed^t^ and most oblidged hum^ble^ ser^t^, Jo. Murray.

Tower of London, Nov^r^ y^e^ 17^th^, 1746.

Indorsed—Tower of London, Nov^r^ 17, 1746.

Mr. Murray. A. S.

No. 19.[2]

The Autumn[3] after Mr. Drummond left Scottland, I was to visite my Lord Traquair in the Country, when he took occasion to tell me that he understood by Drummond that Cardinal Fleury had proposed to send Swedish troops into Scotland, but that it was judged necessary that a Person should be sent thither from Scottland, and proposed that I should go, which I refused to comply with. Upon my return from Paris in the month of March 1743, or Aprill following, I reported to my Lord Traquair and Cameron of Lochiel what had pass'd att the interview I had with Mons^r^ Amelot, and att the same time observed to them that notwithstanding Mess^rs^ Semple and Drummond had alledged that Cardinal Fleury had put all their Memorials into Mons^r^ Amelot's hands, and instructed him fully with their schemes, yett when Mr. Semple asked of him if he had perused their scheme for a landing in the north of England, he answered No, which made me strongly suspect that the most of what they advanced, either came from themselves, or that the Cardinal had been imposing upon them. I likewise told my Lord Traquair that Mr. Drummond, who was then in England, with a view to procure the like assurances from the Pretender's friends in England as had been given by those in Scotland, beg'd his Lordship might immediately come to assist him in his undertaking, and his Lordship, in pursuance of Mr. Drummond's requist, did go to London soon after. Soon after his Lordship's return to Scotland in Autumn 1743, he told me that during his stay in London he had conversed with my Lord Barrimore, Sir John Hynd Cotton, and Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, who all declared their readiness to give what assistance was in their power, provided a considerable body of troops was landed in England, but would not consent to give any writting under their hands. His Lordship told me likewise that the same summer, one Mr. Buttler, an Irish gentleman in the King of France's service, was sent over to know the situation of the Jacobite party in England, that he had dined with Mr. Buttler in the Citty in company with a number of English gentlemen, all freinds to the Pretender. That Mr. Buttler went to Litchfeild Races, where, in company with Lord Barrimore, he dined with above fourscore gentlemen, who, Lord Barrimore told him, were all Jacobites save a very few. That Mr. Buttler had bought up a good many horses for the King of Frances use, seem'd quite satisfied with what he had learnt whille in England, and told Mr. Drummond with whom he went to Paris that he would make such a report to the King upon his arrival, as he was ready to believe would induce him to send over such a body of troops as was demanded. Lord Traquair told me att the same time that he had a meetting with Lord Barrimore and Sir Watkin Williams, att which it was judged necessary to raise a sum of twelve thousand pounds, upon which Sir Watkin Williams said that it was natural to expect he should contribute a considerable part of it, but that, notwithstanding he had a pretty large estate, he had generaly very little to spare; to which Lord Barrimore answered that he needed not give himself any pain about that, for he would take care to have the money ready when required. Lord Perth came soon after[1] from York, and told me, in presence of Cameron of Lochiel, that the then Mayor, with some Aldermen of York, had made large professions of their attachment to the Familly of Steuart, and assured him that in case a sufficient body of troops came into their Country, they would join them with ten thousand men. That they intended to send the Pretender's youngest son the Compliment of their Town in a Gold Box, but were afraid least it might be discovered by the workmen, but beg'd he might take occasion to acquaint the Pretender how much they were attach'd to his Interest, and tho by the constitution of their Citty the Mayor was chose by rutine, by which means it would fall upon a Whig the year following, yett if the Pretender expected that any thing would be undertaken in his favours, they would break through that Rule and name one who they knew to be his freind. The Spring[2] following, Lord Traquair sent for me, and in presence of Lord Perth shewed me two letters he had received from Drummond att Paris, the one dated att Paris in the month of December, wherein he says that he had, soon after his return from London, in Company with Mr. Buttler, prevailed upon the French Court to prepare for a descent in England and Scottland, and immediately went to Rome, where he after some time persuaded the Pretender to send his son to Paris to be ready to go over with the Embarkation from Dunkirk, which was then intended to be put in Execution in the month of January. In the second letter which enclosed the former, and was dated from London the end of Jan^{ry} or beginning of Feb^{ry} 1744, he says that upon his return from Rome to Paris he had orders from the Court of France to come to London to prepare the Pretender's freinds to receive the French upon their landing; that they att first seemed a little averse to it, but that they had now condescended, and that he was ready to return. That Lord Marishal was to sail from Dunkirk for Scotland, with three thousand men, arms, ammunition, etc., and afterwards says in the same letter that he does not know how he, meaning Lord Marishal, would be equiped, with several other such contradictions.

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 89, No. 63.

[2] *Ibid.* No. 62.

[3] The autumn 1742.

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[1] Winter 1743.

[2] Spring 1744.

Both Lord Perth and Lord Traquair judged it necessary that a letter should immediatly be wrote to him, requiring he would reconcile these seeming contradictions, and desired I might prepare it, which I did in their presence, and which they both signed, and Lord Traquair told me that he had sent it to London to Doctor Barry, with directions to forward it to Drummond att Paris. In the month of June 1744 following, when att Traquair, I told his Lordship that I proposed going to see the Army in Flanders. Upon which he desired I might go to Paris and learn the posture of the Pretender's affairs, haveing had no intelligence, as he said, since the letters he received in the Spring from Drummond. About a week after he wrote me to come to him, and show'd me a letter he had received from Semple att Paris, excusing his not writting sooner, and giveing reason why the intended Invasion from Dunkirk had miscarried, from which he said I might see that there was a greater necessity than ever for my going to Paris, and that I must have every thing from the Pretender himself, which, after some time, I agreed to, but said I would not fail to give my opinion of the two gentlemen employ'd there. To which his Lordship answered that I might do in that as I had a mind. I sett out from my own house the seventh of July, and the day after my arrival att London sent one Cockburn, a Hosier, to Dr. Barry to whom Lord Traquair had directed me to go as the person with whom Drummond att Paris coresponded. The next or second day after, I went to Doctor Barrys house, when he told me that he had some days before received a letter from Drummond telling him that the Court of France intended very soon to send a body of Troops into England, and desired he might send over some Pilots to Diepe, and that he was then endeavouring to find some fitt persons for that purpose. I told him that it seemd strange to desire Pilots might be sent without saying to whom they should be consigned, and that I could not allow myself to believe that any troops were, or indeed could be intended for England, as there were then none upon the Coast save small garrisons. The next time I saw Doctor Barry, he told me that upon what I had said he wrote to Drummond desireing to know to whom the Pilots should be consigned, and that he had returnd him for answer the Intendant of Marines att Diepe, that he had them ready to sail, and as I had acquainted him with my design of going to Paris, he proposed that I should lay hold of that opportunity to go there before I went to the Army. Upon my going over to Flanders I wrote to Drummond that I intended being att Paris, and desired he might send me a passport to Holland, but upon my comeing to Rotterdam found him there, where he pretended he was come to purchase arms, and in case he could not find them there proposed to return by way of Liege, but in three four days said he had found as many as he wanted, and sett out for Paris, where I went with him as mentioned in my first examination. Upon my arrival, M^{c}donald the Banker told me that the Pretender knew nothing of my comeing, att which I seemed surprised, telling him that I had write to Drummond, that I intended to come, and that he had told me att Rotterdam that the Pretender did not incline I should, as he then keept himself very private. The next morning I saw the Pretender in presence of Semple and Drummond, where nothing of any Consequence passed, but the day following I waited on him att the same place, and repeated to him the contents of Drummond's letters, so far as I could then remember, and endeavoured to show him that the persons employ'd were not acting fairly by him, which he desired me to put in writting, but as Mr. Drummond or his Nephew keept close with me, I could not find an opportunity, so stop't att a place called Senlis, four stages from Paris, and write from thence, where M^{c}donald was sent to receive it, and, if I remember right, he returnd a second time with a letter from Sir Thomas Sherridan, telling me he had read what I had wrote to the Pretender, and that it seemd to have a good deal of effect, and desired to know the principal people in Scottland, intending to write to them. To which I answered that he had only to peruse the list given in by Drummond, from which he might know them all, and then told M^{c}donald that if any letters were sent to me in Holland that he would be the bearer himself. Some days after my arrival in Holland I received a Packet containing one from M^{c}donald to me, and another to Lord Elcho, one from Sir Thomas Sherridan, and one from Mr. Kelly. Upon my return to London I went to Doctor Barrys house, and told him of my haveing been att Paris, where I found there was no such thing as a descent intended, nor was it possible it would be from the then situation of the troops, nether did I believe, from all I could learn, that the French were sincere in their preparations from Dunkirk the spring before, to which he made little answer. I then told him that I understood that the young Pretenders alowance from the Court of France was very small, and was ready to believe that a sum of money would be very acceptable to him. To which he answered that he could not imagine the Pretender was then in need of money, for Lord Barrimore had told him that a sum had been remitted to him in the Spring, which the Government had traiced so far as Amsterdam, and that surely his freinds would not send him a triffle. He then appointed me to meet him the next day at the Meuse Coffee-house, and called for paper, pen, and Ink, pretending to prescribe for me, but the particulars of what pass'd I cant remember. Some few days after my return to Scotland I acquainted my Lord Traquair, then att my own house, with what had pass'd, and put in writting all the arguments that then occurred to me to prove the Falasy of Semple and Drummonds promises, and to show how little they were to be depended upon, which his Lordship said he had not then time to consider, being oblidged to return next morning early, which he did. Three or four weeks after I mett with his Lordship and Cameron of Lochiel att Edinbnrgh, when I read over the same paper I mentioned above, which seemd to weigh a good deal with them, and they both declared against the Pretenders comeing over in the shape he proposed, which I told them I hoped I had prevented by what I had said both to him and Sir Thomas Sherridan. I likewise acquainted Lord Elcho and Steuart of Appin, who were equally against the attempt, as was every body I had ever occasion to hear talk of it, both before and after his landing, save Lord Perth alone. I then judged it necessary to write a letter to the young Pretender diswading him from comeing over in Conformity to the opinion of the several persons who I had acquainted with his designe, and procured letters from Lochiel, Lord Elcho, and Lord Traquair, to the same effect, all which I enclosed alongst with mine, as likewise one from Lord Perth, the Contents of which I dont know. My Lord Traquair had, some time before, proposed to go to London, so I desired he might carry this Packet and send it over; which he engaged to do, but upon his delaying his journey, I wrote to him begging he would sett out as soon as possible, as he knew of what consequence it would be that the letters he was to carry should go soon, and some few days after his Lordship came to Edinburgh, when I gave him the letter, which he promised to send over immediatly upon his arrival in London, which was in the month of January 1745. About six weeks after Lord Traquair went to London, Lord Perth told me that he had a Packet which he intended to send to the Pretender, and asked me if I knew of any body to carry it. I att first said I knew of none, fearing least he should give any encouragment which might destroy what I had said in mine by Lord Traquair, but when he told me that he only wrote concerning his Brother, Lord John, and seem'd very desirous his Letter should go, I told him the only person I could then think of was an old Servant of my own, who, I believed, would obey the directions given him. The fellow was accordingly sent, and being poor, Lord Perth desired I might write to M^{c}donald att Paris to give him what money he thought necessary, with a sheut of Cloaths, and that he should delivre the letter out of his own hand. Lord Elcho gave me a letter at the same time to M^{c}donald, Lord Perth haveing told him that he was sending over, and I wrote a few lines to Sir Thomas Sherridan telling of the letter I had sent by Lord Traquair, which, I hoped, had come to hand before that time, and upon the mans return he brought a packet which I sent to Lord Perth. Much about this time Lord Perth write me that there was a ship ready to sail for France from the west coast with which he intended to write, and if I had any letters to send he would forward them, upon which I sent him the Packet which was returned me, as mentioned in my first Examination, from Lord Traquair, telling him what a disapointment it was, and beg'd he would not neglect to forward it, which he afterwards told me he had done, but it would not have reached France before the Pretenders departure from Paris, as he never received it. I remember that Sir Thomas Sherridan told me in Scotland that Drummond was come from London (where he had been for some time) a little before he left France, and that my Lord Clancartie was soon expected, that Drummond was then in London, and the persons who conversed with him cannot fail to be known to Cockburn, att whose house he generaly lodged. And it is natural to imagine that it was oweing to Drummond that the Packet Lord Traquair carried was not sent over, for from the Confidence Lord Traquair had in him he would not fail to acquaint him with the contents, and Drummond, to be sure, would deswade his Lordship from sending letters which must evidently thwart his schemes.

Indorsed—Rec^d from Mr. Murray with his Letter dated Tower of London, Nov^r 17, 1746.

No. 20.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD JUSTICE CLERK [1]

Whitehall, Dec^{r} 9, 1746.

My Lord, Lord Justice Clerk,—I have received the Favour of your Lordship's letter of the 28th past, with an account of what had passed relating to the Election of the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and a List of those chosen upon the Poll and laid it before the King. His Majesty was glad to find that Mr. Drummond had been unanimously elected Provost, and hopes that the Consequences of this Election will be the fixing the Magistracy of Edenburgh for the future in the Hands of such Persons as are truly and zealously attach'd to his Majesty's Person and Government. His Majesty is very sensible of the Zeal and Diligence your Lordship shews for his service.

The Proposal contain'd in your Lordship's former Letter of the 15th past, relating to the Purchase of Mr. MacDonald of Glengary's Estate has been laid before the King, and his Majesty has it under Consideration what may be proper to be done relating to the general notion of the Purchase of Highland Estates by the Crown.

I send your Lordship in the greatest confidence by his Majesty's Command an Extract of the Examination of Murray, secretary to the Pretender, relating to S^{r} John Douglas, who is now Prisoner in the Tower, by which your Lordship will see Murray positively charges S^{r} John Douglas with having been with him at his Quarters at Bannoch Burn during the Time of the Siege of Stirling Castle, and with having been at that Time and place introduced to the Pretender's son. S^{r} John Douglas upon his first Examination absolutely denied his having been at Bannoch Bourn; and when he was examined a second Time and confronted with Murray, who confirmed everything he had before said relating to this Matter, S^{r} J. Douglas absolutely refused to make any answer whatever to any Questions that were then asked him. These Circumstances leave but little room to doubt of the Truth of Murray's Information; but, as it is very material to get, if possible, at the Bottom of this matter, his Majesty would have your Lordship enquire in a prudent and cautious manner whether some Person may not be found that can give an Account of all S^{r} John Douglas's Motions when he was in Scotland in January last. Perhaps it might be proper to employ some one whom you can trust to enquire of the People with whom Murray lodged at Bannoch bourn, whether they can give any account of a person that answers the Description of S^{r} J. Douglas coming at that Time to Murray, staying with him one Night, and going away the next Day. As your Lordship will perceive the great Consequence of this Affair, his Majesty is persuaded you will use your utmost Endeavours to procure further Lights relating to it. It is unnecessary to give your Lordship any Caution with regard to the Secrecy upon this important Occasion, and especially as to the Person from whom we had the intelligence.

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[1] Scotland. S.P.D. George II., 1746, B. 35, No. 39.

The Messenger by whom your Lordship will receive this Letter has a Warrant to bring Hugh Fraser, late Secretary to Lord Lovat, and now confined in Edenburgh Castle, in safe Custody to London. I have been informed that one Benjamin MacBean, Servant to Major MacBean, who was in the Pretender's Service, can give very material Evidence against Lord Lovat; and, as he is now prisoner in Edenburgh Castle, your Lord^{p} will be pleased to examine him immediately; and in case you shall find he can be of service, you will send him to London in custody of this Messenger. Lord Lovat will, I believe, in a few days be impeach'd of High Treason by the House of Commons, and the Proceedings will be carried on against him with all the Expedition that the nature of them will admit.

Your Lordship will be so good as to communicate this Letter in great Confidence to the Earl of Albemarle and to nobody else. His Majesty has received information that two or three Episcopal Ministers near Edenburgh have qualified themselves pursuant to the Act of Parliament passed in the last session, and that great numbers of Persons of the Episcopal Persuasion are daily sending their Children to them to be educated. His Majesty thought it proper that this should be mentioned to your Lord^{p}, that you may make enquiry into the Fact, and inform yourself whether those Ministers are really qualified according to the abovementioned Act of Parliament, and particularly with regard to that Clause of it which relates to their Ordination, and your Lordship will let me know as soon as possible what you shall be able to learn concerning this matter which may be of great Consequence to His Majesty's Service.—I am, etc., HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

Indorsed—Dra^{t} to the Lord Justice Clerk, Dec^{r} 9, 1746.

By Chandler.

Extract of Mr. Murray's Examination.

That Sir John Douglas came from London to Bannochburn during the Siege of the Castle of Stirling. That he told this Examinant at Bannochburn, that he had a Message to deliver to the Pretender from his Friends in England.

That Murray told him he should be introduced the next Day to the Pretender, but could not see him that night. That Sir John Douglas told Murray that a Message had been before sent to the Pretender from his Friends in England. That 10,000£ was collected in London for the Pretender, and was ready to be paid. That Sir John Douglas staid that Night at Murray's Quarters; that the next morning Murray introduced Sir John Douglas to Sir T. Sheridan, and desired him to carry Sir John Douglas to the Pretender. That Murray went then to Stirling, and returned to Bannochburn the same day. That Sir John Douglas then told him that he had been introduced to the Pretender, but did not tell him what had passed. That Murray told the Pretender's son the night before of Sir John Douglas's arrival, and that the Pretender's son said he would see him the next day.

Sir John Douglas went away the same day in the Afternoon or Evening from Bannochburn.

Indorsed—Extract of Mr. Murray's Examination. Copy sent to the L^{d} Justice Clerk, Dec^{r} 9, 1746.

No. 21.

LORD TRAQUAIR: MR. MURRAY'S EXAMINATION [1]

Being asked what he knew of any invitation to the Pretender previous to his coming into Scotland, and by whom, saith that to the best of his Memory, the first Motion was in 1740. That he did not know of it till 1743 when the Earl of Traquair acquainted him, that one Drummond (otherwise M^{c}Gregor) was then at Edinburgh, who, in 1740, had been sent to Rome by L^{d} Lovat, Lord Traquair, etc., and Mr. John Stuart, Brother to L^{d} Traquair. That sometime after Drummond went to Rome, the s^{d} Persons sent a memorial to Cardinal Fleury to encourage him to send a

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 86, No. 42.

Body of Troops into Scotland, and sent a list of the Gentlemen in the Highlands, who, they imagined, would support the Pretender's cause. Drummond was in London about April 1745.

In 1743 Drummond returned to Scotland and came to Edinburgh, and sent for L^d^ Traquair, Lochiel, and M^c^Pherson of Cluny to come to him, and gave them an account of his Negotiation, and told them that if he, the Cardinal, could procure any Encouragement from England he would send the Troops desired into Scotland in the Autumn of 1743.

That L. Traquair was employed to come to London to endeavour to get such Encouragement; that Drummond also came to London; that when Lord Traquair returned to Scotland he told this Examinant that People in England seemed to be well inclined to the Pretender, if they might depend upon Encouragement from Abroad. That the principal Persons with whom L^d^ Traquair conversed in London relating to this Matter were the Earl of Barrymore, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and Sir Watkin W. Wynn.

That L^d^ Traquair came to London in Janry 1744.

That in Dec. 1743 Letters came from Drummond to L^d^ Traquair with assurances that the Project would be forthwith put in Execution. That about that time L^d^ Traquair sent for this Examinant and shewed him the Letters from Drummond. That L^d^ Traquair and L^d^ Perth (who was present) proposed to this Examinant to go himself to Paris, which he consented to do. That this Examinant returned to London from France in the Summer 1743. That he made a Report of what had passed in France to L^d^ Traquair and L^d^ Perth. That this Examinant has been informed by L^d^ Traquair that Drummond had meetings with L^d^ Barrymore, Sir J. H. Cotton, and Sir W. W. Wynn.

That Drummond wrote two Letters to L^d^ Traquair which his Lop. shewed this Examinant, in one of wch he acquainted his Lo^p^. that it was probable before he received that Letter the French Troops might be landed in England. That some part of one of those Letters was in cypher. That L^d^ Traquair proposed to this Examinant to write to Drummond to reconcile some seeming contradictions in their Letters; that he wrote accordingly and sent his Letter to Dr. Barry to be forwarded to Paris.

That L^d^ Traquair told this Examinant that the Persons he depended upon in England were L^d^ Barrymore, Sir J. H. Cotton, and S^r^ W. W. Winne; that the Pretender had also a great Party in the City and in the Country.

That his Lo^{d} in June 1744 proposed to this Examinant to go again to France to see how Things went there. That before he set out a long Letter came from Sempil accounting for, and excusing the Miscarriage of the Invasion. That Drummond met this Examinant at Rotterdam; that he told Drummond L^{d} Traquair and L^{d} Perth had employed him to go to France to see whether anything was likely to be done. That they went to France together.

That this Examinant returned to Scotland in Oct. 1744 and called at L^{d} Traquair's House, but he, not being at home, Lord Traquair came afterwards to him. That he communicated to his Lo^{p} his Discourse with the Pretender's Son at Paris.

That the Pretender sent six or 7 Letters to Scotland which were in the Hands of L^{d} Traquair or this Examinant, and accompanied with a Power to each Person to whom it should be sent to treat with other Persons relating to the Pretender's Interests. That these Letters were without Directions, but signed by the Pretender, and left to be directed to such Persons as should be thought proper after they came to Scotland. That these Letters were sent to Lochiel, Macleod, S^{r} Alex. Macdonald, Sir James Campbel, and others.

That L^{d} Traquair wrote to this Examinant by Mr. Macleod, who returned to Scotland in April 1745, acquainting him that his Friends in London were as well disposed as ever; but were against undertaking any thing without assistance from France. That Mr. Macleod brought this Examinant from L^{d} Traquair the Letter wch his Lo^{p} had undertaken to send to the Pretender, but had not sent it.

That Drummond told this Examinant the first Time he returned from Paris, that he had a Letter from Sempil to introduce him to the Earl of Orrery. That he afterwards told this Examinant that he had been in the Country to see L^{d} Orrery, and had delivered Sempil's letter to him, and been well received by him. That Lord Traquair afterwards told the Examinant that Drummond and he had been at a Tavern in order to meet L^{d} Orrery, but that L^{d} Orrery disappointed them; that the next Day L^{d} Traquair met L^{d} Orrery in a Chair and spoke to him; that another appointment was then made to meet the following Evening, but L^{d} Orrery failed them again; wch made Lord Traquair imagine that Drummond had not been so well received by Lord Orrery as he pretended.

Indorsed—Extract of Mr. Murray's Examination relating to L^{d} Traquair.

No. 22.

EXTRACT OF MR. MURRAY'S EXAMINATION[1]

THAT after the Battle of Culloden two French Ships arrived with 35^{m} Louis d'Ors; that a considerable Part of it was distributed amongst the Highlanders; that 15,000£ was buried about a Mile and a half from the Loch of Orkirk on the west end of the south side of the Lake in three Places, and 12,000£ about a Mile and a half from Lochiel's House, the south side of the Lake. That it is beleived the money to be still in those Places.

Indorsed—Extract of Mr. Murray's Examination.

No. 23.

THE FURTHER EXAMINATION OF JOHN MURRAY OF BROUGHTON, ESQ.[2]

THIS examinant saith that before he went to Paris in 174$\frac{2}{3}$, he represented to L^{d} Traquaire and Cameron of Lochiel that he could not conveniently bear the Expences of that Journey. Whereupon Lochiel (as he afterwards told this Examinant) wrote to Lord Lovat, desiring him to advance a Sum of Money for that purpose; Lochiel added that L^{d} Lovat acquainted him in answer that he had no money at that time but that he was ready to give his note, promising to pay an hundred Pounds to anyone that w^{d} advance it on that account. This examinant was also told, either by L^{d} Traquaire or Lochiel, but he thinks by the latter, that L^{d} Lovat had actually sign'd such a note. Upon which this Examinant did himself, on his own Credit, borrow 100£ from the New Bank at Edinburgh, which he has since paid, but never was repaid the whole, or any Part of it, from L^{d} Lovat or any other person. This Examinant saith that Fraser of Gortuleg, Lord Lovat's chief Doer, came to the Pretender's Son at Glengary's House (as he thinks) in the month of August 1745; but he doth not know whether Fraser brought any Letter or Message from L^{d} Lovat, he having chiefly applyed himself to Lochiel and not to this examinant. This Examinant saith that soon after the Battle of Prestonpans, this Examinant and Lochiel, being then at Edinburgh, sent Hugh Fraser to Lord

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 86, No. 43.

[2] *Ibid.* No. 46.

Lovat to press him to send out his men to join the Pretender; but this Examinant doth not know that any answer was brought from Ld Lovat by Hugh Fraser, nor does he remember to have heard from H. Fraser, or to have seen him till the Rebels were gone northwards as far as Glasgow in the Janry following.

Being shew'd a Letter marked No. VII., consisting of three sheets of paper, dated Glasgow, Janry 2nd, 1746, and beginning with these words, *'My Dear Lord, you need not be surprised,'* the subscription of which Letter is torn off, this Examinant saith that the said Letter was intended for Lord Lovat, and was signed by this Examinant, Lochiel, and Clunie Macpherson; that it is in the handwriting of Lochiel; that it was deliver'd to Hugh Fraser at Glasgow, to be carried or sent to Lord Lovat; that the Purport of it was to persuade Ld Lovat to head his Clan himself, and that it was then intended to give him the Command of the Rebel Army. That this Examinant is not certain whether that Letter was ever deliver'd to Ld Lovat. This Examinant being shew'd two Commissions signed James R., the one appointing Ld Lovat a Lieutt Genl, and the other appointing him Lord Lieutenant by North Spey, he saith he never saw those Commissions, and is not certain whether he ever so much as heard them mention'd. Being shew'd a Letter without Date or Superscription consisting of two sheets of Paper and signed *Lovat,* and being asked whether he hath ever seen that Letter, he saith that that Letter was from Ld Lovat to him, this Examinant, and was delivered to him at Inverness some time in the month of March last by Fraser of Gortuleg, at whose House, as this Examinant believes, he then was. Being asked what is meant by those words in the 4th page of the Letter, 'I have intrusted my Cousin the bearer to give you a true account of what I have to say, which I hope you will receive with yr ordinary and Friendship for me.' He saith that Fraser of Gortuleg told him that Ld Lovat was extremely desirous to have a Patent from the Pretender, creating him a Duke, which if he could obtain, it would make him more active and zealous in the Pretender's Cause. This Examinant saith that he left this Letter with his other papers at Inverness, in the Care of Lumsdale or Hay, the latter of which was employed as Secretary to the Pretender's son when this Examinant fell ill about the middle of March. This examinant saith that he never saw any Patent of Honour from the Pretender to Ld Lovat. This Examinant saith that he hath heard that after the Battle of Culloden the Pretender's Son went to Ld

Lovat who was then at Gortuleg's House, and staid there a few hours. That some weeks after the battle of Culloden this Examinant, Lochiel, Barrisdale, and young Clanronald, with some others, met Lord Lovat at a place distant about 10 miles from Lochiel's House in Lochabar. That at that meeting L^d^ Lovat proposed that the persons there assembled should get together a sufficient body of men to enable them to stand upon their defence against the King's Troops till they should be able to make Terms for themselves, which was accordingly agreed, and the next day they separated. That this Examinant distributed about 500 Louis d'ors at the meeting above mentioned to be employed in raising men; that about sixty or seventy Louis d'ors were agreed there to be sent to the Master of Lovat who was to appear with 400 men, and the money was accordingly sent to him some days after. That L^d^ Lovat, at the meeting abovementioned, expressed himself in a very zealous manner for the cause of the Pretender. That this Examinant saw L^d^ Lovat again, a few days after, at Glendishry which had been Dr. Cameron's House, and where this Examinant's wife then was. That nothing material passed at this meeting, nor has this Examinant seen L^d^ Lovat since. This Examinant saith that he never had any Conversation or Correspondence.

(Signed) J. MURRAY.

No. 24.

DR. BARRY: MR. MURRAY'S EXAMINATION [1]

SAITH that L^{d} Traquair told him, that Dr. Barry, a Physician in London, was employed as an agent.

That this Examinant sent a Letter to Dr. Barry in London to be forwarded to Drummond at Paris, wch he wrote at the Desire of L^{d} Traquair to reconcile some Contradictions in their Letters, but Dr. Barry sometime afterwards told this Examinant that Drummond had desired that Letter might not be sent to him, and that he had burnt it.

That the 7th July 1744 this Examinant set out for London on his way to France, and staid there a Fortnight or three weeks. That he saw Dr. Barry and told him the Business he was going about, and asked his advice how he should get to France.

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 86, No. 44.

That L^d^ Elcho was then in London and went with this Examinant to Dover, and from thence to Flanders, and 5 or 6 days in our army.

Indorsed—Extract of Mr. Murray's Examination relating to Dr. Barry.

No. 25.

MURRAY'S EXAMINATION RELATING TO LORD TRAQUAIR, SIR J. DOUGLAS, AND DR. BARRY[1]

Lord Traquair.

IN 1743 Traq. told Murray that M^c^Gregor (*alias* Drummond) who was then at Edinburgh, had been sent to Rome in 1740 by Traq., Lovat, and others, to invite over the Pr^'s^ son; that soon after M^c^Gregor's going thither, the Persons aforesaid had sent a Memorial to Card. Fleury to encourage him to send Troops into Scotland, and a list of the Highland Gent. who, they thought, would rise for the Pretender.

M^c^Greg. returned to Scotland with an account of his Negotiations in 1743, sent for Traq. and told him that the Card. would send Troops in the Autumn of 1743 upon Encouragement.

Traquair went to London in 1743 to get Encouragement, returned to Scotland, told Murray that People were well affected if Encouragement from abroad could be depended upon, that E. of Barrymore, Sir J. H. Cotton, and Sir W. Winne were the People he conversed with, that he depended upon them, that the Pr^dr^ had a Party also in the City and Country. Traq. told Murray that M^c^Greg. had meetings with the three Persons above.

Letters from M^c^Greg. to Traq. in 1743, which Traq. shew'd Murray, that the Project of an Invasion would be put in execution.

Traq. and D. of Perth proposed to Murray to go to France in 1743, which he did, and upon his return in 1743 reported to them two what he had done in France.

Traq. shew'd Murray two Letters in 1743 from M^c^Gregor, in which, it was said, that probably the French Troops w^d^ be landed before the Letters arrived.

In June 1744 Traq. proposed to Murray to go again to France to see how matters went. Murray did go, and upon his return to

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 86, No. 45.

Scotland Lord Traq. came to Murray's house, and Murray told him the Discourse he had had with the $\text{Pr}^{\text{'s}}$ Son at Paris.

M^{c}Gregor at Paris with Murray—6 or 7 Letters sent to Scotland by Pr's son, which were in Lord Traquair's Hands, and which contained full Powers to treat with other persons about the Pretender's affairs.

In 1745 Traq. wrote to Murray by Mr. M^{c}Leod that the $\text{Pr}^{\text{'s}}$ friends in London were as well affected as ever, but wanted Troops from abroad. Traq. had undertaken to send a Letter to $\text{Pr}^{\text{'s}}$ son, but had not sent it. This Letter Lord Traq. returned to Murray by M^{c}Leod.

Lord Traq. told Murray that he and Drummond had been at two different Places in London by appointment to meet Lord Orrery, who failed them both times. Traq. uneasie at it.

Sir John Douglas

During the Siege of the Castle of Stirling came to Bannockburn and told Murray he had a message to the $\text{Pr}^{\text{'s}}$ son from his Friends in England, afterwards told Murray he had seen the $\text{Pr}^{\text{'s}}$ son, and had delivered his message. That a large Sum of money (10,000£) was lying ready for the $\text{Pr}^{\text{'s}}$ son in London, that one Message had been sent to France from $\text{Pr}^{\text{'s}}$ friends, and that another was going thither at the time that Douglass left London.

Did not say by whom the messages were sent.

Dr. Barry

Lord Traq. told Murray that the Dr. was employed as an agent for the $\text{Pr}^{\text{'s}}$ son.

Murray wrote a Letter to M^{c}Gregor at Paris about $\text{Pr}^{\text{'s}}$ affairs and sent it to Dr. Barry to be forwarded by him. This letter Dr. Barry burnt, M^{c}Gregor having desired that it might not be sent to him.

In July 1744 Murray was in London a fortnight or three weeks in his way to France. During this time he saw Dr. Barry, and told the Doctor what he was going about to France, and asked his advice thereupon.

Indorsed—Notes from Murray's Examination relating to Lord Traquair, Sir J. Douglas, and Dr. Barry.

No. 26.

JNO. SHARPE TO [1] [THOMAS RAMSDEN]

Whitehall, 10 *Feb.* 1746.

Sir,—Our will and Pleasure is that you should give the necessary directions that John Murray of Broughton, Esq^{r}., now a Prisoner in the Tower of London, should be forthwith brought before our Court of Kings Bench, and that you do pray an Award of Execution ag^{t} him, by Virtue of an Act of Parliament made the last Sessions, for attainting Alexander, Earl of Kellie, William, Viscount of Strathallan and others, and John Murray of Broughton, Esq^{r}., of High Treason, if they shall not render themselves to one of our Justices of the Peace, on or before the 12th Day of July, in the Year of our Lord 1746, and submit to Justice. And in case the said John Murray shall plead that he surrendered himself pursuant to, and within the Time limited by the said Act, it is our pleasure that you do confess the same.

Indorsed—Draft of a Sign Manual to the Attorney General.

Form of a Lre as setled by y^{e} Attorney General in Mr. Sharpe's of Feb^{ry} 10th, 746/7.

Inclosed I send you the Draft of the Letter to be signed by my Lord Duke to the Attorney Generall, as setled by the Attorney, together with the Drafts I rece^{d} from Mr. Waite; be so good as to lett me know if Mr. Stone hath apprized Mr. Murray hereof. The Attorney purposes to have him brot upon Thursday, which is the last day of the Term. You will likewise remind his Grace that Friday next is the day appointed for the Execution of the Eight Rebells und^{er} Sentence of death in y^{e} new Gaole.—I am always, d^{r} s^{r}, yo^{rs} most entirely, Jno. Sharpe.

Indorsed—Febry. 10, 1746/7. Mr. Sharpe.

(Inclosing a d^{t} of a Letter settled by Mr. Attorney Gen^{l} relating to Mr. Murray's Plea.)

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 94, No. 26. One John Sharpe was a member of the Board of Trade in 1713. I have discovered no other official of the name. This letter is evidently, as will be seen from No. XI., to the Under-Secretary of State, Thomas Ramsden, who was appointed to that office in 1743.

No. 27.

SIR D. RYDER[1] TO HIS GRACE YE D. OF NEWCASTLE[2]

10 *Feb.* 1746.

My Lord,—The Committee for managing L^{d} Lovat's Tryal came to a Resolution, y^{t} it w^{d} be proper to make use of Mr. Murray in y^{e} Tower as a Witness. But as an Objection might arise on account of y^{e} Act of Attainder in which he is named, y^{t} he did not surrender within the Time, it was then thought (agreably to w^{t} was mention^{d} at the meeting on Thursday evening), y^{t} an Authority sh^{d} be given to me to confess a plea, to be put in by him, when he is brought up to y^{e} King's Bench, upon the Act, that he did surrender himself pursuant to and within y^{e} Time limited by that Act, and therefore, y^{t} he does not stand attainted thereby. Tho the fact was, as I understand, y^{t} he did not actually surrender, but was taken and committed by a Magistrate to Prison within y^{e} Time, yet if that is, as was thought, a complyance in substance with the Act, it is really a surrender within the meaning of it. I am, my Lord, y^{r} Grace's most obed^{t} humble Serv^{t},

D. Ryder.

His Grace y^{e} D. of Newcastle.

Indorsed—Feb. 10, 1746/7. Attorney General.
(Plea to be put in by Mr. Murray of Broughton.)

No. 28.

JNO. SHARPE TO THOMAS RAMSDEN, ESQ.[3]

Dr. Sr,—The Attorney General was thoroughly apprized of the Fact of Mr. Murray being taken by St. George's Dragoons, and that he did not in fact surrender himself, but his being taken and carried before Lord Justice Clerk is apprehended to amount to a surrender pursuant to the Act, and there is a necessity the Plea should be of a Surrender pursuant to the Act, agreable to the Draft of the Letter I sent you, for the manner of his being taken is matter of Evidence, and is not proper to be stated in the Plea, and the Plea must be of a surrender pursuant to the Act, or it will answer no purpose. I beg Leave to repeat what I mentioned in my former Letter, that I should be glad to know, by half a line, if Mr. Stone has apprized Mr. Murray of this affair, and that you would remind his Grace that Friday next is the day appointed for the Execution of the Rebeles last condemned at St Margt's Hill.—I am always, dr Sir, yours most entirely, JNO. SHARPE.

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[1] Sir Dudley Ryder, Attorney-General, Lord Chief-Justice, 1754; died 1756. Cf. Horace Walpole's *Memoirs*, p. 102 (1822 edition), for an estimate of his character.

[2] S.P.D. George II., B. 94.

[3] *Ibid.*

10th Febry. 1746.

Indorsed—To Thomas Ramsden, Esqr., at his Grace the Duke of Newcastle's Office, Cockpitt, Whitehall.

From Mr. Sharpe. Febry. 10, 1746/7.

No. 29.

THE EXAMINATION OF JOHN MURRAY OF BROUGHTON, ESQ.[1]

Tower of London, Saturday 14 *Feby*, 1746/7.

Committee.

THE Examinant being asked whether he ever saw Lord Lovat write, saith that he never did, but that he hath received Letters from him, tho' he does not remember that he ever answer'd any Letters which he received from the said Lord Lovat.

Being shewn a Letter marked No. 1, consisting of one sheet of Paper dated Beaufort Novr 1745, the Signature torn of, and being asked whether he ever remembers to have seen the said Letter amongst the Pr's Son's Papers, he saith that he does not remember to have seen the said Letter before.

Being asked if he knows anything concerning the Memorial mention'd in the said Letter, and whether he received the same from Lord Lovat, he saith that he does not remember that any such Memorial came to his hands, but that it is possible it might come tho' he does not remember it.

That the Letter No. 1 being written in Novr could not possibly reach Edinburgh before the Highland Army marched from thence, and that the first time it could possibly have come to the Pr's son's hands must be when the Highland Army was at Glasgow, but that he never heard that the Pr's son had received any Letter from Lord Lovat till the Rebel army arrived at Inverness. That during the time the Exam^t was quarter'd there, the Exam^t received a Letter signed Lovat by the hands of Fraser of Gortuleg, Lord Lovat's chief Doer, who told the Exam^t that he, Fraser, brought the same from Lord Lovat to the Exam^t, and that during the said time the Exam^t remembers to have heard Sir Tho^s Sheridan say that the Pr's son had received a Letter from Lord Lovat, with which he, the Pr's son, was well satisfied, but the Exam^t never saw the Letter which Sir Tho^s Sheridan said the Pr's son had received from Lord Lovat.

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 94, No. 47.

That the Letter now produced to him marked No. 111, beginning Hon^{ble} and Dear Sir, without date, signed Lovat, and consisting of one sheet and half of Quarto Paper is the same Letter which the Exam^t received from Fraser of Gortuleg in the Month of March last at Inverness, and which the said Gortuleg told the Exam^t was from Lord Lovat, that he does not remember another Letter being deliver'd to him at the same time.

That the Letter mentioned in the Beginning of this Letter marked No. 111 to have been received by Lord Lovat from the Exam^t, dated 31st Oct., must have been a Letter which the Exam^t sent by Hugh Fraser to Lord Lovat from Edinburgh before the Rebels marched from that place for England to persuade the said Lord Lovat to send the Frasers to join the Pr's son.

That it is natural to imagine from the wording of this Letter that there was an Intimacy between the Exam^t and Lord Lovat, but that really there was not any Intimacy between them; that the Exam^t returned no answer to this Letter, and when the Exam^t saw Lord Lovat after the Battle of Culloden, the Exam^t did not say anything to Lord Lovat about it, nor did his Lordship mention the said Letter to the Exam^t to the best of the Exam$^{t's}$ remembrance.

That the Exam^t doth not remember that when he saw Lord Lovat after the Battle of Culloden, he, the Exam^t, had any Discourse with his Lordship touching any Letter, which he, Lord Lovat, had sent to the Pr's son.

That before the Rebellion the Exam^t had not seen Lord Lovat above three times in the Exam$^{t's}$ whole Life; that the first time the Exam^t ever saw Lord Lovat was at Edinburgh in the year 174½, at which time he is sure that he had not any conversation with his Lordship concerning the Pr's affairs; that the Exam^t

never was at Castle Downie;[1] that he never had any communication with Lord Lovat till he received the aforesaid Letter marked No. 111 at Inverness as before is set forth, nor did the Exam^{t} ever hear of the P$^{r's}$ son having received any other Letter from Lord Lovat than what he hath before mentioned to have heard Sir Tho^{s} Sheridan speak of.

Being asked the meaning of a sentence in the said Letter marked No. 111, viz., 'when I had the Honour to see on the Subject of the King's affairs,' and what conversation the Exam^{t} had, and when upon the P$^{r's}$ affairs with Lord Lovat, he said he doth not know what Lord Lovat meant by that sentence, for that the Exam^{t} never had any conversation with his Lordship touching the P$^{r's}$ affairs before the Battle of Culloden.

Being asked whom he apprehends the words 'cousin, the Bearer' in the said Letter to mean, he saith he apprehends they meant Fraser of Gortuleg, the said Lord Lovat's chief Doer, who deliver'd the said letter to the Exam^{t}.

That the Master of Lovat was first introduced to the P$^{r's}$ son at Bannockburn by Lochiel; that he knows of no Letters which the Master of Lovat deliver'd upon that occasion to the P$^{r's}$ son, nor ever heard of any such; that whilst the Rebel army lay near Stirling he had some general conversation with the Master who talked of sending North for more men, for when the Master came to Stirling the Exam^{t} saith he did not bring along with him above 4 Companys of Frasers, which did not exceed above 300 men.

Being asked what Gortuleg said to the Exam^{t} upon delivering the said Letter No. 111, he saith that he, the Exam^{t}, took notice of one remarkable Paragraph in the said Letter, wherein Lord Lovat says that he had intrusted his cousin the Bearer to give the Exam^{t} a true account of what he Lord Lovat had to say; that the Exam^{t} asked Gortuleg the meaning thereof, who told the Exam^{t} that Lord Lovat wanted to have a Patent of Duke from the Pretender; that the Exam^{t} laugh'd at Lord Lovat's desiring such a thing, and said that if he, Lord Lovat, had not that Patent already, there was not any Person in Scotland who could give him such a Patent, but, however, that if Lord Lovat desired it, he, the Exam^{t}, would mention it to the P$^{r's}$ son, but the Exam^{t} did not care to mention it to the P$^{r's}$ son, tho' he knew that Lord Lovat had demanded it; that probably he may have read other Letters from Lord Lovat besides this, but does not recollect.

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[1] *i.e.* Beaufort.

That he takes the Signature 'Lovat' to be of Lord Lovat's handwriting, tho' the Exam^{t} never saw Lord Lovat write; that he hath seen several Letters from Lord Lovat to Lochiel in much the same kind of Hand.

That the Exam^{t} supposes he left this Letter No. 111 which he received at Inverness aforesaid, in the care of Mr. Lumsden or Mr. Hay before the Battle of Culloden when the Exam^{t}, on account of bad health, left Inverness; that the Exam^{t} never saw Lumsden after the Exam^{t} went from thence; that he saw Hay after the Battle of Culloden, but had not any Discourse with Hay concerning the said Letter.

That Gortuleg's House is about 14 miles from Inverness.

Being shewn a Letter marked No. IV., beginning 'My dear Laird of Lochiel,' and being asked whether he knows anything concerning this Letter, he saith that he knows nothing thereof, that he never remembers Lochiel nor the Person called Duke of Athol saying anything thereof.

Being shewn a Letter marked No. V., beginning 'My good Lord Duke' from Lovat, and being asked what he knows concerning this Letter, he saith that he knows nothing thereof, and that he never heard the Person called Duke of Athole say anything of having received such a Letter.

Being shewn a Letter marked No. VI., dated Glasgow Jan. y^{e} 2^{d}, 1746, and signed Charles P. R., and being asked what he knows of this Letter, he saith that he remembers this Letter. That this Letter is all of the Handwriting of the P$^{r's}$ son; that he hath often seen the P$^{r's}$ son write, and knows his hand perfectly well; that the Exam^{t} received this Letter from the P$^{r's}$ son and made it up in a Packet, which the Exam^{t} deliver'd to Hugh Fraser at Glasgow to be carried to Lord Lovat; that the Seal of this Letter is the Seal of the P$^{r's}$ son; that Hugh Fraser was come to Glasgow from Perth at the time the Exam^{t} deliver'd to him the Packet aforesaid in order to sollicit for arms for the Frasers, and to know where the Frasers, who were then at Perth, should join the P$^{r's}$ son; that Hugh Fraser was to carry this Packet to Perth; that the Exam^{t} doth not know whether this Letter ever came to Lord Lovat's Hands; that when the Exam^{t} saw Lord Lovat after the Battle of Culloden, the Exam^{t} had not any Discourse with Lord Lovat concerning this Letter, it was inclosed; that the Exam^{t} heard this Letter read before.

Being shewn a Letter marked No. VII., consisting of three quarto sheets of Paper, the Signature torn of, dated Glasgow, Janr. 2d, 1746, and beginning 'my Dear Lord,' and being asked what he knows thereof, he saith that this Letter is all of Lochiel's handwriting, that it was signed by the Examt, Lochiel, and Clunie McPherson ; that it was written by the Pr's son's directions ; that the Letter marked No. VI. refers to this Letter ; that the Signatures of those names were entire when the Letter was deliver'd to Hugh Fraser along with the said Letter No. VI. ; that he does know how the names came to be torn off ; that this Letter was written after Hugh Fraser came to Glasgow to sollicit for arms as before is set forth ; that he is sure it was deliver'd to Hugh Fraser by the Examt along with that marked No. VI., because they had not any other opportunity of sending a Letter to Lord Lovat but by the said Hugh Fraser.

Being shewn a Letter marked No. VIII., dated Glasgow, Jany ye 3d, 1746, and signed Jo. Murray, and being asked what he knows thereof, he saith that the Signature Jo. Murray is of the Examt's own handwriting, but he cannot be positive whether the Body of the Letter was written by the Examt, for that the Examt writes according as his Pen happens to be ; that this Letter was for the Master of Lovat, and was deliver'd to Hugh Fraser by the Examt at the same time with the other two marked No. VI. and No. VII. to be carried to Perth ; that the proposal mention'd in this Letter was that Lord John Drummond should march northwards to the assistance of Lord Lovat ; that, he beleives, Lord Lovat chose to have a strong Party there in order to save himself and cover his country ; that this Letter was written upon the Design of sending Troops towards Inverness, but that Lord John did not go norwards according to this proposal.

That the Letters deliver'd to Hugh Fraser were made up in a Packet by the Examt and deliver'd to Hugh Fraser, to be carried to Perth upon his return thither from Glasgow ; that the Packet was not directed, because Hugh Fraser, having told the Examt that he, Hugh Fraser, had heard of Lord Lovat's having had a Patent of Duke from the old Pretender, and the Examt being uncertain whether his Lordship had such a patent or not, the Examt would not take upon himself to ascertain the Titles of Lord Lovat, and therefore chose the Packet should not be directed ; that Hugh Fraser had directions to call upon and ask Lochiel, in whose Hands the said patent was said to be, concerning the said Patent in the way upon his return to Perth, and if he found that

Lochiel had such a patent, then Hugh Fraser was to direct the said Packet accordingly to Lord Lovat.

Being shewn a Paper marked xvi., purporting to be a Commission from the old Pretender, dated at Rome, 17 May 1741, signed at the Top James R., and at the bottom J. R., appointing Lord Fraser of Inveralachy to raise a Regiment of Foot of the Clan of Fraser, and to be Colonel thereof; and being asked what he knows thereof, he saith that he never had this Commission in his Custody; that the signatures James R. at the Top, and J. R. at the bottom are, as he beleives, the signatures of the Pretender: that the Seal thereto is the same as that to all other Commissions of the Pretender which he hath seen, tho' the Exam^{t} never saw the old Pretender write.

Being shewn a Paper marked xvii., dated Rome, May 17, 1741, beginning, Whereas wee, etc., and signed at the Bottom James R., and being asked concerning this Paper, he saith that the Handwriting of this Paper and the Signature James R. is the same Handwriting which the Exam^{t} hath always been shewn for the Handwriting of the old Pretender, and that he beleives it to be so. That he never had this Commission in his custody.

Being shewn a Paper marked No. xviii., purporting to be a Commission appointing Simon Lord Lovat, Lord Lieutenant, be north the Spye, dated at Rome the 23rd Day of Dec^{r} 1743, signed at the Top James R. and at the Bottom J. R., and being asked what he knows thereof, he saith that the signature James R. at the Top, and the signature J. R. at the bottom are, as he beleives, of the Pretender's Handwriting; and that the seal thereto is the same with which the P$^{r's}$ Commission have usually been sealed, as far as he remembers; that he never had this Commission in his custody.

Being shewn a Paper marked No. xix., purporting to be a Commission appointing Simon Lord Lovat a Lieutenant General, dated at Rome, 23^{d} Dec^{r} 1743, signed at Top James R., and at the Bottom J. R., and being asked what he knows thereof, he saith he never had the same in his custody. That the signatures James R. at the Top and J. R. at the Bottom are of the same Handwriting with all the Signatures which the Exam^{t} ever saw to Commissions from the Pretender, and that the Seal at the Top is the same. That he hath known Persons act under Commissions from the old Pretender, which said Commissions have been signed in the same Handwriting with the four before mentioned Papers, and sealed with the same Seal. That none of the Highlanders had Commissions, but he thinks he hath seen an old Commission of Lord Geo. Murray which was signed in the same Handwriting and sealed with the same Seal with which the above Commissions are sealed, which Hand and Seal the Exam^{t} always took for and beleives to be the Pretender's. That he cannot be sure whether he ever heard the Pr$^{'s}$ Son talk of the above Commissions, tho' twenty to one but he might. That he never had any Discourse or Correspondence with Lord Lovat about them, nor doth he know whether they ever came to Lord Lovat's Hands. He hath heard Lochiel talk of the said Commissions. Being asked by whom these commissions were deliver'd, he saith he beleives by Sir Tho^{s} Sheridan, for that they never were in the Exam$^{t's}$ custody, tho' he hath heard Lochiel, etc^{r}., but cannot say where. That the Exam^{t} went to the Pr$^{'s}$ Son about a fortnight after he landed in Scotland. That the Pr$^{'s}$ Son depended upon assitance from Lord Lovat; but that Lochiel used to say that he was sure Lord Lovat would not join him. That the Exam^{t} never heard the Pr$^{'s}$ Son say that he had assurances of assistance from Lord Lovat. That Lochiel joined the Pr$^{'s}$ Son about three weeks after his arrival in Scotland.

That the Exam^{t} was not at Rome since the year 1738, in which year the Exam^{t} was frequently with the Pr$^{'s}$ Son there, but never was introduced to the old Pretender.

Being asked if he knows anything of an Association of the Friends of the Pretender, he saith that at Paris, in March 1741/2, he heard from Drummond of Bahaldie, and the Person called Lord Sempil that there was such a thing, in which Lord Lovat's name was inserted, which Association Drummond brought from Scotland to Paris in 1740, and deliver'd to Cardinal Fleury. That the Exam^{t} never saw this association, and that in August 1744, the summer after the intended Invasion, he remembers to have heard the Pr$^{'s}$ Son at Paris talk of the same as an Encouragement to go over to England. That it was talked of but not produced, being, as he supposes then, in the hands of the French Ministry.

That he knows Cameron of Callard, an Officer in Lochiel's Reg^{t}, but do's not know that he was sent to Lord Lovat, from the Pr$^{'s}$ Son, to give his Lordship notice of his being landed. That he remembers that Fraser of Gortuleg came to the Rebels at Glengary's House in Lochabar soon after the Pr$^{'s}$ Son landed, but upon what account the Exam^{t} cannot say, tho' the Exam^{t} understood that Gortuleg came from Lord Lovat to the Pr's Son. That Gortuleg apply'd himself to Lochiel at Glengary's House, and the Pr's Son never told the Exam^t the occasion of Gortuleg's coming thither, nor did the Exam^t hear it from any other Person.

That about 5 weeks after the Battle of Culloden, the Exam^t met Lord Lovat at a little Hut about 10 miles above Lochiel's House, on the side of Loch Arkig. That, at the same time, Lochiel, Young Clanronald, Barrisdale, Lochgary, and several others of the Rebel Chiefs came to the Place above-mentioned by appointment, in order to consult what to do. That Lord Lovat's coming thither, the Exam^t beleives, was accidental. That at this meeting Lord Lovat advised the Gentlemen then present to get together a sufficient number of men, upon whom they could depend, in order to defend their Country against the King's Troops, and to make the best terms they could. That this proposal was agreed to. That each man agreed to raise a particular number, to be depended upon, for the purposes aforesaid. That Lord Lovat did not agree to raise his men himself, but said that his Son should raise them, to the number of 400, desired Lochiel to answer for his Son. That the Company were pleased at the Proposal, and that thereupon Lochiel did undertake for the Master of Lovat, and that Lord Lovat proposed the thing. That the Mas^r of Lovat was not present at this meeting. That it was also resolved at this Meeting, at which Lord Lovat was, and to which he agreed, that the men that c^d be raised should rendezvous at Glenmary about 10 days after the meeting. That the number proposed to be raised amounted to 3500 men, which Lord Lovat said, he thought, might be got together. That at this Meeting 10 Days pay was given by one Stewart, a Clerk of the Exam^t, to each of the Gentlemen there, to enable them to get their men together. That between 60 and 70 Pounds were agreed to be sent to the Master of Lovat, and the money was given to a servant of Lord Lovat's at this Meeting to carry to the Master, which Lord, then present, agreed to, and the Exam^t beleives the money was sent. That the whole sum distributed upon this occasion amounted to about 500 Louis d'ors, which was part of 35,000 which had been landed in Clanronald's Country, near Keppoch, from Nantes, about a Fortnight after the Battle of Culloden, of which money the Exam^t only had the Custody. That at this meeting there were about 30 common men, armed with Guns, as all were at that time. That Lord Lovat lay at this little hut, not above as big as the Room wherein the Exam^t was examined, that night of the Meeting. That Dr. Cameron and M^{c}Donald of Scotus were present at this Meeting. That the Exam^t recollects the names of two Servants who were with him at this time, David Gray and Farquhar. That Farquhar, very probably, might come into the Room where they were, but does not remember he did; and he beleives that one of them might be employed in loading and unloading Money from Horses Backs, for there were Quantitys of French Money carried about this part of the Country at that time. That the Hut belonged to one of Lochiel's Farmers; that it is probable Farquhar might have been order'd to bring Provisions thither, but the Exam^t cannot be positive thereof. That he does not remember any particular Expressions of Lord Lovat's at this Meeting save as before is set forth. That about 3 or 400 Men were raised in consequence of the Proposal made at this first meeting, of which Lochiel brought 190, and Barrisdale the same number, but the Master of Lovat never appeared. That the Exam^t was at Glenmary soon after this Meeting, but that neither Lord Lovat nor his Son, nor anyone for them were there. That soon after being at Glenmary, the Exam^t went to Glendeshery, a House which formerly belonged to Dr. Cameron. That the Exam^t met Lord Lovat accidentally there. That he was 2 hours with his Lordship. That nothing material was talked of, because Lodovick Cameron was present all the while, who was a man that c^d not be trusted with a secret. That there were not any Soldiers there, but Lord Lovat had 10 or 12 Servants along with him at Glendishery, but that they were not all armed, because some of them carried his Ldp. upon their shoulders. That probably there might be some talk about the men to be raised according to the former proposal, but the Exam^t cannot recollect the Particulars. That after this the Exam^t never saw Lord Lovat more: but about three weeks after this meeting at Glendishery, the Exam^t being in Clanronald's Country, received a Letter signed by Lord Lovat, by a Boy, wherein his Ldp. desired the Exam^t to send his Lordship some Money for paying a Guard which his Lordship said he found himself obliged to have. That the Exam^t returned no written answer, having no pen and ink, to this Letter, but gave the Boy who brought the Letter 15 Louis d'ors for Lord Lovat. That this sum was part of the French Money which had been landed after the Battle of Culloden, as before is set forth. That at this time all the Rebels were dispersed. That soon after this Bishop

M^c^Donald, M^c^Donald of Morer's Bro., brought a verbal message from Lord Lovat to the Exam^t^, who was then 4 miles from this Lake, desired to see the Exam^t^, if he could possibly go to him in the Island of Morer. That there was nothing else in the Letter but compliments. That the Exam^t^ returned no answer thereto. That after this he never heard of Lord Lovat. That the Exam^t^ never remembers to have heard Lord Lovat himself talk of the Battle of Culloden, or blame the Gentlemen present at the Meeting, tho' he hath been informed that Lord Lovat had said that the Battle of Culloden should not have been fought. The Exam^t^ never saw the Pr's Son after the Exam^t^ quitted Inverness on account of his bad state of health before the Battle of Culloden.

Indorsed—14 Feb. 1746/7.

No. 30.

THE FURTHER EXAMINATION OF JOHN MURRAY OF BROUGHTON, ESQ.[1]

This Exam^t^ saith, that he never had any conversation or correspondence by Letter or Message with Lord Lovat relating to any publick affairs whatever till after the arrival of the Pretender's son in Scotland.

This Exam^t^ saith that when Sir John Douglass came to him at Bannockburn in Jan^ry^ 1745/6, he supp'd with him in his chamber; that to the best of his Remembrance he had cold meat for Supper; that the Supper was brought in by John Baine, this Exam^t's^ principal servant, and that no other servants came into the Room whilst Sir John Douglass was there; that Sir John Douglass was dress'd in a dark brown frock: this Exam^t^ beleives that his servant, John Baine, is now in France.

This Exam^t^ saith that he had, at that time, a servant named Frogg, but does not beleive that he saw Sir John Douglass.

This Exam^t^ saith that Mr. Charles Stewart, of the Clan of Appine, was employ'd by him in collecting the Cess, Excise, etc., but that he was not intrusted with keeping the money but paid it as soon as collected to Lumsden; that Stewart was at Bannockbourn at the time of the Siege of Stirling, and was quarter'd at the same house with this Exam^t^, but that this Exam^t^ does not remember that Stewart came into the room when Sir John Douglass was with him, and verily beleives that no Person whatever came into the Room at that time except John Baine.

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 86, No. 21. [Continuation of B. 86, No. 46].

Being asked whether he is acquainted with James Gibb, who was employ'd as Clerk of the Kitchen to the Pretender's Son, he saith he does not know one of that name. J. Murray.

Feb. 8th, 1746/7. Taken before me, Andrew Stone.

Indorsed—The further Examon. of John Murray of Broughton, Esq. Feb. 8, 1746/7. Lovat.

No. 31.

J. MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE [1]

London, Oct^r 13, 1747.

My Lord,—I am extreamly sorrey to be under the necessity of troubling your Grace with a letter, but the unhappy situation of my affairs in Scotland is such as I hope will plead my excuse. My Creditores are now and have for some time past been useing all means for recovery of their debts that the Law allows off, while I am not in a Capacity to attend my affairs my self, nor to appoint one with sufficient Authority in my name. This, my Lord, makes me have recourse to your Grace to beg my Discharge, which alone can prevent the small remains I now have from being carried of by my Creditores, which if not att liberty wont be in my power to save how soon the Courts of Justice meet, which is the first of next month. Att the same time that I petition your Grace for this favour, pardon me to represent to you the great losses I have sustaind att Broughton, of which I have endeavour'd to procure pretty exact accounts, and upon a Computation, very much below the value, I find they amount to three thousand eight hundered and nineteen pound six shillings and eight pence, without including several things of considerable value not charged. I again beg your Grace will pardon this trouble, and allow me the honour to subscribe my self with the utmost regard and esteem, My Lord, your Graces most obedient and most humble servant,

J. Murray.

Indorsed—London, Oct^r 13, 1747. Mr. John Murray.

No. 32.

LORD TRAQUAIRE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE [2]

My Lord,—A strict confinement of fourteen months, which can not fail to have affected my health, besides the great confusion which must attend my private affairs by a long absence, without being able to give any directions during my present situation, will I hope be motives sufficient to obtain your Grace's pardon for the trouble of this application. Therefore without trespassing further upon your time, I most earnestly beg of your Grace's goodness to sollicit his Majesty for my liberty, either by being dismiss'd or admitted to Bail. Shou'd I be so happy as to owe this to your Grace's good offices, I shall always reflect upon it with gratitude, and am, with the sincerest esteem and greatest respect, my Lord, your Grace's most obedient and most oblig'd humble servant,

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[1] Newcastle Papers, British Museum, Sept.-Dec. 1747.

[2] *Ibid.*

TRAQUAIRE.

Tower, 13th Oct. 1747.

Indorsed—Tower, Oct. 13, 1747. Earl of Traquaire.

No. 33.

J. MURRAY TO [1]

SIR,—I have taken the liberty to send you inclosed an Abstract of the accounts I had from Scotland about the Sequestration of my Estate, by which you will see how necessary it is that some thing be done soon to stop any further proceedings. I beg leave att the same time to remind you of what advantage it would be to my private affairs to have my discharge, and hope you will assure his Grace the Duke of Newcastle that I shall not in that case think of going to Scotland without his special allowance, and I am with great regard, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

J. MURRAY.

Westminster, Nov^r y^e —— 1747.

Indorsed—Nov^r 17, 1747. Mr. John Murray.

Enclosure.[2]

Ed^r, Nov^r y^e 3^d, 1747.

THE Barons of Exchequer who are now proceeding to execute the late Act of Parliament about the forfeited Estates finding the name of John Murray of Broughtown in the Act of Attainder, did three weeks ago order the Sherriff Depute for the Shire of Tweedale to sequestrate the Estate of Broughtown. Endeavours shall be used that no further steps be hastily taken till your answer comes. What the Barons have done seems only to be a Step in common course since probably they think that they cannot take notice of what passed in the Court of Kings Bench, where he was by the Councill for the King found *Rectus in Curia.* If Mr. Murray's freinds att London think it fitt to send down a proper Certificate to be showed to the Barons of Exchequer, this may be the necessary Step to procure a revocation of their order, and if this or any other methode is thought adviseable, the sooner it is done the better to prevent his Creditores from falling upon him and enable him to raise the Rents for his Subsistance which without it cannot be done.

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[1] Newcastle Papers, Sept.-Dec. 1747.

[2] *Ibid.*

No. 34.

J. MURRAY TO [1]

London, Jan^{ry} *y*^{e} 20th, 174$\frac{7}{8}$.

Sir,—As your hurry of busness prevents me from talking to you so fully as the situation of my affairs requires, I hope you will excuse me for taking this method to acquaint you that tho a liberation entitles me to sue for debts, yett it dont att all enable me to settle my affairs (which have for a long time been [in] very great Confusion) upon any solid footting.

The Earl of March who is principal Creditor, now demands his money, or sufficient security, nether of which is in my power to give him, so long as I am liable to a Trial, the Law not allowing me either to assigne bonds, or to give security upon the Lands, nor does any body esteem it safe to lend me, so that should he adjudge my Estate, the Step he will naturally take for his own safety, and which I expect to hear of soon if not able to give him a satisfactory answer, I shall not be worth a groat. It is now above two years since I had access to receive any money from Scotland, which oblidges me to live in so low a way, as I should be sorry the world was to know it or than I incline to tell: from which I dare say you will be sensible that unless I have a pardon, I must infallibly be undone, and that my Interest had I no other tie must be the same then that it is now. Allow me to beg that you will take the trouble to represent my situation to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, which I shall ever esteem as a very singular favour and do me the justice to believe that I am with great regard, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

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[1] Newcastle Papers, Jan.-Apr. 1748.

J. MURRAY.

Indorsed—London, Jan^ry^ 20th. Mr. John Murray.

No. 35.

THE EXAMINATION OF ÆNEAS MACDONALD[1]

Janry 12^th^, 174$\frac{7}{8}$.

THE Examinant being required to give a particular account of all that he knew relating to the late Rebellion, and particularly what persons, either English or Scotch, resorted to the Pretender's son during the Time that he lodged at this Examinant's House at Paris, he saith he remembers only Mr. Murray, the Person called Lord Sempil, and Drummond of Bochaldie. That the first Time that the Pretender's Son lodged at this Exam̃nt's house was after the intended Invasion of England, viz., April 1744. That he continued to lodge at this Exam̃t's House at different periods during upwards of half a Year. This Exam̃nt saith that he hath had several familiar Conferences with the Pretender's Son, but denies that he ever communicated any Letters or Papers to this Exam̃t, or that he, this Ex^t^, ever wrote any Letters to any one whatever relating to the Pretender's affairs, except one Letter which he wrote to Murray of Broughton.

Being asked whether he had ever any Conversation with the Pretender's Son relating to any Invitation that he had received from any Persons in England or Scotland, and who they were, he saith that he verily beleives he had no Invitation from any persons whatever, except, perhaps, the Duke of Perth or Lord Lovat. That he, this Exam̃t, always thought it a wild and chimerical Undertaking. That the Occasion of this Exam̃nt's accompanying the Pretender's Son to Scotland was that he had a great personal Regard for the Pretender's Son, and that this Exam̃nt was under a Prosecution at Paris for being concerned with a Person in a clandestine Marriage.

Being asked whether he knows of any Remittances that were made from England or Scotland for the Use of the Pretender's Son, he saith that from April to Sept^r^ 1744, to the best of his knowledge, no such Remittances were made for the use of that Person, and that he doth not know of any such Remittances being made at any other Time. That the Persons in London with whom this Examinant corresponded in the Way of his Business as a Banker were Mr. Auchterlonny, Mr. Udney, and Mess^{rs} Catenaugh and others. That the Court of France, about July 1744, assign'd a Pension of 1500£ sterling per annum to the Pretender's Son, and some time after augmented it to 3000£ per annum. This Exam^{t} saith that at the Time the Pretender's Son embark'd for England, in July 1745, the Court of France were ignorant of it. Being ask'd how that could be, since he pretends to have a Commission dated in June 1745, appointing him, this Exam^{t}, to be a Commissary of the French Troops sent to Scotland, he saith that he does not pretend to say that he had that Commission at the Time it bears Date; but that he fairly acknowledges that he procured that Commission to save himself. This Exam^{t} saith that he verily believes if the Pretender's son had communicated to the Court of France his Design of going to Scotland at the Time he did go, that they would not have suffer'd him to have executed so wild a Project. This Exam^{t} saith that he never had any material Conversation upon Business with the Pretender's Son after he landed in Scotland, nor had any share in his Confidence. That he earnestly wish'd to have an Opportunity of returning to France, and hoped to have been sent back thither on some Message. That after the Battle of Culloden he surrender'd himself to Lieu^{t} Gen^{l} Campbel, having first wrote to Lieu^{t} Gen^{l} Campbel to know whether he should be safe, and having receiv'd an answer from him assuring him that he should be safe, and should have Liberty to go to any Town upon his Parole. Being ask'd whether he knows what Persons the Pretender's Son saw or convers'd with when he was in England, he saith he does not know, and that he, this Exam^{t}, conversed only with the Persons at whose Houses he lodged.

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 106, No. 7.

This Exam^{t} saith that from the Time he left Scotland in his Childhood, he never returned thither till the Year 1729 or 1730, when he continued in Scotland, and chiefly at Edenburgh about fifteen months or upwards. Being again asked whether he knows of any Invitation or Encouragement the Pretender's Son received from any Persons in England either before he landed in Great Britain or afterwards, he absolutely denies his having any such knowledge. Being ask'd whether he knows the Person called

Lord Clincarty, he saith he does not. Being ask'd whether he knows Sir James Stuart, he saith he does know him, that he saw him at Edenburgh before he was at Paris, that he heard that one Mr. Carnegie, of Boisach, went with Sir James Stuart to France. Being ask'd whether he was at the Camp at Stirling, he saith he was. Being ask'd whether he knows Sir John Douglas, he saith he does not know him, but that he knows two of his Brothers who were in the Rebellion. He denies that he heard of Sir John Douglas's being in Scotland at the time of the Rebellion, and that he was surprized when he heard that Sir John Douglas was taken up, as he did not look upon him to be in that way of thinking. Being asked who were the Persons in Scotland that he corresponded with before the Rebellion, he saith Provost Coots, Mr. Inglis, son of Sir John Inglis, and Baily Stuart, but that he never wrote to any of these Persons relating to publick affairs. This Exam^t saith that he believes all the Money that France sent to support the Pretender in Scotland did not exceed 15,000£ sterling; that he knows some large sums were sent to Scotland both before and after the Battle of Culloden, but that he believes it was the Pretender's own money; that Pope Clement, the Eleventh, left a Legacy of about 30,000£ sterling for the use of the Pretender and his Family. That the ships that came with the Pretender's Son from France were fitted out by Walsh; that the *Elizabeth* was a French Man of War, of 70 guns, but was fitted out by Walter Ruttledge of Dunkirk, and employed in that service without the Knowledge of the French king; that the French Privateers that were sent after the Battle of Culloden to Scotland with money were fitted out by Walsh and Mo^r Neau of Nantes.

This Exam^t saith that during the whole time he was in Scotland, or afterwards in England, he did not receive one Letter from any Person in France or England; that during his stay at Edenburgh he dined at a publick house in company with Provost Stuart, Sir James Stuart, Lord George Murray, Lord Kinross, Lord Elcho, and others at Mrs. Walker's; that Lord Kinross was talking of some Woods that he had which were cut down to make Batteries; that he believes the usual healths were drank, viz^t, the King, the Prince, and the Duke, meaning the Pretender and his two Sons. That Provost Coots and Mr. Hamilton Gordon came to see this Exam^t in New Goal about three months ago, but that he never had any Discourse of consequence with them. This Exam^t saith that Kelley told him at Paris that the Pretender's Design of coming to Scotland was ridiculous and chimerical. That Lord Sempil and Drummond of Bochaldie used frequently to name considerable people in England as attached to the Pretender's Cause, and particularly the Earl of Barrymore; that they had great Hopes in the City of London; and he believes they might name the then Lord Mayor of London; but that Kelley had not the least Dependance upon what Lord Sempil and Drummond said. This Examt saith that when he embark'd with the Pretender's Son for Scotland he did not even then think that they should pursue that voyage, but thought it more likely that they should go to Spain. That Sheridan and Sullivan were with them, and that those two were the Persons who had the principal Confidence with the Pretender's Son; that Murray of Broughton had a good deal of Credit with him; that Murray introduced Hay who at last was likely to supplant him.

This Examt saith that he does not know the Earl of Traquair, but that he hath heard Murray and Bochaldie talk of him as an honest Man; but that he afterwards heard that Lord Traquair and Bochaldie had quarrell'd. That Lord Sempil and Bochaldie knew nothing of the Pretender's Son's expedition to Scotland, which was entirely an Irish Project. Being ask'd whether he, this Examt, heard that Bochaldie was in England in 1745, he saith he never did hear of it.

Being admonish'd to consider seriously whether he can recollect any thing further that may be material, and to declare it, he saith that he is ready to answer any Questions that may be ask'd him, and if any thing occurr'd to his Memory which he had not already said he would declare it; but that as he shall answer it to God he does not recollect any thing that he has not said. Being then directed to withdraw, he desired the Lords humbly to recommend him to his Majesty's Mercy.

Duke of Dorset's House, Janry 12th, 174⅞.

Taken before Lord Chancellor, Duke of Newcastle, Lord President, Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Privy Seal, Mr. Pelham.

Indorsed—The Examination of Æneas MacDonald, January 12th, 174⅞.

No. 36.

EARL OF TRAQUAIR TO[1] [THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE]

My Lord,—The long continuance of my confinement makes me again presume to trouble your Grace. My entire submission to his Majesty's will determin's me to wait his pleasure for my enlargement, and for that reason I omitted to make that application which Persons in my situation usualy do by moving to be admitted to Bail. It is my purpose to take no step but what shall be agreeable to your Grace, but if his Majesty continues to think it not proper to give any directions in my case, and your Grace should approve of my applying in the ordinary method, I hope your Grace will direct that no advantage shall be taken of my omission occasion'd by my deference to his Majesty's will and that I shall meet with that indulgence which I should have a right to if I had acted otherwise. I am with great esteem and profound respect, My Lord, your Grace's most obedient and most humble servant.

Traquaire.

Tower, 21 Jan^{ry} 174$\frac{7}{8}$. Rich^{d} Whyte.

Indorsed—Tower, Jan^{ry} 21, 174$\frac{7}{8}$. Earl of Traquair.

No. 37.

JOHN MURRAY TO[2]

Sir,—I hope you wont take it amiss, that I should again take this methode to put you in mind of my Situation, which you are sensible is extreamly detremental to my affairs and to beg you will use your interest with the Duke of Newcastle and the other ministers to procure my Remission. I have taken the liberty to enclose the part of my Factor's letter to my Lady Murray,[3] by which you will see how I am situated in regard to my Estate. I shall take the liberty to make enquiry on your Servant when I may have the honour to waite of you, and I am with sincere regard, Sir, your most obedient and most humble Servant.

J^{o} Murray.

London, March y^{e} 25, 1748.

Indorsed—March 25, 1748. Mr. Murray of Broughton.

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[1] S.P.D. George II., B. 106, No. 16.

[2] *Ibid.* No. 62.

[3] John Murray's mother.

Enclosure.—I am well assured that the Barrons did not think themselves sufficiently entitled to survey and name Factors on Mr. Murray's Estate, it noways having been made appear to them that he did surrender himself before the 12th July 1746, and therefore desired information for them to proceed. On that the Atturney generall did in the King's bench admitt that he did surrender himself in Term of the Act of Attainder. Now, Madam, the proper person to apply to for a Certificate is either the Atturney or Sollicitor general or one of the principall Secretaries of State, which when obtained will be a warrant to the Barrons here to recall the order to the Shirriff and so lett us have access to the rents, for by the stop that has been putt I believe there will be great difficulty in getting them in.

No. 38.

J. MURRAY TO [1]

Sir,—I am informd from Edinburgh that the Collector of the Land Tax for the County of Selkirk has commenced a Process against the Heretors of that County to procure payment of £300 pound which had been wrested from him by the highland Army, and he notwithstanding made accountable for it to the Receiver General as if no such payt had been made, and concluds against me as having signd several orders for him to pay it.

This, sir, obliges me to give you the trouble of this letter to represent the fatal consequences that must attend such Process should it be given against me, which will in all probability be followd by the like proceeding from the other Countys in Scottland, where any such levies were made, and will totally defeat his Majestys intention in granting me a Pardon, it being impossible to fall upon a more effectual method to forfeit me. As this affair will not admit of delay, the Court being to sit in a few days, when judgement must necessarily follow, I will do my self the honour to wait of you either to morrow or Monday as you think proper, to receive your Commands, in hopes that you will be so good as think of some means to prevent a blow which must inevitably ruin me.—I am with great esteem, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

J. Murray.

London, Janry ye 6th, 1748-9.

Indorsed—London, Janry 6. Mr. John Murray.

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[1] Newcastle Papers, Jan.-July 1749.

III

LETTERS AND MINUTES FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE FRENCH FOREIGN OFFICE

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No. 1.

THE CHEVALIER TO AMELOT

A Rome, ce 23 Dec^{re}. 1743.

A M. Amelot,—Le Porteur Mons^{r}. Macgregor[1] est si amplement informé de tout, en consequense de ce qu'il m'a communiqué de la part de S. M. tres Chretienne, et de la votre, qu'il est inutile de vous rien dire icy par escrit ; Mais je ne puis le laisser retourner sans vous temoigner combien je suis penetré de votre procedé envers moy en cette importante occasion, et j'ai une entière confiance en la continuation de vos soins et de vos attentions pour mener cette grande affaire au terme desiré. Je vous recommende particulierement et auec instance de ne pas negliger le petit project d'Ecosse, car cela peut etre d'une grande utilité.

Mes sentiments enuers vous dans cette occasion ne vous scauroient etre douteux. Soyez je vous prie bien persuadé de leur sincerité et de toute l'étendue de mon amitié et de ma gratitude pour vous, Jacques R.

No. 2.

THE CHEVALIER TO THE KING OF FRANCE

De Rome, ce 23 Dec. 1743.

Monsieur mon Frere et Cousin,—Le sieur Macgregor est arriué ici mardy passé et m'a communiqué les resolutions et les Intentions de Vostre Majesté selon qu'il en estoit chargé et dont le recit ma penetré de si vifs sentiments de reconnoissance et d'attachement envers elle que le paroles ne scauroient jamais luy en faire connoistre toute l'entendue. J'avoue ingenuement a Vre. Mté. que mon premier mouuement estoit de differer le depart de mon Fils, jusqu'a ce que je pu receuoir des ordres, et des instructions plus precis de sa part ; mais puis en faisant reflexions sur la probité de Mr. Macgregor et aux eminentes Vertus de Vre. Mté. j'ay cru que je pouuois en cette occasion passer par dessus les regles ordinaires sans risquer sa desapprobation en ancun cas qui pourroit arriuer dans sa suite : de sorte qu'à la fin je me suis determiné de ne pas contraindre l'Ardeur et la viuacité de mon fils pour aller ou son deuoir, son honneur, et Vre. Mté. l'appellant. Vre. Mté. ne sera que trop informée de l'impossibilité absolue ou je suis de sortir de ce pays cy a present. Je ne scauray meme encore l'affermer positiuement qu'il soit possible a Mon fils, mais j'ose l'assurer en general que ny dangers ny fatigues ne l'empecheront de se jettér au plutost aux pieds de Vre. Mté. à moins qu'il n'y s'y trouue des difficultés insurmontables. Il partira donc en conformité de ce que Mr. Macgregor a rapporté uers le douze du mois prochain, et en attendant ce dernier part demain auec les Manifestes, et les autres papiers nescessaires, pour les remettre entre les mains de Mr. d'Amelot, afin qu'il en dispose dans la suite selon les ordres de Vostre Majesté. Elle aura la bonté de s'en souvenir qu'au mois de Feurier passé outre une lettre que j'ay escritte directement a Vre. Mté. j'en ay escrit une au Cardinal de Tencin sur des affaires tres importantes, et par ce que ce Cardinal m'a mandé depuis il l'auoit montré a Vre. Mté. et elle paroissoit disposée a obseruer le plus grand secret sur le contenue de cette lettre; c'est pourquoy j'enuoye la present en droiture à elle meme, et non sous l'enueloppe de Mr. d'Amelot; et comme par ce que l'on me dit le Cardinal n'est pas encore informé des affaires qui ont causees la Mission de Mr. Macgregor je ne luy en escris pas, non plus qu'à mon propre Ministre Mr. d'Obryen quelque soit ma confiance dans le premier, et la longue experience que j'ay de la sagesse, et de la probité de l'autre. Si je manque en prenant de pareils precautions, c'est simplement un effet de l'ardent desir que j'ay de me conformer en tout et par tout aux desirs et aux inclinations de Vre. Mté. et pour ne pas faire la moindre demarche qui pourroit possiblement n'estre pas de son gout. Au reste a l'egard de la lettre que le Cardinal de Tencin luy a montré je dois declarer icy a Vre. Mté. que je suis toujours dans les memes sentiments et dans les memes dispositions; et elle peut par consequent agir auec une entiere liberté dans toutes ces affaires importantes selon qu'elle le jugera le plus conuenable pour le succès du grand Projet. Je n'entneray pas icy dans un plus grand detail pour ne pas importunir inutillement V^{re}. M^{té}., ayant deja dit il me semble ce qui suffit pour son information, et pour luy faire connoistre mes sentiments en cette importante occasion; je m'assure qu'elle voudra bien les agréer, et elle ne me rendra que justice si elle ueut bien estre persuadée que cette une source de repos et de consolation pour moy de voir entre les mains d'un Prince si respectable la personne de mon fils auec le sort de mes Royaumes, et le mien. Il ne me reste autre chose a desirer sinon que la Prouidence daigne benir les Justes; et les grands dessins de Vostre Majesté, en nous mettant touts en estat de luy prouuer par les temoignages les plus forts, et les plus esclatants la sincerité, la constance et l'ardeur de nostre reconnoissance enuers nostre commun liberateur.—Monsieur, mon Frère et Cousin, de Vostre Majesté le Bon Frère et Cousin, JACQUES R.

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[1] *i.e.* Balhaldy.

No. 3.

VILLENEUVE TO AMELOT

1. *Antibes le 23 Janvier—à une heure apres midy.*

MONSIEUR,—J'ay l'honneur de vous faire passer un paquet pour M. Amelot sur un courryer expres que il vous prie de faire passer en toute diligence par un autre courryer pour que ce ministre le verraie en toute diligence. Cest pour un affaire de la dernière importance et don ce ministre ne sauroit être informé, trop tôt. Ce paquet et aryvé cette nuit par une fellouque espagnolle venent de Gène. Je suis ravy que cette occasion me procure l'honneur de vous renouveller les assurences du respecteux attachement avec lequel je suis, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur, VILLENEUVE.

2. *Antibes ce 23 Janvier a deux heures aprés midy* 1744.

MONSIEUR,—Jay l'honneur de vous faire passer ce paquet par un courryer expres que s'adresse a M. Pallu, intendant a Lyon, pour qu'il vous parvienne en toute dilligence. Il m'a été remis par le fils du roy d'Angleterre qui est a Rome, et qui et arryvé cette nuit dans ce port sur une felouque Cattalane qui vient de Genes.

Ce prince est suivy de trois personnes. Il ma fait remetre ce paquet avec ordre de la faire passer en toute dilligence, il ma fait dire que ces premières ordres etoit de passer par la Suisse et qu'il y a actuellement une chaise de poste qui l'atent à Belfort, mes que le projet a éte changé et qu'il etait party al'improvist de Rome avec un ordre de M^r^. le Cardinal Aquaviva pour qu'une fellouque Cattallane le passat de Genes à Antibes. Comme il n'y a point ici aucun endroit etably pour faire la quarante et qu'il m'est ordonné de renvoier à Marseille ou Toulon touts les battiments qui viendront d'Ittallie, je n'ay pas jugé apropos de renvoyer celuy cy ny les passager qui y sont embarqué, mes j'ay fait mettre une tartanne dans un endroit du port separé des autres battiments dans laquelle jay fait mettre le prince et sa suite et j'en ay donné advis a M^{r}. le Marquis de Mirepoix et j'atens ces ordres. Personne ne sait de quoy il est question et si secret que quant il a vue que je voulez les renvoyer qu'il ma fait dire, par celuy qui est chargé de le conduire, qu'il etoit. Dans le temps que je suis aryvé sur le pont savoir ce que c'etait que les passager en question, il et aryvé la chaloupe d'un vaisseau Englois que etait à la hauteur de ce pont qui venoit demander quelques rafrechissements que je leur ay fait donner, mes je soupconne que ce pourrait n'être qu'un pretexte que celuy de demander des vivres, et que le vaisseau ayent accrosté le matin une tartane qui rentrait de ce pont le patron auroit pue dire qu'il y étoit arryve une felouque cattallane et que les Englois ayent eu advis du depart de ce prince de Rome, ils auront envoyés des battiments en arayrière pour tacher d'aretter ces felouques. Il y a plus de dix jours qu'il n'auroit parue de vaisseux englois sur cette cotte excepté hier matin un, et ce matin deux, qui sont actuellement devant le port, je ne fais rien envers cet etranger qui puisse faire soupconner rien de ce qu'il est. Je suis avec respet Monseigneur votre très humble et tres obeissant serviteur, VILLENEUVE.

No. 4.

FOREIGN OFFICE MINUTE

le 29 *Janvier* 1744.

Le Prince Edouard partit d'Antibes en poste a cheval avec M. —— pour Paris, sous les noms de *Grahéns* et *Mallock.* Il ne voulut point accepter la chaise de M. de Villeneuve quoique selon toute apparence la fatigue fut trop forte pour lui.

No. 5.

VILLENEUVE TO AMELOT

Antibes, ce p^{re} *Fevrier,* 1744.

MONSEIGNEUR,—J'ai bien l'honneur de vous mander par le courryer que je vous ay expedié le 23 du mois dernier à 2 heures apres midy l'aryve de messieurs *Grahant* et *Mallock* et deux domestiques venus de Gène icy sur une fellouque espagnolle. Que je les ay mis en quarantaine, attendu les ordres que j'ay de ne recevoir dans ce pont auqun battiment venent des cottes d'Ittallie qu'il n'avy fait quarantaine à Marseilles ouToulon. Comme j'ay jugé que je pourres exemter ces messieurs de la regle etablye et que d'ailleurs je savoit qu'ils ne venoient point d'un lieu suspec je les ay retenue icy et en ay donné advis à M^{r}. le Marquis de Mirepoix que m'a envoyé un courryer avec ordre de ne les lesser en quarantaine que huigt jours et le terme etent finy le 29 à 8 heures du soir ils sont party en poste à cheval pour Paris. N'ayent pas jugè qu'il fut necessaire d'attendre le retour du courryer qui vous a apris leurs aryvêe icy, j'ay fait tout ce que j'ay peut pour engager un de ces messieurs de prendre ma chaise de poste, il ne la pas voulu et m'a dit qu'il luy couvenoit mieux d'aller à cheval. Je doute qu'il puisse en soutenir la fattigue d'icy a Paris. Je suis avec respec, Monseigneur, votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur, VILLENEUVE.

No. 6.

VILLENEUVE TO AMELOT.

Antibes, ce 5 *Fevrier* 1744.

MONSEIGNEUR,—Je viens de recevoir par un courrier expedie par Mr. Pallu, intendant de Lyon, la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 30 du mois dernier et le paquet qui y étoit joint pour Mr. Graham que j'ay l'honneur de vous renvoyer.

J'avez rendue conte a M^{r}. le Marquis de Mirepoix de l'arryver de ces etrangers et du party que j'avez pris de les admettre icy en quarantaine. il m'expedia un courrier avec un ordre qui fixeroit la quarantaine à huigt jours. Le terme etant finy j'en fis part à ces messieurs qui ce determinent à partyr tout de suite sans vouloir attendre la reponse du paquet que j'avez bien l'honneur de vous envoyer par un courryer que j'expedie à Mr. Pallu. Je leurs fit les objections que je croies devoir leurs faire, auxquelles ils repondirent, puisque je n'avez receu auqun ordre pour ce qu'ils devoit faire, il faloit qu'il feut aryvé quelque chose aux courryer qui vous avoit été expedié et qu'il ne convenoit pas qu'ils restarrent plus longtemps à Antibes. Ils en sont party pour Paris le 29 Janvier a huight heures du soir, en poste, je fis mon possible pour les engager à prendre ma chaise de poste. ils me remercierent et ont vouloue faire la route à cheval. Je les conte rendue avent la reception de cette lettre comme je n'avez auqun ordre je nay pas crue devoir les retenir et j'espére que vous ne des aprouverez pas ma conduite. —Je suis avec respec monseigneur votres tres humble et trés obeissant serviteur, VILLENEUVE.

No. 7.

NOTE BY LORD SEMPILL

Je joins icy un paquet que M^{r}. Dupont, secretaire de M^{r}. de Joinville à Gène, vient de m'adresser au moment que je ferme ma lettre.

J'ay reçu de M^{r}. Amelot la somme de dix mille livres pour l'usage du Prince du Galles à Paris ce 15 Fevrier 1744.

SEMPILL.

No. 8.

MARSHAL SAXE TO [AMELOT]

A Calay, le 26 Fevrier au soir 1744.

MONSIEUR,—Je viens de resevoir par un courier de la part de Mr. de Segan la Laitre que vous m'aves fait l'honeur de mecrire le 22 de se moy; je n'ores pas manquer de me rendre ches vous pour prendre vos derniers ordres si M^{r}. Darjonson ne m'avet defondus de me montrer a Versaille je souhaite pouvoir bientot faire usage de la declaration de Sa Majesté et je serois deja débarquès en Englet^{re} au moment que je vous ecris, si lescadre de M^{r}. Dubarail etoit arivée; mais il samusse aparament a prendre des Anglois et ce la Laura separes de M^{r}. de Rocquefeuille qui doit vraisamblablement avoir ressus les ordres, nos vessos de transport qui sont tous arives ont veu une party de nostre escadre a la hauteur du cap Lesard il y a quelque jours, si nostre escadre nestet pas sortye le 6 de Brest, elle seret arivée en meme temp que nos vessaux de transport et j'ay bien de la paine a me consoler de ce contretamp. Il est certein qu'il y a une grande insertitude a Londre et son juge par le soin que l'on prant a la cacher, car tout les gens qui viennent deLondre, cést a dire le comeun. [*sic*] disse que tout y est trenquille. Je sais sependant qu'il sest tenus des conseils mesme nuitament et que l'on a été aux avis ches Mr. de Walpol; si nous mancons se premier debut cest bien par nostre fautes; depuis que nos uessaux de transport sont passés, le vant ne cesse daitre contrere dans la manche a larivée de Mr. Dubarail. Juges, Monsieur, quel avantage sauret ete pour nous si cette escadre avet passé avec nos vesseau de transport.

Jinore ou est la personne dont vous me parlés, et sela meinquite je le suis encore plus de ne point voir arivés a Donckerque les pilotes englios qui nous ont etes promis; nous n'en avons qu'un qui conesse la riviere et encore ne saije trop si l'on peut sij fier; mais a cela près fussion nous en mer et les moiens se trouveroient. le desir que je sens de mener cette entreprisse a bien, m'est un augure flateur pour sa reussite; Je n'y suis entres can balansant mais puis que le vin et tiré comme l'on dit il faut le boire. Je vous suplie daitre persuades du respectueux atachement avec lequel j'ay l'honneur daitre Monsieur vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur, MAURICE DE SAXE.

No. 9.

THE EARL MARISCHAL TO [D'ARGENSON]

à Donkerque, 7 *Mars* 1744.

MONSIEUR,—Je partis de Paris le mardi 25 du mois de Fevrier, ainsi que j'avois eu l'honneur d'en convien avec vous. Come je n'ai point de reponse le lundi à mes demandes je ne doutois point d'en trouver ici chez Mr. le Cte. de Saxe, selon que vous me l'aviez fait esperer.

My lord Sempill m'a écrit sur ma route que mes demandes avient été jugées raisonables, et qu'il étoit même probable que vous m'accorderiez plus de troupes que je n'en avois demandé. Ce qui me feroit grand plaisir, mais j'ay l'honneur de voir tous les jours à Donkerque Monsieur le Comte de Saxe, et je n'ay pas eu encore la plus legère instruction. Cependant dont le tems presse et jusqu'a ce que je sache parfaitement sur quoy je dois tabler je ne sauray former aucun bon et solide project, ni donner de mes cromelles[1] et faire savoir ce qu'il convient que sachent et fassent preventivement pour des bonnes dispositions de nos amis en Ecosse en cas que je le trouve necessaire et que j'en ay des occasions. J'ay recu un ordre de Mon^{neur}. le Prince de Galles d'envoyer aux chefs des montagnards d'Ecosse en meme tems que l'ordre de prendre les armes, vingt shillings par homme qu'ils doivent fournir, les vingt shillings valent une livre sterling; les chefs se sont engagés à fournir 19,400 hommes. La somme que ce seul article exige excéde celle que je vous ay demandée, ainsi, Monsieur, il a fallu necessairement que j'ai l'honneur de vous en informer pour que votre prévoyance prenne les mesures convenables à me procurer la possibilité de satisfaire aux frais de la première levée de nos montagnards, en surplus des Sommes que j'ay entendu demander pour les soldyer, subsister, etc.

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[1] ? Conseils.

Il y a Monsieur assez de vaisseaux dans les ports de Donkerk, Calais et Boulogne pour avoir fait les deux expéditions en même tems. Vous savez mieux que personne par vos propres lumières combien il est avantageux en de semblables enterprises de ne pas perdre un moment. Je m'en rapporte donc à la confidence que je dois à votre prudence consommée dans les grandes affaires. J'ay l'honneur d'etre avec respect Monsieur votre trés humble et trés obeissant serviteur, LE MARÉCHAL D'ECOSSE.

Donkerk, ce 7^{e} mars 1744.

No. 10.

[D'ARGENSON] TO MARSHAL SAXE

A Versailles, le 15 *Mars* 1744.

A. M. LE C^{te} DE SAXE,—J'ay l'honneur de vous envoyer, M., une lettre de M. l'Evêque de Soissons pour le fils du chevalier de St. Georges que je vous prie de lui faire tenir. Vous voudrés bien l'informer en même tems que S. M. continuellement occupée de ce qui le regarde ayant fait reflexion que dans le conjoncture presente qui oblige à différer l'entreprise qu'on avoit projettée en sa faveur, il n'etoit plus possible qu'il restât à Gravelines, avoit jugé qu'il n'y avoit aucun endroit où il pût etre plus convenablement et plus agreablement que chez M. l'Evêque de Soissons qui a cet effet à emprunté une Maison de Campagne a deux Lieües de Soissons où ce Prince sera plus commodément et plus à son aise qu'il n'auroit été dans la Ville. Cette Maison sappelle Vie sur Aisne, et il poura s'y rendre soit par la route de Compiegne soit par la route de Noyon sans passer par la Ville de Soissons. Mr. L'Evesque partira Samedy apres midi pour aller l'y attendre. Il paroitroit aussi fort convenable et même necessaire que ce Prince eut avec lui quelque personne de merite et de consideration, et S. M. n'en connoit point qui put mieux remplir en tout genre tout ce qu'on pouroit desirer a cet egard, que Milord Marechal. Je ne crois pas qu'il en fasse de difficulté, dès que vous lui en aurés fait la proposition. Il m'a ecrit il y a quelques jours pour me faire part de ses vues par raport à l'Ecosse; mais S. M., à qui j'en ay rendu compte, ne les a pas trouvées asses digérées pour prendre une resolution définitive. Il faudroit être mieux instruit des differentes intelligences qu'on croit y avoir, du lieu, et du tems du debarquement, du nombre de troupes nécessaire, et des secours qu'on y trouveroit. C'est surquoy vous pouriés entrer en matiere avec lui, pour le faire expliquer sur tous ces points; Car il me paroît que Milord Marechal n'a encore que des notions génerales qui ne suffisent pas, et qui pouroient même etre dérangées par les mesures que prend l'Angl^re^ qui est aujourdhui sur ses gardes. Si Mil^d^ Marechal venoit a Vie sur Aisne, je pourois lui envoyer quelqu'un pour conférer avec lui.—Je suis, etc.

No. 11.

FOREIGN OFFICE MINUTE

du 25 Mar 1744.

Le Prince Edward ne voulut point quitter Gravelines. Il ecrivit à Milord Sempill pour faire des representations à Mr. Amelot.

Il dit dans sa lettre après avoir plaint l'état d'Angleterre que s'il savoit que sa présence seule fut utile en Angleterre, Il s'y rendroit dans un canot.

No. 12.

FOREIGN OFFICE MINUTE

Avril 1744.

Le Prince Édouard arriva à Paris la nuit du 5 au 6 Avril et s'y tient trés caché.

No. 13.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE KING OF FRANCE

Lettre du P^ce^ Charles, fils ainé du Chevalier Saint Georges.

le 24 *Juillet* 1744, *à Paris.*

Monsieur Mon oncle,—Les obligations que j'ay a Votre Majesté sont si essentielles et se font sentir si vivement, que je trouve à pène des expressions qui y repondent: mais l'importance de la conjonture ne me permets plus de garder un silence qui devient in compatible avec ma reconnoissance. Les sages précautions que Votre Majesté a prises en me tenant caché depuis que je suis dans son Royaume, et sur tout depuis l'ouverture de la Campagne ont entièrement aveuglé le Gouvernement présent de la Grande Bretagne, l'on a non seulement renvoyé les six milles Hollandois, mais l'on a même transporté en Flandres plus d'un tiers des Troupes reglées qu'on avoit auparavant jugé necessaires pour contenir les Peuples dans la sujétion de l'usurpateur, d'ailleurs ceux d'entre les bons sujets du Roi mon père qui donnent le mouvement aux autres, et avec lesquels on avait concerté l'embarquement des Troupes Françoises, ces sujets fidèles tant Anglois qu'Ecossois, se sont comportés à cette occasion avec tant de prudence et de fermete qu'ils paroissent plus dignes que jamais de la confiance dont Votre Majesté les avoit honorés; ils m'ont souvant renouvellé les assurances du Zéle avec lequel ils étoient prêts à remplir les engagements qu'ils avoient pris en cas que les Troupes de Votre Majesté eussent débarqué, nonobstant l'arrivée des Hollandois et les autres préparatifs du Gouvernement pour pouvoir se maintenir aussitôt qu'il fût décidé dans le conseil de l'Electeur d'Hannover de ne laisser en Angleterre qu'un nombre peu considérable de Troupes, ils m'ont donné avis avec une joye extrême, et comme ils pencent qu'on peut, malgré la superiorité de la Flotte du Gouvernement, transporter un corps de troupes à celui que Votre Majesté faisoit embarquer à Dunkerque, ils tiennent, pour certain, qu'avecce secours j'aurais l'honneur de retablir le Roy mon père sans exposer la Nation aux malheurs d'une Guerre civile. Ils disent qu'ils seroient en état de renverser le Gouvernement par leurs propres forces s'ils n'apprehendoient celles que l'usurpateur pourroit faire descendre en Angleterre avant que je pusse former une Armée capable de s'y opposer, et ils declarent que ce n'est que cette apprehension qui les empêche de me recevoir sans autre appuy que celui de la justice de ma Cause: c'est le resultat des dernieres conférences des principaux Royalistes Anglois que my lord Barrimore m'a fait savoir par un Exprés.

Les Eccossois, plus ardents et entreprenants, ne s'effrayent point des idées d'une guerre civile. Ils viennent de m'envoyer un homme de condition,[1] parent de Monsieur Macgregoir, pour m'assurer que le concert que y a été formé en 1739 subsiste toujours dans toute sa force, que la disposition générale du pays est si favorable, qu'il ne leur reste plus rien a faire qu'a gagner les Troupes que le Gouvernement entretien parmi eux, et qu'ils y appliquent avec quelque espérance de réussir; mais ils me supplient de ne point attendre des dispositions ulterieures, de me servir de l'occasion que l'eloignement des Troupes du Gouvernement me présente actuellement et de faire auprès de Votre Majesté les plus fortes instances pour procurer les Armes et le peu de secours dont les Eccossois ont besoin pour se mettre en Campagne.

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[1] This must be John Murray, but his relationship with Balhaldy existed only in the Prince's imagination.

Ils promettent de s'en servir d'une manière que prouvera à Votre Majesté que l'ancienne vigueur de la Nation Eccossoise n'est point eteint. Ils ajoûtent qu'ils renvoyent le Comte de Traquaire en Angleterre pour entretenir et affermir la confiance entre les fidels sujets des deux Royaumes.

Ces dispositions, tant de l'Angleterre que de l'Ecosse sont si heureuses, que j'ay crû en devoir donner moy même quelque idée à Votre Majesté et envoyer My lord Sempill pour informer plus particulièrement les Ministres qui sont auprès d'Elle. Si Votre Majesté veut bien permettre que ce My lord leur en fasse un rapport, j'ose me flatter que celui qu'ils feront à Votre Majesté La determinera de m'accorder le corps de Troupes que les Fidels sujets de la Grande Bretagne demandent avec tant d'empressement, qui me mettera dans un état de Lui donner dans peu des preuves réelles de la vive reconnoissance dont je suis pénetré, et du respect avec le quel je serai toute ma vie. Monsieur mon Oncle de Votre Majesté le trés affectioné Neveu, CHARLES P.

No. 14.

THE CHEVALIER TO D'ARGENSON

À Rome ce 11 *Août* 1744.

J'AI cru que Je ne pouvois vous escrire par un canal qui vous fut plus agreable que celui du Cardinal de Tencin de qui vous receuerez cette lettre, a laquelle Je joins une autre pour Sa Majestè tres Chretienne que Je vous prie de lui remettre, et d'en appuyer le contenu auec toute l'efficace de vos bons offices aupres d'elle; En assistant Mon Fils sans delai, elle mettra une prompte et glorieuse fin a la Guerre, mais si elle l'abandonne il est perdu, et Je pourrai dire ma Patrie avec lui. Apres le compte que m'a rendu Mr. Obryen de vos sentiments obligeants pour nous, Je ne scaurois douter de vos dispositions. Je m'addresse donc a vous auec toute confiance dans une conjoncture egalement critique et importante pour nous; Vous auez à Coeur la gloire du Roy, dont vous auez la confiance; vous auez vous meme des sentiments dignes de la place que vous occupez ainsi que ne dois je point esperer de vous, enuers qui J'ai touts les sentiments d'estime et d'amitie que vous meritez si justement de moy. JACQUES R.

Le Ms^{g}. D'Argenson.

No. 15.

FOREIGN OFFICE MINUTE

Decembre 1744.

LE Prince de Galles fit savoir à ses amis en Angleterre et en Ecosse que le Roy étant trop occupé d'ailleurs, il ne pouvait plus compter sur son secours pour cette année. Ils lui firent dire que ce retardement ne les decourageoient pas, et resolurent de lui envoier M. Murray de Broughton pour leur donner une idée de leurs Forces et de leur zêle ce Gentilhomme trouvant peu de sûreté à passer en France, resolut de rester en Hollande, et pria le Prince de luy envoier une personne de confiance. M. Macgregoir fut choisi, il eut ordre de tirer toutes les lumières possibles de M. Murray et en même tems de sonder les dispositions des Troupes Angloises et Eccossoises dans les Pays Bas, de penetrer les sentiments des Hollandois sur la Maison de Hannovre, et de voir en fin s'il luy auroit pas moyen d'acheter des Armes en Hollande pour les transporter sans soupçon en Ecosse. M. Macgregoire aprit de M. Murray que les Gentilhommes des Montagnes d'Ecosse avoient armé leurs Paysans et que le nombre d'Armes necessaires etoit beaucoup diminué par ce moyen que 12 mille fusils, autant de Sabres et de pistolets seroient suffisant.

Les frequents voyages que le C^{te} de Traquaire faisoit d'Ecosse en Angleterre etant devenus suspects au Gouvernement, les Royalistes d'Ecosse resolurent d'y faire passer M. Murray pour rendre compte au Royalistes Anglois de l'état de leurs forces.[1]

Cecy avant le voyage du Mr. Murray en Hollande.

No. 16.

PRINCE CHARLES TO D'ARGENSON

A Paris, le 17 *Decembre* 1744.

LE triste etat dans lequel je languis depuis si longtemps m'oblige,

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[1] From this Minute it would appear that the French Government knew nothing of Murray's interviews with the Prince, and that his visit to France was well managed as regards secrecy.

Monsieur, à recourir à la Generosité du Roi Tres Chrêtien pour m'en tirer : et le poste important que Sa Majesté vous a si dignement confié me met en endroit d'espérer que vous lui ferez les representations convenables à ce sujet. C'est ce que le Chevalier Sheridan que j'ai chargé de cette lettre vous pourra expliquer plus particulièrement. Je vous prie d'ajouter foi à tout ce qu'il vous dira de ma part, comme d'être en même tems persuadé que je serai trés sensible aux temoignages que vous me donnerez de votre attention pour moi, et que j'aurai toujours un egard Particulier pour votre Personne et votre merite.—Votre bon Ami,

CHARLES P.

No. 17.

FOREIGN OFFICE MINUTE

du Decembre 30, 1744.

LE Prince de Galles represente qu'il y a environ huit mois qu'il fut rappellé de Gravelines à Paris et qu'on exigea de luy de s'y tenir *incognito*, qu'il s'est soumis à cette condition quelque désagréable qu'elle luy parut, et qu'il l'a observé exactement quoiqu'on luy eut fait entendre que cet *incognito* ne dureroit que six semaines au plus. Qu'on luy a payé depuis le mois de May dernier 3000 ecus par mois, et qu'on luy dit alors que cette somme estoit trop modique, mais qu'on prendroit bientôt des arrangements pour le mettre plus à son aise : que cette promesse est demeurée sans effet jusqu'à présent, et qu'en attendant, il n'a pu vivre sans contracter des dettes qui montent à 30 ou 35,000 et qui s'augmentent chaque mois.

Qu'il ose esperer que Sa Majesté aura la bonté de luy fournir les moyens de s'aquitter et de subsister dans l'endroit ou il se retirera jusqu'à ce qu'il puisse voir quel party il luy conviendra de prendre pour l'avenir, Le Roy vient de permettre que ce Prince retirât au chateau de Fitz James en Picardie. On expose qu'il ne peut sortir de Paris sans y payer ses dettes.

[De la main de M^r^ d'Argenson.] Payer les dettes jusqu'à concurrence de 30,000 ecus et arranger avec M. le Controleur General déclarer qu'on ne les payera plus.

No. 18.

PRINCE CHARLES TO [D'ARGENSON]

A Navarre, le 12 *Juin* 1745.

VOUS Savez, Monsieur, que par une Lettre qui vous a été confiée, j'ai deja fait part au Roi tres Chretien du parti que javois pris. J'envoie presentement le Comte Marischall vers Sa Majesté, pour lui demander du secours, et je me flatte, de l'obtenir de sa Generosité. J'espere que vous recevrez le dit Comte comme une Personne d'une qualitè distinguée ; et en qui je repose une pleine Confiance. Il y a du tems que le Roi mon Pere en consideration de sa fidelitè et de son merite l'a nommé son Capitaine General en Ecosse. Il vous expliquera plus au long l'etat de mes Affaires, par ou vous verrez clairement que la France ne pourroit que gagner en m'accordant ce que je demande. Je vous prie donc d'ajouter foi a ce qu'il vous dira de ma part. Je compte beaucoup sur les bons offices que vous voudrez bien me rendre en cette occasion et vous pouvez vous assurer de toute l'Amitie qu'il sera jamais en mon pouvoir de vous temoigner.—Votre bon Ami,

Charles P.

No. 19.

PRINCE CHARLES TO O'BRYEN

Copie d'une lettre du prince de Galles a Mr. Obryen du 12^e^ *Juin* 1745.

Si vous estes aujourdhuiy etonné du partis que je prend, du moins vous ne le devez pas etre de ce que je ne vous en ay plustost fait part. Je scay les raisons que vous aurié eu de vous y opposer, mais comme jetois bien resolus de passer outre sans avoir egard a ces raisons, j'ay voulus vous epargner la peine de m'en disuader inutillement, en toute autre ocasions, jorois eté bien aise de profiter de vos conseils aussy bien que de vos services, dans lexecution de ce que jorois determiné de faire.

A present je compte beaucoup sur votre zelle, et vos lumieres pour me procurer les secours dont joray besoin, vous scaves ce qu'il me faut, et les avantages qui en reviendra a la France de me l'avoir accordé.

Si lon ne veut pas me secourir en Gros, qu'on le fasse du moins en détail, faitte je vous prie les plus vives instances la dessus, et quelques choses que vous pensié de mon entreprise, noublié rien pour la faire reussir, je sçay quil ny a que le succès qui la puisse justifier aux yeux du public, mais jespere que mes amis en jugeront autrement, et qu'ils ne me traiteront pas de temeraire pour avoir tout risqué, plutost que de trainer plus longtemps, une vie indigne de moy mesme.

Dans l'Etat ou Je me trouve, les partis les plus hardis sont les plus sages.

Adieu, jespere vous donner bientost de mes nouvelles des montaignes d'Ecosse.—Votre bon amy, Charles P.

J'ay l'original de la lettre cy dessus.—D'Obryen.

No. 20.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE KING OF FRANCE

Monsieur mon Oncle,—Apres avoir tenté inutilement toutes les voies de parvenir jusqu'a Votre Majesté dans l'Esperance d'obtenir de votre Generosité les secours necessaires pour me faire jouer un Role digne de ma naissance, j'ai resolu de me faire connoitre par mes Actions et d'entreprendre seul un dessein qu'un secours mediocre rendroit infaillible. J'ose me flatter que Votre Majestè ne me le refusera pas. Je ne serois point venu en France si l'Expedition projettée il y a plus d'un an ne m'eut fait connoitre les bonnes intentions de Votre Majesté a mon egard, et J'espere que les accidens imprevus qui rendirent pour lors cette expedition impraticable n'y auront rien changé. Ne puis-je pas me flatter en même tems que la Victoire Signalée[1] que Votre Majesté vient de remporter sur ses Ennemis, et les miens (car ils ne sont que les memes) auront apporté quelque changement aux affaires, et que Je pourrai tirer quelque avantage de ce nouvel éclat de Gloire qui vous Environne. Je prie tres instamment Votre Majestè de considerer qu'en soutenant la justice de mes droits, elle se mettra elle même en état de parvenir a une Paix solide et durable, unique but de la Guerre dans laquelle elle se trouve presentement engagée. Enfin Je veux tenter ma Destinée qui aprés les mains de Dieu, est entre celles de Votre Majesté. Si elle me fait reussire elle trouvera une Alliè fidele dans un Parent qui a deja l'honneur d'etre avec l'attachement le plus Respectueux, Monsieur Mon Oncle, de Votre Majestè, le tres Affectionné Neveu,

Charles P.

Navarre, le 12 *Juin* 1745.

No. 21.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE KING OF FRANCE[2]

Monsieur Mon Oncle,—J'eus l'honneur il y a quelque tems de donner avis a Votre Majesté de mon Voiage. J'ai aujourdhui celui de lui faire part de mon arrivée en ce paisci, ou je trouve beaucoup de bonne volonté, et Jéspere de me voir en peu de jours en etat d'Agir. Il depend uniquement de Votre Majesté de faire reussir mon entreprise et il ne lui sera pas difficile pour peu qu'elle veuille faire attention a mes besoins, et couronner par la La Campagne

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[1] Fontenoy, April 30th, 1745.

[2] On August 6th, O.S. (*i.e.* 17th N.S.) Prince Charles was at Borradale.

Glorieuse qu'elle vient de faire. Un secours qui ne conteroit que peu a Votre Majesté me mettroit bientot en Etat d'entrer en Angleterre, et m'obligeroit a me reconnoissance egale a l'attachement Respectueux avec lequel je serai toujours, Monsieur mon Oncle, de Votre Majesté le tres Affectionné Neveu,

CHARLES P.

Le six Aout V. S. 1745.

No. 22.

THE CHEVALIER TO KING LOUIS XV.

À Rome, ce 11 *Août* 1745.

CE n'est que depuis peu de jours que j'ai appris a mon grand etonnement que mon Fils est actuellement parti des côtes de France pour se rendre en Ecosse. Il a pris et executé cette resolution sans me consulter, sachant bien que Je n'aurois jamais approuvé qu'il fit une telle demarche, surtout a l'insceü de Votre Majesté. Je l'ai donc ignoré absolument; mais etant fait, Je vous auoue sincerement que Je ne scauraie m'empecher de l'admirer Il me mande d'auoir escrit luimeme a V. M. en partant, et quoique Je ne pretends point excuser son silence enuers elle auparauant, Je m'assure qu'elle fera moins d'attention a un pareil manquement, qu'au courage et aux sentiments qui le font agir, et qu'elle voudra bien le croire d'autant plus digne de son amitie et de sa protection qu'il tache d'imiter son example et de suiure ses traces en affrontant les plus grands perils pour arriuer a l'accomplissement de ses justes desseins. Il est certain que sa conduite presente fera une grande impression sur l'esprit de ses Compatriots; et que Je ne le regarderois pas comme tout a fait impossible qu'il puisse reussir sans secours etranger, mais cela seroit de ces euenements extraordinaires sur lequels il ne faut pas comter, et Je croyrois tenter la Providence, si dans la presente importante conjuncture Je n'implorois auec toute l'instance possible l'aide et l'assistance de V. M., sans lesquels il est bien difficile que le present tentatif puisse reussir. V. M. a fait venir Mon Fils en France, et comme il y a demeuré une année et demi, elle n'aura pas certainement perdü de vue l'objet pour lequel Elle l'a fait venir. C'est a present ou jamais a mettre la main a l'œure les moindres delais pourront etre dangereux, et auec peu de risque et de frais, Elle pourra achevet l'ouvrage que Mon Fils et mes fidels sujets ont commencé touts seuls. Quel regret n'auroit point le Cœur genereux de V. M. s'ils venoient touts a perir faute d'un petit secour? et d'autre part, Quelle gloire et consolation pour Elle de se rendre ma Famille et ma Patrie redeuables de leurs libertés, et de leur bonheur? Enfin, Après Dieu, toute ma confiance est en V. M. et après lui aussi, notre sort est entre ses mains, Je ne mettrai donc point de bornes a mes esperances.

L'example de Mon Fils ainé anime, comme de raison, mon cadet. Il ne scauroit souffrir patientement de se voir a Rome, tandis que son Frere est en Ecosse, et quoique les dangers et les difficultés de sortir de ce païs cy sont plus grandes que jamais, il fera cependant plutôt l'impossible que de ne se pas rendre au plutot a Avignon, pour y attendre les ordres de V. M.

A l'egard de moy meme personnellement, il y a long tems que V. M. est instruite de mes reflexions et de mes veües par rapport a une Renunciation de mes Droits en faveur de Mon Fils; Je persiste toujours dans les memes sentiments, auec cette differance cependant que ce que Je croyai autrefois devoir etre auantageux a Ma Famille, me paroit devenir a present indispensable et nécessaire, meme pour mon honneur. Mes infirmités augmentent auec mes annèes, et Je croyerois agir auec temeritè, et Je puis meme dire auec peü de bonne foy, si Je pretendois de me charger du poids du Gouvernment lorsque Je suis absolument incapable d'aucune fatigue, soit du Corps, soit d'Esprit, et par consequence nullement en etat de remplir les devoirs d'un Prince sur le trône, tandis que J'ai la consolation d'avoir un Fils en etat de trauuailler auec assiduitè et success au bien de son peuple, et qui a deja eu occasion de montrer qu'il est digne de les gouverner. Dailleurs V. M. sentira bien l'impression que fera sur le Public, de voir Mon Fils exposé a mille risques et dangers en Ecosse, en combattant pour sa Famille et sa Patrie, pendant qu'on me verroit immobile dans la ville de Rome. Le Public ne scauroit juger que des apparances exterieures, et s'en tiendroit au simple fait, sans faire trop d'attention a l'impossibilité absolüe où Je suis de sortir a present de l'Italie, a cause de ma santé, et de la Guerre, qui empeche un libre commerce dans ce pais-cy. Dieu seul scait quand les chemins seront libres, et voilà encore un nouveau motif pour ne pas differer davantage ma Renonciation. Le vraï tems de la publier seroit quand Je scaurai Mon Fils hereusement debarqué en quelque partie de la Grande Bretagne, Mais cependant quelque conuenable et necessaire que Je trouue cette demarche, Je ne veux pas prendre sur moy de la publier que de concert et auec l'agreement de V. M., et Je la supplie de ne pas tarder a me faire scauoir ce qu'elle en pense, desirant etre dirigé par ses conseils en cela et en toute autre chose. V. M. excusera J'espere la longeur de cette lettre, mais dans cette importante occasion Je ne pouvois me dispenser de lui offrir mon Coeur sans reserve, sur ce qui regarde ma propre personne et celles de mes Enfants. Nous lui serons touts trois inviolablement attaches et Jose repondre qu'elle ne nous trouvera jamais indignes de son amitie et de sa bienveillance.—De Vostre Majesté le Bon Frere et Cousin, JACQUES R.

No. 23.

MEMOIRE BY THE EARL MARISCHAL

20 *Aoust* 1745.

LE Roy deja determiné a soutenir les efforts du Prince de Galles *en Ecosse,* étoit prest a fournir les Secours que les Ecossois demandoient et qui leurs étoient absolument necessaire : Il n'etoit plus question que de trouuer les moyens pour faciliter l'execution de cette genereuse resolution.

L'heureuse arrivée du Comte de Clancarty Seigneur d'une naissance tres destingué et dans la confiance du parti par son merite, leve touttes les difficultés qui se presentoient, puisque ce qu'il propose et ses demandes n'en souffre aucunes. Il vient de la part des chefs du parti ; Il parle au nom du Duc de Beaufort, du Comte de Lichfield, du Comte d'Orery, de my Lord Barymore, du Chevalier Watkin Williams et du chevalier Cotton ; Ils offrent pour eux et pour le parti, de lever l'Etendari du Roy Jaques dans le diverses provinces du Royaume au moment que le secours françois debarquera ; Le chevalier Cotton recevera le secours au lieu proposé pour le debarquement qui est environ onze lieux de Londres près de Malden.

Le Secours demandé est deux vaissaux de cinquante pieces de cannons et quatre fregates de trente a quarente pieces pour l'Escorte. Dix mil homes d'infanterie et de quoy armer trente mil : Vint pieces de campagne : munition de guerre en proportion : la solde des dix mil homes pour deux mois : des selles et tout l'equipage pour un regiment de Cavallerie. My Lord Comte de Clancarty qui est marin expliquera les moyens de passer : Il a deja sondé la cote ; il ose se flater qu'on ne sauroit supposer qu'il vient aux pieds d'un si grand Roy pour avancer des choses dont il ne seroit pas assuré. Le parti qui l'envoye ignoroit que le Prince de Galles étoit passe en Ecosse, circonstance qui mete dans la necessité d'executer cette affaire avec toute la diligence possible, comme aussi elle rend le succès plus certain.

Le parti a recommendé a My Lord de ne s'ouvrir qu'a Sa Majesté, au ministre qu'elle daigneroit lui indiquer, au Duc d'Ormonde, et au Marechal d'Ecosse.

No. 24.

DÉGUILLES TO D'ARGENSON

Monseigneur,—Il est entré ce matin dans le port un vaisseau a peu près egal en grosseur a celuy sur lequel nous devions nous embarquer, mais infiniment meilleur voilier ; il venoit déchaper aux deux corsaires anglois qui ont la reputation de mieux aller, comme il etoit tout armé et que ce que nous devons porter n'etoit pas encor embarqué sur lautre nous avons crû quil falloit nous servir preferablement de celuy cy. Il sera pret cette nuit : de sorte que nôtre depart ne sera pas retardé et que nôtre navigation sera moins dangereuse.

Le batiment qui devoit d'abord nous passer, partira 5. a 6. jours apres nous. Il s'en faut bien qu'il contienne ce que j'eus l'honneur de vous mander hier. On avoit pris des mesures et fait un compte sur le poids ; mais le volume des caisses et embalages oblige de n'embarquer que la moitié de ce qu'on avoit projetté. Il est arrivè 4000 guinèes ; cette somme n'est pas prodigieuse ; il est a presumer que les autres envois seront plus considerables.—Je suis avec un profond respect, Monseigneur, vôtre tres humble et tres obeiss. serviteur,
Deguilles.

Dunkerque, ce 1 8^{bre} 1745.

No. 25.

MEMOIRE BY MAUREPAS

Envoyé par M. le C^{te} de Maurepas, 13 *Octobre,* 1745.

Le memoire concernant le passage de France en Angleterre de dix mille hommes des trouppes du Roy renforme trois objets differents.

Le premier qui consiste a determiner si l'expedition doit estre entreprise, regarde entièrement le conseil du Roy, et est relatif au reste des affaires politiques.

Le second que l'on peut considerer du costé de la distribution des trouppes, de leur subsistance et de leurs opérations après leur debarquement en Angleterre doit estre examiné particulierement par l'officier qui sera chargé par Sa Majesté de la conduite de l'expedition. Il pourra observer que le debarquement en plusieurs endroits sur une coste de six lieues detendue peut estre sujet à de grands inconveinents. Ce sera au surplus à luy à proposer et faire suivre les arrangements qu'il estimera les plus propres pour le succes de ses operations.

Quant au trôisieme objet qui regarde la marine pour le transport des trouppes dont il s'agit, il ne paroist pas qu'il y ait rien d'impossible dans la proposition qui est faite de les embarquer aux ports de Calais, Ambleteuse,[1] et Boulogne sur des bastiments au dessous de 30. tonneaux, et de se servir d'une marée de vive eau avec un gros temps pour leur passage; Mais on ne peut former aucunes dispositions à cet egard dans les ports en question qu'en y faisant remettre a l'avance les fonds necessaires pour payer la depense des bastiments qui seront employés. Le nombre qu'il peut y en avoir a present ne pouvant estre suffisant pour le passage de dix mille hommes, on fera ressembler dans ces trois ports les bastiments qui se trouveront d'un costé à Dunkerque et Ostende, et de l'autre à S^t^. Valery[2] sur Somme, Dieppe et Fescamp jusqu'à la concurrence de ce qu'il en faudra. Et pour que le tout soit prest a temps, on ne peut mieux faire que de charger une seule personne de toutes les preparatifs de l'embarquement. Le S. Wailshe qui a passé en Ecosse le Prince Edoward, estant au fait des armements de bastiments marchands pourroit estre choisê pour cela, et il est a croire que les officiers de la marine luy procurant touts les secours et facilitez qu'il leur demandera il parviendra à former avec plus de diligence que qui que ce soit toutes les dispositions qui seront necessaires. Il s'entendra mieux aussy que tout autre avec les commandants des trouppes, pour les differents arrangements qu'il aura a prendre avec eux.

Avec tout cela le transport de dix mille hommes souffrira encore beaucoup de difficultez par l'incertitude des vents qui pourront regner dans le temps des marées favorables, et par les divers autres obstacles que les Anglois pourront y apporter. Les deux ou trois fregates qu'on propose d'avoir pour favoriser le transport un lendemain de gros temps seroient plus inusibles qu'utiles parcequ'elles attireroient des forces superieures dans le parage d'où il faut les eloigner. Mais il y aura quelques corsaires de ce costé là qui en procurant le mesme secours pour le transport ne formeront pas un objet vis a vis les Anglois. Les preparatifs qu'on propose de faire à Dunkerque et Ostende pour donner le change aux Anglois peuvent estre fort utiles pour favoriser l'expedition, et comme il faudra aussy payer les depenses qu'ils occasionneront, on estime que la premiere remise qui doit estre faite a compte ne peut estre moindre de 150,000 écus doutant plus qu'il y a deja quelques depenses de faites pour le transport des armes envoyées de Dunkerque en Ecosse, et pour les préparatifs des bastiments qui doivent y passer 500 hommes du Regiment Royal Ecossois.

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[1] It is interesting to remember that this now decayed seaport was one of the places selected by Napoleon as a starting-place for *his* invasion of England.

[2] William the Conqueror sailed from St. Valéry in 1066.

On attendra les ordres positifs pour commencer a se mettre en mouvement pour l'execution, et qu'on ne peut faire trop tost, si l'operation est une fois determinée, vu les retardements impreveus dont toute operation de mer est susceptible. M.

No. 26.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE KING OF FRANCE

MONSIEUR MON ONCLE,—Je viens de recevoir avec beaucoup de plaisir les assurances d'Affection et d'assistance que votre majesté m'a données par le S^{r} M^{is} d'Eguillers dont la personne me sera toujours très agreable.

J'espere que moiennant cette assistance je viendray a bout d'une enterprise dont Dieu a si visiblement beni les commencemens. Mais je ne saurais me dispenser de repeter ici ce que j'ai chargé le dit M^{is} d'Eguillers de vous representer plus en detail, qui est qu'il n'y a point de tems à perdre, et que je suis trop avancé pour pouvoir en reculer ou chercher des delais. Ainsi je conjure votre Majesté de hâter le plus qu'il est possible les secours qu'elle me destine. Si elle voudra bien le faire.

J'ai tout bien de me flatter que la querelle sera bientôt décidée et la paix rendue par là à l'Europe.

L'Obligation que je vous en aurai me mettra en état de vous temoigner de plus en plus l'attachement respectueux avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur mon Oncle, de votre Majesté le tres Affectionné neveu, Sig. CHARLES P.

Edingbourg, 15 *Octobre* 1745.

No. 27.

THE EARL MARISCHAL TO [D'ARGENSON]

MONSIEUR,—My L^{d} C[lancar]ty est arrivé, mais en quoy il peut etre util est ce que ni lui ni moy ne voyons, puisque quand j'ai l'honeur de vous voir mardi passé vous me dites qu'il faut des seings des chefs du parté en Angleterre, et qu'on ne hasardoit pas un corps des troupes du Roy sur la parole d'une seule personne; je crois que le tems ne permettroit plus les avoir quand même les Anglois voudroient les risquer.

Vous me fites aussi l'honeur de me faire souvenir que dans la premiere conference avec M. L^{d} vous aviez demandé ces Seings; mais permettez moy, Monsieur, de vous dire, que com̃e depuis vous ne m'en aviez point parlé, et que vous m'avez plus d'une fois remis au Ministre de la Marine come uniquement son affaire, je devrois naturellement conclure que vous ne pensiez plus avoir les Seings dont vous ne me parliez plus, et que vous ne trouviez d'autre difficulté que cella de la mer.

M. L^{d} Cl[ancar]ty et moy tres zelés pour le vray bien de notre Roy et de notre patrie sommes persuadés qu'il est encore tems par un promt secours de faire reussir l'affaire, nous sommes préts à entrer en tout ce que paroit raisonable et selon sa commission; ainsi Monsieur si vous l'ordonnez nous irons écouter vos propositions, puisque les notres, ou pour mieux dire celles du parti envoyées par M. L^{d}, ne vous ont pas paru raisonables, quoique M. L^{d} n'est venu de son pays et en France que dans la bonne foy que non seulement ces propositions étoient acceptées mais qu'elles etoient prets a être executées.

M. L^{d} croit qu'il n'est pas difficil de faire passer un corps de troupes, et qu'il l'auroit fait voir au gens entendus dans la Marine s'il ne s'agissoit que du passage. J'ay l'honeur d'etre avec respect, Monsieur, votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur,

LE MARECHAL D'ECOSSE.

Paris, ce 23^{e} Octobre 1745.

No. 28.

SHERIDAN TO ———

MONSIEUR,—J'ai l'honneur de vous addresser cijointe une Lettre de S. A. R. elle vous sera remise par Mons^{r} le Chevalier Stuart qui est en meme tems chargé d'une Lettre de creance pour Sa Majesté tres Chretienne. Comme il est parfaitement instruit de notre situation et de nos besoins, il est inutile ici d'entrer dans un plus grand Detail; ainsi j'aurai seulement l'honneur de vous assurer que je suis avec le Respect le plus parfait, Monsieur, votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur,

SHERIDAN.

A Edimbourg, le 25 *Octobre* 1745.

No. 29.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE KING OF FRANCE

Monsieur Mon Oncle,—Je me flatte que Votre Majesté s'interesse assez a ce qui me regarde pour apprendre avec quelque plaisir le nouvel avantage que la providence vient de m'accorder sur nos Ennemis communs. Ils s'etoient avancer pour m'obliger a lever le siege du Chateau de Stirling, et avoient pris poste a Falkirk qui est a deux lieues d'ici. J' attendis qu'ils vinssent de la pour m'attaquer, mais au bout de trois jours voiant qu'ils ne venoient point, je pris la resolution de marcher a eux. Ils n'en furent avertis qu'une demie heure avant notre arrivée et se mirent d'abord en devoir de venir a notre rencontre. Mais l'Action ne fut ny longue ni sanglante. Nonobstant la superiorité de leurs nombres ils se retirerent bientot avec precipitation, mirent le feu a leur Camp, allerent passer la nuit a deux lieues plus loin, et le lendemain continuerent leur fuite jusques a Edimburg. Leur Artillerie, dont ils ne tirerent pas un seule coup, avec leurs Munitions, tentes et Baggages nous tomberent entres les mains, et nous allames au dela de leur Camp passer la nuit dans Falkirk qu'ils venoient d'abandonner. Cette Victoire me met a l'aise pour le present; mais Votre Majesté peut bien voir que la partée sera trop inegale, si je ne recois bientot de plus grands secours. Les troupes et les Officiers qu'elle m'a envoié sous les Ordres de My Lord Jean Drummond se sont distingués et par la ont fait assez connoitre ce qu'on auroit pu attendre d'un nombre plus considerable. Si le Debarquement que j'attens depuis si longtems se fait a present on peut regarder l'Affaire comme finie, autrement je me verrai chaque jour obligé de risquer ma vie et toutes mes esperances contre un Ennemie qui ne peut de longtems manquer de ressources, et en attendant je me trouve dans le plus pressent besoin d'Argent. Je conjure Votre Majesté de faire ses reflections sur un état aussi violent que le mien, et de ne me point abandonner au beau milieu d'une Entreprise, dont la Reussite feroit changer de face aux Affaires generalles de l'Europe. Il ne me reste qu'a assurer Votre Majesté que je suis avec l'attachement le plus Respectueux, Monsieur Mon Oncle, de Votre Majesté, Le tres Affectionné Neveu, Charles, P. R.

Du Camp pres de Stirling,
Le 21 *Jan*^{er}. 1746.

No. 30.

O'HEGUERTY TO D'ARGENSON

MONSEIGNEUR,—J'ay l'honneur de vous adresser cy joint les nouvelles que je viens de recevoir de Londres, quoiqu'en disent Mess^{rs} Drummond, Sheridan, etca. Le Party du Prince se soutient en Ecosse. L'or debarqué et remis entre les mains de Mr. Murray le Secretaire produit son Effet.

Je Suis avec un tres profond respect, Monseigneur, Votre tres humble, tres obeissant Serviteur, O'HEGUERTY.

a Paris le 13 *Juin* 1746.

No. 31.

FOREIGN OFFICE MINUTE

Année 1746.

Lettre[1] *de Londres envoyée en France le* 18 *May* 1746, *suivant celles envoyées à M. d'Hegherty.*

AVIS d'une bataille complette gagnee à Culloden en Ecosse le 16 de ce mois par le Duc de Cumberland sur l'armée commandée par le P^{rce} Edouard. Elle etoit de 8000 hommes. Il y a en au delà de 2000 de perte avec plusieurs Seigneurs ou Lords ou Barons; que Mr. d'Eguilles et le lord Jean Murray Secretaire du Pretendant sont du nombre des prisonniers; le duc de Cumberland s'empara ensuite d'Inverness.

Nota.—On voit à la suite de la liste[2] du 6 Avril des officiers dans le service de sa M. T. Chretienne un etat d'Artillerie et munitions de guerre prises sur les troupes du Pretandant à l'affaire de Culloden.

No. 32.

PROJET DE LETTRE

Pour M. de Marville, M. Lehain, M. Savalete, et M. De la Cour de Glesné.

A Versailles, le 30 *Septembre* 1746.

M.—Le Roy ayant appris que le Roy d'Angleterre faisait faire le procez aux Prisonniers faits a Culloden, même a ceux qui estoient en pied dans les Regimens de leur nation au service du

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[1] Letter is extant.

[2] List is not in the Foreign Office.

Roy et qui servoient en Ecosse sous les Drapeaux de Sa Majesté, Elle a pris la resolution de faire arrester tous les Sujets du Roy de la Grande Bretagne qui se trouvent actuellement dans le Royaume sans passeports ou dont les passeports sont expirés, et Elle m'a ordonné de vous marquer de faire Secretement une recherche exacte de ceux de cette nation qui se trouvent dans votre Departement, de leur faire representer les passeports en vertu desquels ils y resident, et s'il n'en ont point, ou que le terme qui y a esté fixé soit expiré, l'intention de Sa M^{té}. est que vous les fassiez arrester et constituer prisoñiers, jusqu'a ce ce qu'Elle en ordonne autrement. Je vous envoye l'Estat des passeports que j'ay expediés depuis le 1er Juillet 1745 et vous verrés par le terme qui y est porté ceux qui sont actuellement expirés. Je vous prie de m'informer de ce que vous aurez fait sur ce sujet afinque je puisse en rendre compte a Sa Majesté.—Je Suis, a tres veritablement, M, Votre tres humble et tres affectionné Serviteur,

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No. 33.

D'ARGENSON TO HIS BROTHER

A Font^{au}, le 6 9^{bre} 1746.

Je vous renuoye Mon cher frere la lettre du Prince Charles Edouard et celle de Mr. Obrien qui l'acompagne. Je ne vois aucune aparence que nos sollicitations puissent procurer l'echange des trois officiers a la liberté desquels le Prince s'interesse, le general Ligonier aiant persisté jusqu'a present dans les reponses qu'il nous a faites de la part de sa cour a ne point admettre que ceux qu'elle regarde comme rebelles Soient dans le cas du Cartel, mais ce general aiant pris sur luy de faire esperer que les prisonniers de cette espece seroient relaschez sans echange ny rançone, cette Sorte de declaration qu'il y a tout bien de croire qu'il n'aura pas hazardée sans y être autorisé, doit tranquiliser le Prince sur le sort de ceux auxquels il s'interesse, j'escris cependant au Comm^{re} Seigneur de demander leur echange a toutte fin, mais je ne vous cacheray pas que je luy recommande de ne pas insister de maniere que cette demande puisse retarder celuy des officiers qui ne Sont pas dans le cas de la distinction. vous connoissez, Mon chere frere, toutte l'Etendue de mes Sentimens pour vous,

M. D'Argenson.

No. 34.

MEMORIAL TO D'ARGENSON

[Indorsed]: *avec la lettre de Mr. d'Obryen du* 9 *Oct^{bre}.* 1746.

Les Amis de Monsieur Murray qui a eté Secretaire principal du Prince Edouard en Ecosse, et qui se trouve actuellement prisonnier a la tour de Londres, viennent d'envoyer une personne à Paris pour prier M. le Comte d'Albanie de vouloir bien engager M. le Marquis d'Argenson décrire à Monsieur de Pizieux à Breda, pour qu'il veule bien porter Milord Sandwich à rendre à Monsieur Murray tous les bons offices qui pourront dependre de luy en Angleterre. On supose que Milord Sandwich qui connoit Mr. Murray ne sera pas faché qu'on lui fournisse un prétexte de le favoriser.

Monsieur Obryen, a ordre de M. le Comte d'Albanie de prier en Son nom tres instament M. le Marquis d'Argenson de vouloir bien ècrire à Mr. de Pizieux, D'Obryen.

No. 35.

PRINCE CHARLES TO D'ARGENSON

A Clichy, le 4 *Nov^{bre}* 1746.

Il y a trois personnes, Monsieur, qui sont prisonnieres a Londres, pour lesquels je m'interesse vivement, le Chevalier Maclean, le Sieur de Glengary, et le Sieur de Murray mon Secretaire. Ils sont tous trois au Service de France et le premier est né a Calais. Vous jugeres aisement, Monsieur, de quelle consequence le relachement de ces prisoniers est pour moi, puisque qu'ils peuvent lever au moins trois mille hommes pour mon Service. Ainsy je vous prie instamment d'employer touts les moyens que vous jugerez convenables pour obtenir leur Echange.

Je vous en aurai une obligation personnelle, et vous ne devez pas douter de mon amitié, et de toute ma reconnoissance.—Votre bon Ami, Charles P.

No. 36.

O'BRYEN TO ———— [1]

Paris, ce 14 *X^{bre}.* 1746.

Monsieur,—J'ay reçeu la copie de la lettre du duc de Newcastel à M^{r}. de Vauhoy du 17^{e} du passez que vous mavez fait l'honneur de menvoyer laquelle j'ay communiqué à S. A. R. qui ma ordonné de vous mander Monsieur que sa confiance dans le roy etant sans borne, il laisse à la disposition de S. M. les 40 hommes et les 4. officiers Anglois qu'il avoit envoyez d'Ecosse pour etres mis en desport en France, persuadé que cela contribuera à l'echange de plusieurs fidelles sujets du roy son pere qui gemissent dans les fers à Londres, et dont plusieurs nées dans la Grande Bretaigne se trouvent dans un danger manifeste de perdre la vie, si les comissions du Roy que l'on promet de respecter ne les sauvent, S. A. R. conçoit que M^{r}. Murray son secretaire qui a une commission de la cour de France sera sauvé par cet arrangem^{t}, et elle demande quil soit reclamé comme Etant actuellem^{t} officier dans les troupes du roy.

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[1] Probably this letter is to one of D'Argenson's under-secretaries.

Je dois Monsieur vous faire observer qu'il y a un article dans la lettre du duc de Newcastel qui repugne à S. A. R. et ou il croit que la dignité du roy tres chretien y est compromis, qui est celluy ou il est dit, que les sujets nées dans la Grande Bretaigne quoyque dans le service de France, ne seront sauvé qu'à condition quils ne serviront jamais contre le Gouvernem^{t} present ; vous sentez mieux que moy Monsieur de quelle consequense cela peut etre tant pour la Gloire du roy que pour son service.

Quant à larticle qui exclud de larrangem^{t} proposé, ceux qui se sont trouve dans l'affaire de 1715, cela ne peut regarder que my lord Dervenwatter, et un officier espagnol. Je ne sçaurois vous exprimer monsieur à quel point S. A. R. à coeur de sauver ce mylord dont le zelle pour la maison royalle à toujour eté sans borne ainsy S. A. R. voit avec la douleur la plus amere cette exeption qui tend a faire perir ce seigneur, elle espere que le roy voudra bien faire à la cour de Londres, les representations et les instances les plus vives pour le sauuer et mesme S. A. R. se croit fondée a exiger de la cour de France de faire tout ce qui sera praticable pour remplir cet objèt, et cela en consequense du 4^{e} article du traité de Fontainebleau qu'il est inutille Monsieur que je rapelle icy, puisque loriginal est entre vos mains.

J'ay l'honneur d'etre avec un tres profond Respect, Monsieur, votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur, D'OBRYEN.

No. 37.

D'ARGENSON TO O'BYREN

à Versailles, le 20 *X*^{bre}. 1746.

A M^{R}. D'OBRYEN,—J'ai reçu, M^{r}., les deux Lettres que vous avez pris la peine de mecrire le 14 et les 17 de ce mois, et sur le Compte que j'en ai rendu au Roi. Il m'a ordonné de Vous temoigner tout le gré qu'il fait au Prince Charles Edouard de la facilité avec laquelle il a bien voulu laisser à la disposition de Sa M^{té}. les 40. Prisonniers qu'il avoit envoyés d'Ecosse pour être mis en dépôt en France.

Je vous obseruerai seulement que les 4 Officiers Anglois qui se trouvent avec ces 40 Prisonniers ont été pris, a ce qu'on m'a assuré, à la Bataille de Roucoux;[1] Mais quoiqu'il en soit, les uns et les autres ne seront rendus qu'à titre d'échange préliminaires.

Vous pouvez assurer au Prince que lorsquil sera question de la restitution réciproque des Prisonniers, M^{r}. Murray son secretaire seroit réclamé au Nom du Roi, sil ne se trouvoit pas compris dans le Nombre de ceux que l'Angleterre representera, mais la lettre du Duc de Newcastle ne doit ce semble, laisser aucune inquiétude a cet égard, puisque M^{r}. Murray a une Commission du Roi et n'a point eu part à l'affaire de 1715.

Quant au Lord Derwenwater quoiqu'il soit dans un autre cas, sa M^{té}. ne negligera aucun des Moyens qu'elle croira pouvoir mettre en usage pour le sauver, s'il est possible, et Elle a deja pris dans cette vue les mesures convenables.—Je suis tres parf^{t}. M^{r}. entierem^{t} à vous, AND.

No. 38.

FOREIGN OFFICE MINUTE

Année 1746.

REMIS par M. d'Eguilles, 30 aout.

Une lettre de Londres de aout 9.

1. Liste de taillée des Anglois, Ecossois et Irlandois qui sont actuellement à Paris et ont quelque liaison avec le Prince Edouard.

2. Details sur l'etat facheux où se trouve le Pretendant. Le

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[1] Where the French under Saxe defeated the allies under Charles of Lorraine and Sir John Ligonier, 1st Oct. 1746.

Prince a quitté l'isle-de-Key deguisé, portant un havresac avec quelques chemises, plus mort que vif ayant le flux déjà et la galle.

No. 39.

FOREIGN OFFICE MINUTE

Année 1746.

MEMOIRE de M. d'Eguilles.

Etat de cequ'à donné et recu le M^{quis} d'Aguilles pour le Compte du roi depuis son depart du Dunkerque le 7-8 Oct. 1745 jusqu'au 16 Avril dernier, jour de la bataille de Culloden, la depense montant à 11910 £ sterling, et la recette à 11910 £ sterling. A la suite est l'etat de ce qu'il a recu et donne depuis la bataille de Culloden dont il doit rendre compte au C^{te} d'Argenson l'argent recu montant à 8817 £ sterling et la depense à 8817 £ sterling.

No. 40.

O'HEGUERTY TO D'ARGENSON

MONSEIGNEUR,—Les lettres que j'ay receu par le Courrier d'Hollande de ce jour m'assurent que M^{r}. Murray cydevant Secretaire du Prince Edouard en Ecosse a revêlé au Gouvernement Brittanique tous les Secrets de Son Maitre; le Roy George doit luy accorder sa grace et une pension considerable.—Je suis avec un tres profond respect, Monseigneur, votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur, OHEGUERTY.

A Paris, le 13 *Mars* 1747.

IV

Additional Notes.

No. 1.

MACGREGOR OF BALHALDIE

At the time of the Forty-Five the Macgregors could hardly be regarded as a clan. Proscribed, landless for the most part, compelled to assume other names, they presented in the eighteenth century few of the characteristics of the patriarchal government distinctive of the clan system. Yet their very misfortunes enabled them to show the strength of that system, for in spite of Acts of Parliament, there were hundreds of families of Macgregors who, thinly veiling their patronymic by tagging Drummond or Campbell to it, owed no allegiance either to the Duke of Perth or the Duke of Argyll, and still less to the king in London. Their chief was, according to some, Macgregor of Glengyle, others held him to be Macgregor of Glencarnock, while in fact William Macgregor of Bohaldy (Murray's spelling has been retained, though Balhaldie seems the more usual form elsewhere), or Balhaldie or Bochhaldie, was in 1714 elected captain of the clan. Bohaldy is near Dunblane, and Balhaldie Close still exists, the town house of the family, where, according to tradition, Prince Charles halted on his march to Edinburgh. William was a son of Sir Alexander Macgregor of Bohaldy, and his mother was a daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel. He was born in 1698, fought at Sheriffmuir under Mar, escaped to France, where he lived for the most part till his death. In 1757 he married Janet, daughter of Oliphant of Gask. He escaped forfeiture after the Fifteen, and was succeeded in the family estate by his son Alexander, who entered the British army, and died in the West Indies. Macgregor or Drummond, as he called himself, and Sempill were James's agents in Paris for many years, and the former paid repeated visits to Rome. Macgregor was in the secret of the Prince's journey from Rome. It would appear indeed from Villeneuve's reference to 'Mallock' in his letter of 23rd January that he actually accompanied Charles. No other authority, so far as I know, corroborates this. Neither of these plotters took any part in the Forty-Five, or appears to have given practical aid to the Prince in the preparations for his, in their eyes, rash and quixotic expedition. They were both accomplished in intrigue, but seem to have had small taste for the execution of the many schemes they discussed and planned. Both were voluminous correspondents, and Mallock (Macgregor) and Lumley (Sempill) are frequent names in all the cypher letters both at Windsor and in the French Foreign Office.

From letters which passed between Charles and his father in March 1745, it appears that neither was satisfied of Sempill's or Macgregor's prudence or honesty. Macgregor is accused by the Prince of using him as a child, and he adds: 'cela etoit un peu trop fort.' He says, writing from Fitzjames, 29th March 1745: 'I am sure I have very much reason to be displeased with Morrice [Semple] and Kerry [Macgregor], but there is no help for it at present for they must be manadged; they are doing all they can pour faire crelle d'alleman avec moi, but the more I perceive it the more I am attentive not to give them any handle.' And again on April 12: 'I take the liberty to advertise you that there is no believing anything they [*i.e.* Sempill and Macgregor] say, but notwithstanding we must seem to swallow everything, for I know them to be dangerous people and might certainly do a great dell of hurt iff disgusted. I am very young and it is very hard for me to foresee many things, for all I aim at is at leste not to do harm not being able to do good.' While on the 19th April he returns to the charge. 'It would,' he writes to his father, 'be endless for me to write or for you to rede iff I wos to enter in greater detail of all the little mallice and odd doings of Lumley, Malock, and some others.' From the same letter we learn that Semple and Macgregor had complained to James that the Prince declined to see them. The Prince politely gives them the lie, and adds, 'You see by this what they are and that their heads are filled with nothing but malice and spite. They never say anything to me to the purpose; I believe because they have nothing to say.' A remark which shows that his Royal Highness could, when he liked, hit the nail on the head.

Lord Sempill's postscript to the Memorial for Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck (p. 377) shows that however united they may have been in their detestation of the young and energetic Murray, they were not always the best of friends. Lord Elcho's opinion, quoted by Murray (p. 51), that Bohaldy was a 'low-lifed fellow void of truth,' though it coincides with Murray's own views (*e.g.* he was 'master of as much bad French as to procure himself a whore and a dinner'),[1] may be taken only as another example of the unhappy jealousies and quarrels which drove men like the Keiths to serve under another flag and with other companions.

Macgregor of Bohaldy has achieved an immortality very different from that Murray would have desired for him. Sir Walter gave his name a place in the introduction to *Rob Roy.* Robert Louis Stevenson has made him live again; and when his part in the troubles of the eighteenth century is remembered only by students, the chieftain who received Catriona into his house in Paris, and who gave her away when she married David Balfour, will receive the gratitude of generations of readers of romance.

No. 2.

THE EARL OF TRAQUAIR

Charles, fifth Earl of Traquair, succeeded in 1741, and died in 1764. He married Theresa, daughter of Sir Baldwin Conyers, Baronet, of Harden, in the bishopric of Durham and Great Stoughton in Huntingdonshire. His sister Mary married the Duke of Perth, and his sister Catherine was Countess of Nithsdale. Lord Traquair seems to have belonged to what was known as the King's rather than the Prince's party, and acted with Semple and Bohaldy. He was cautious, and like many others was opposed to the Prince's coming without French aid. He took no part in the '45. Though Murray attempted to pay off old scores in the course of his evidence at Lord Lovat's trial, and Traquair was thrown into the Tower, no judicial proceedings resulted. Traquair seems to have had relations with the English Jacobites, and with them to have hung back at the critical time. He saved his head and his estates.

The New Spalding Club, among a collection of *Historical Papers relating to the Jacobite Period,* published in 1895 an 'Account of the Trial of Lord Lovat by one at the Trial,' from a ms. in the possession of Lord Forbes. The writer, who was evidently not a Jacobite, comments but little. 'I shall only observe,' he says, 'that this Tryal ought to frighten all Scotsmen from plotting again, since the Evidence of the Pretender's Secretary with that of my Lord's own servants is enough to Hang any Man. Mr. Murray's Evidence was pretty strong against Lord Traquair, but I don't hear how he is to be tryed, but something will be done as to him.'

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[1] Cf. p. 330.

Traquair was one of the three peers excepted from the Act of Indemnity of 1747. He was imprisoned; and from his letters of October 13th, 1747, and 21st January 1748 seems to have remained in the Tower for some eighteen months. He died in 1764, and was succeeded by his brother John. The title became extinct on the death of the eighth earl in 1861.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF

William Dickson = Margaret = Alexander Cochrane
of Kilbucho. of Barbachlaw.

William Dickson of Kilbucho.

John Dickson of Kilbucho,
advocate, M.P. for Peebles,
1747-1767.

Henrietta,
m. Sir John Dalziel,
Bart. of Glenae.
Their son succeeded
as sixth Earl of
Carnwath.

Mary,
m. Alexander
Muirhead
of Linhouse.
She died 1758,
aged 94.

Anne,
m. John
Dickson of
Hartree.

Sir Alexander Murray,
M.P. for Peeblesshire,
m. Grizel, daughter
of George Baillie of
Jerviswood,
d. *s.p.* 1743.

David Murray, m. ——, daughter of
Somerville of Corehouse.

Sir David Murray, was 'out' in 1745,
d. unmarried.
[His estates were forfeited, and sold by order of the Court of Session, August 1767. The Peeblesshire estate was bought by James Montgomery, Lord Advocate, for £40,500, and the Argyleshire estate fetched £33,700.]

Sir Charles Murray,
collector of customs
at Bo'ness,
d. 1770.

Sir David Murray,
officer in the army,
d. at Leghorn,
October 1770, *s.p.*

Janet,
m. Lord
Charles Kerr,
son of
Marquis of
Lothian.

Sir David Murray,
a naval officer, d. *s.p.* 1791.

Sir Robert Murray,
d. 1794.

Thomas Murray,
lieut.-general.

Sir David Murray,
d. *s.p.*

Sir John Murray,
d. at Fécamp, 1866.

John Francis Murray,
d. *s.p.* 1826.

Emily,
m. Edwin Howell.

Murray Howell,
assumed surname
of Murray,
d. *s.p.* 1876.

Charles Augustus Howell,
d. 1890.

Frances,
m. Hamilton
Gyll.

Rosalind Howell.

Hamilton Fleming Gyll.

Bellinda Gyll.

THE MURRAYS OF STANHOPE

JOHN MURRAY, seventh of Falahill and Philiphaugh, (The 'Outlaw Murray' of Border Minstrelsy), m. Lady Margaret Hepburn, daughter of Patrick, first Earl of Bothwell, *temp.* James III. and IV.

William Murray, second son, m. Janet, daughter and heiress of William Romanno of Romanno.

William Murray, m. Margaret Tweedie of Drumelzier
fl. 1531 (date of charter).

John Murray, m. Agnes Nisbet of Nisbet.

William Murray, m. Susan, daughter of John Hamilton of Broomhill, progenitor of the Lords Belhaven, d. in the end of the reign of James VI.

Sir David Murray acquired Stanhope, knighted by Charles I., m. Lady Lilias Fleming, daughter of the Earl of Wigton.

Sir William Murray, created Baronet by Charles II., m. Lady Janet Johnstone, daughter of the Earl of Hartfell.

Lady Anne Bruce, daughter of Earl of Kincardine. = Sir David Murray of Stanhope and Ardnamurchan. = Margaret, daughter of Sir John Scott of Ancrum.

James Murray, gentleman of the bed-chamber to James VII., died at St. Germains.

Major William Murray.
Two daughters unmarried.

Veronica, m. Charles Hunter of Polmood.

Ann, m. Brig.-Gen. Nairn.

William, d. *s.p.*

James, d. *s.p.*

Margaret Ferguson = [Sir] JOHN MURRAY OF BROUGHTON, 1715-1777, became Baronet on the death of his nephew, Sir David, October 1770. = Miss Webb.

Patrick Murray, ensign in 3rd Guards, A.D.C. to the Earl of Dunmore; killed at Fontenoy.

Margaret, m. Thomas Hay of Huntington (Lord Huntington) brother of John Hay of Restalrig, W.S., who succeeded John Murray as secretary to Prince Charles.

William.
James.
Henrietta.
Christian.
All died young.

Charles Murray, actor, b. 1754, d. 1821.

Elizabeth Dyke (her sister was Mrs. Tom Moore). = Wm. H. Murray of the Edinburgh Theatre 1790-1852. = Ellen Gray.

Harriot, m. Henry Siddons (son of Mrs. Siddons the actress).

Charles, m. Miss Playfair (of St. Andrews).
Three daughters.

Henry, d. *s.p.*

Arthur, d. *s.p.*

George Siddons Murray (owner of the manuscripts, and representative of the Murrays of Stanhope), m. Elizabeth, daughter of John Gray of Bonally.

William, d. *s.p.*

Harriot, m. Dr. Smythe.

Ellen, m. Henry Laycock,

Sarah.

Austin. Gertrude. Jane.

INDEX

ABERCHALDER, 176.
Aberdeen, 187, 190, 231.
Achnacarry, 141, 162, 164, 167, 269, 280-284.
Aiguille, le marquis d', 220, 224, 231, 283, 435, 513, 516, 520, 521; letter from, to d'Argenson, 511.
Albemarle, earl of, 277 and *n*, 304, 310, 463.
Ambleteuse, 512 and *n*.
Amelot de Chaillon, 42 and *n*, 44, 45, 46, 48, 52 and *n*, 56, 79, 87, 346, 380, 425, 451, 456, 494, 498; letter to, from the chevalier, 493; letters to, from Villeneuve, 495, 497; letter to, from marshal Saxe, 498.
Amsterdam, 103, 460.
Anderson, of Whitburgh, 200, 202.
—— captain, of the Scots brigade, 102.
Annandale, marquis of, 17 *n*.
Apnadow (Appin Dull), 182 and *n*.
Appin, 290.
Aquaviva, cardinal, 496.
Arabin, lieut.-col., 412.
Ardgour, 290.
Argenson, le comte d', 398, 404, 405, 498; letters to, from the earl Marischal, 499, 513; letter from, to marshal Saxe, 500; letter to, from the chevalier, 503; letters to, from prince Charles, 504, 505, 518; letter to, from d'Aiguille, 511; letters to, from O'Heguerty, 516, 521; letter from, to his brother, 517; memorial to, on behalf of Murray, 518: letter from, to O'Brien, 520.
Argyll, Archibald, third duke of, 11, 12, 161, 413, 414, 440, 442, 443, 522.
Arisaig, 171, 269.
Arran, earl of, 160, 161.
Arthur, Mr., 363.
Arundel, Mr., 409.
Ashburn, 248,
Athole, James, duke of, 13, 14.
Athole, William, Jacobite duke of, 168, 186, 188, 219, 226, 231, 235, 236, 237 *n*, 238 *n*, 239, 430, 477.
Auchterlony. *See* Ochterlony.
Avignon, 375, 376, 386.
Avon, the, 192.

BADENOCH, 443.
Bagot, major, 235, 238, 310.
Baily, sir Alexander, 97 *n*.
Bain, John, 138, 295 and *n*, 483.
—— Mrs., 306, 308.
Ballaheulish, 290.
Balhaldy. *See* Macgregor, William.
Balmerino, lord, 219, 228 and *n*, 235.
Bannockburn, 433, 436-438, 452, 462, 464, 471, 483.
Barry, Dr., of London, 63, 64, 66, 70 *n*, 78 and *n*, 80-82, 94, 102, 174 *n*, 350, 377, 382, 384, 422, 424, 426, 427-449; Murray's examination in relation to, 453-454, 458-459, 469, 471.
Barrymore, earl of, 49 and *n*, 55, 58, 103, 174 *n*, 350, 381, 386, 409, 421, 422-424, 426, 430, 433, 437, 445, 451, 456, 457, 460, 465, 470, 490, 510.
Beaufort, Dr., 409.
—— duke of, 49 and *n*, 55, 57 *n*, 174 *n*, 381, 435, 510.
Belhaven's *Speeches*, 323 and *n*.
Bell's mills, near Edinburgh, 193.
Bennet, Christian, 67 *n*.
—— sir William, of Grubbet, 67 *n*.
Bernera, 145.
Berwick, 212 and *n*, 232, 237.
Bishop, 405.
Bisset, Mrs., 308.
Blacklehall, 239.
Blair castle, 186, 188.
Blaeu, John, of Castlehill, 126 and *n*, 135.
Bohaldy. *See* Macgregor, William.
Borradale, 507 *n*.
Brae Lochaber, 443.

Braemar, 34, 64, 69, 444.
Brampton, 238 *n*, 240-242 *n*.
Brett, colonel, 48, 393, 424.
Broky, Mrs., 306.
Broughton, purchase of, xiii and *n*, 311 and *n*; threatened sequestration of, 485.
Brown, captain, 221.
—— John, merchant, 359.
Brussels, 86.
Buchan, 34.
—— earl of, 138.
Buchanan, Mr., 248 *n*.
—— of Arnprior, 132, 159 and *n*, 162 *n*.
Buckingham, duchess of, 48 and *n*, 350, 408, 410.
Burton, Dr. John, 436 and *n*.
Butler, Mr., 422, 456, 457.

Calder, 139.
Callendar house, 192.
Callich, 269.
Cameron, corporal, a deserter from Cope, 185.
—— of Clunes, 280 and *n*.
—— Allan, of Callart, 285 and *n*, 480.
—— —— of the Dutch brigade, 137.
—— Dr. Archibald, 141, 143, 144, 185, 267-270, 274, 283 *n*, 289, 292, 296, 482.
—— Archibald, of Dungallon, 147 and *n*, 281 and *n*, 282, 288 *n*.
—— Donald, of Lochiel, 8 *n*, 10, 16, 22, 32, 35 *n*, 37-39, 40, 43 *n*, 50, 60, 63, 69 *n*, 93, 105-109, 113-117, 124, 127, 133, 141-143, 145, 146, 150-152, 154, 161, 162, 166-169, 173 and *n*, 175 and *n*, 187, 194-197, 202 *n*, 231, 267-283, 285, 289-292, 295, 296, 301-304, 322, 326, 328, 329, 379, 423, 424, 428, 441-446, 449, 450, 456, 457, 460, 465-468, 477, 478, 480, 482.
—— John, chaplain at Fort William, 292, 294.
—— Ludovick, 482.
—— —— of Torcastle, 290 and *n*.
—— Robert, 294 and *n*.
—— clan, 202 *n*, 204, 235, 238.
Cameronians dissatisfied with the government, 52.
Campbell, general, 266, 284, 288, 289, 440, 488.
—— of Ardslegnish, 60 *n*, 289.
—— captain, of Inverawe, 156-158.
—— lieut., 297.
—— Anne, 8 *n*.
—— sir Duncan, of Lochnell, 60 *n*.
Campbell, sir James, of Auchenbreck, 8 and *n*, 9, 22, 33, 34, 36 *n*, 60 and *n*, 113, 137, 147 *n*, 322, 377, 380, 385, 397, 422, 425, 429, 441, 449, 466; memorial for, 377.
—— Mr., grandson of sir James, 137.
—— John, younger of Glenlyon, 293 and *n*.
Canille, abbé, 370.
Caravajal, 404.
Carberry hill, 199 *n*, 200.
Cardross. *See* Buchan, earl of.
Carlisle, 232-234, 239-241, 419.
Carnegie, of Balnamoon, 231.
—— of Boisach, 489.
Carnegy, Mr., 366, 431.
Carnwath, 298.
Carstairs, 'a rebellious presbyterian preacher,' 11.
Carte, Thomas, 407, 410.
Castle Menzies, 183.
Catenaugh, Messrs., London, 488.
Catenoch, John, murder of, 413.
Cathcart, lord, 277 and *n*.
Cecil, colonel William, 47 and *n*, 48, 50, 70 *n*, 340, 380, 406, 407, 424; examination of, 408.
Channelkirk, 237.
Charles Edward, Prince, 61, 69, 77 *n*, 84, 87-93, 97, 99, 113, 141, 142, 172, 231, 347, 349, 350, 428, 434, 487, 495-498, 500, 501, 504, 505, 520, 521, 523; lands in Arisaig, 151; in favour of immediate action, 153-154; at the rendevous in Glenfinnan, 168; proclamation issued offering £30,000 for the taking of, 170-171 and *n*; issues counter-proclamation, 171; marches to meet general Cope, 172; issues warrant for the apprehension of president Forbes, 173-174; his reasons for not pursuing Cope, 178-179; at Blair, 186; enters Perth, 187; joined by the duke of Perth, lord George Murray, Oliphant of Gask, etc., 188; passes the Forth, 191; takes Linlithgow, 192; demands the surrender of Edinburgh, 193; in possession of the city, 195-197; his proclamation, 198, 210, 211 and *n*, 213, 214, 220, 221 and *n*, 222 and *n*; overtakes general Cope at Preston, 200; disposition of his forces, 202; defeats Cope, 203, 204; marches into England, 235-238; besieges and takes Carlisle, 240, 241; marches into Lancashire, 245; at Derby, 248; after Culloden, 269; letter from, on his coming to Scotland, 132-133;

letters from, to the chevalier, 366, 367, 373-375, 385, 387, 389, 390, 392, 394-396, 398, 399, 400; letters from, to Louis XV., 501, 507, 513, 515; letter from, to d'Argenson, 504, 518; letter from, to O'Brien, 506; letters to, from the chevalier, 369, 371, 388, 390, 400; letters to, from Murray, 376, 379.

Charlton, Bowry, 431.

Charteris, col. Francis, of Amisfield, 69 *n*, 118 and *n*, 119, 121, 377.

—— Janet, 69 *n*.

Châteauroux, duchesse de, 42 *n*.

Chesterfield, earl of, 452, 454.

Chisholms of Strathglass, 440.

Clancarty, lord, 432, 461, 489, 498, 510, 513, 514.

Clayton, commander-in-chief in Scotland, 18.

Clement XI., pope, 489.

Clephan, captain, of the Scots brigade 101, 102.

Clifton moor, 335.

Cluns, 269, 280, 282.

Cochran, Dr., of Roughfoil, 38, 54, 301 *n*.

—— captain Bazil, 203.

Cockaine, col., 420.

Cockburn, Andrew, 62, 63 *n*, 66, 78, 81, 453, 454, 458, 461.

Congleton, 247, 248.

Conyers, Theresa, 524.

Coutts, provost, of Edinburgh, 489.

Cope, general sir John, 140, 160, 161, 165, 168, 170-172, 175, 176 and *n*-186, 189-201, 212; his military incapacity, 180-186; defeated at Prestonpans, 202-203; his operations criticised, 206-209.

Corne, 431.

Corriarick, 172, 176, 182, 183.

Corstorphine, 193.

Cotton, sir John Hinde, 49 and *n*, 55, 174 *n*, 350, 381, 424, 426, 434, 437, 451, 456, 465, 470, 510.

Craigie, Robert, lord advocate, 160 and *n*, 161, 168.

Cramon, captain, 54.

Crawford, earl of, 386.

—— Mr., banker at Rotterdam, 83, 84.

Cree, Patrick, provost of Dundee, 188 *n*.

Cromarty, earl of, 13, 41, 439.

Crosscraing hill, 299.

Culloden, battle of, 335, 516; rejoicings in Edinburgh after, 210 *n*.

Cumberland, duke of, 247, 435, 516.

Cumming, Mrs., 308.

Cunninghame, Robert, 119 *n*.

DALKEITH, 235.

Dalnacardoch, 176, 185.

Dalwhinny, 176, 182, 185.

Dawkins, Mr., 407, 408, 410.

Denbigh, countess of, 310 *n*.

Dendermond, 101, 102.

Derby, 248, 432, 434.

Derwentwater, earl of, 519, 520.

Dickson, Mr., attorney, 22.

—— John, of Hartrie, 299 *n*.

—— William, of Killbucho, 299 *n*.

Dieppe, 82, 453, 458.

Douglas, physician in Carlisle, 241 *n*.

—— John, surgeon in Edinburgh, 136,

—— sir John, of Kilhead, 310 *n*, 422, 433, 434, 449, 489; Murray's evidence in relation to, 433, 436, 437, 452, 462, 464, 471, 483.

Doune castle, Stirlingshire, 230.

Drumelzier, 235.

Drummond or Macgregor of Balhaldy. *See* Macgregor.

—— of Cow, 160.

—— provost, of Edinburgh, 462.

—— rev. Mr., 124.

—— John, 84.

—— lord John, 8 and *n*, 65 and *n*, 159, 272, 273, 322, 387, 390, 421, 422, 430, 444, 449, 461, 478, 515; letter from, to the chevalier, 398.

—— castle, 64, 68, 71, 135, 140.

—— Earnoch, 157.

Dubarail, M., 498, 499.

Duddingston, 198, 199, 217, 226.

Dunbar, 198, 206, 417.

—— sir James, of Mochrum, 138 and *n*.

Dunblane, 191.

Dundee, 187, 231.

Dunkeld, 183, 186.

Dunkirk, 65, 74, 92, 248, 341, 343, 397, 457, 458, 499, 500, 502, 512, 513, 521.

Dunmore, lord, 386.

Durand, colonel, governor of Carlisle castle, 241, 242.

Dutch forces landed at Berwick, 212 and *n*.

ECCLEFECHAN, 238 *n*.

Eden, the, 238.

Edgar, James, 1 *n*, 7 *n*, 22 *n*, 98 *n*, 361, 364, 366, 369, 377, 391.

Edinburgh, preparations for defence of, 187 and *n*; summoned to surrender, 193-195, 432; taken by prince Charles; its defenceless condition, 196; the rebels in occupation of the city, 211, 215 and *n*, 217; the town fired upon by the castle guns, 213,

220; evacuated by the rebels, 235; pillaged by the castle garrison, 236; election of magistrates, 462.
Edinburgh castle, 126; scheme for the taking of, 130.
Eguilles, marquis d'. *See* Aiguille.
Elcho, lord, 51, 69, 70, 72, 82, 83, 100, 102, 103, 113-120, 124, 125, 219, 226, 231, 235, 243 *n*, 273, 376, 396, 413, 427, 434, 459-461, 470, 489, 524; letter from, to the lord justice-clerk, 414.
Elibank, lord, 68.
Episcopal clergy, divisions among the, 10, 26-29.
Erskine, of Grange, 48, 61, 62, 63 *n*, 66, 397.
—— John, advocate, 312 and *n*.
—— Rachael, 306, 307, 308.

FAIRNTON, 69 *n*, 159, 162.
Falconer (Fawkener), sir Everard, letter from, to the duke of Newcastle, 414 and *n*.
Falkirk, 192, 515.
Farquhar, one of Murray's servants, 482.
Farquharsons, the, 176 *n*, 423, 444.
Fassifern, 171 and *n*, 172 *n*, 430.
Ferguson, the plotter, 13, 14.
—— Mrs., 306, 309.
Fletcher, Andrew, lord justice-clerk, 157 and *n*, 229; letters from, to the duke of Newcastle, 411, 415, 416; letter to, from lord Elcho, 414; letters to, from the duke of Newcastle, 415, 462.
Fleury, cardinal, 41, 365, 379, 380, 408, 421, 423, 424, 449, 450, 456, 464, 465, 470, 480.
Fontenoy, 507.
Forbes, Duncan, of Culloden, president of the court of session, 173 *n*, 174, 229, 278, 325 and *n*.
Forfeited estates in Scotland, 413, 416, 442, 443, 462.
Fort Augustus, 131, 161, 165, 168, 172, 173 *n*, 176, 182, 266, 268, 283.
Fortrose, lord, 439.
Fort William, 131, 152, 161, 164, 165, 167, 171, 266, 277, 284, 291.
Fotheringham, David, 230.
Fowler, Mr., 10.
Fox, William, 447 and *n*.
Foyers, 267.
Francis, Mr., clerk in Edinburgh post-office, 66.
Fraser, of Foyers, 175-176 and *n*.
—— of Gortuleg, 143, 173 and *n*, 174 *n*, 467-469, 475-477, 480, 481.
Fraser, Hugh, lord Lovat's secretary, 216 and *n*, 245 *n*, 415, 463, 467, 468, 475, 477, 478.
—— Robert, 216 and *n*.
—— Simon. *See* Lovat, lord.
Freemasons in Rome, x-xi.
Fribourg, siege of, 92.
Frogg, a servant of Murray, 483.
Fuller, Mr., governor of the Tower, 447.

GACHAGAN, COLONEL, 239.
Galloway, earl of, 53 *n*.
Garden, Francis, 199 *n*.
Gardiner, colonel, 132, 204.
Gardiner's dragoons, 203, 237.
Garlies. *See* Galloway, earl of.
Garvamore, 177.
Gibb, James, 484.
Gladsmuir, 179 *n*, 181, 202 *n*, 207, 220, 335. *See also* Prestonpans.
Glasgow, 191 *n*, 214.
Glenaladale, 289.
Glenbucket. *See* Gordon, John.
Glendessary, 270, 273, 276, 469, 482.
Glenelg, 144, 145.
Glenfinnan, 154, 168.
Glenhurick, 288.
Glenlivet, 34, 444.
Glen Lyon, 292-296.
Glenmary, 481, 482.
Glenmely, 269, 276, 280, 281, 283, 284.
Gordon, admiral, 365.
—— duke of, 324, 443, 444.
—— Hamilton, 489.
—— John, of Glenbucket, 2 and *n*, 165, 220, 235, 275, 441, 444, 446.
—— lord Lewis, 226 and *n*.
—— sir Thomas, of Earlston, 53 and *n*.
—— sir William, of Park, 225.
—— castle, 190.
Gore, captain, 414, 416, 417, 419, 420.
Graham, general, of the Scots brigade, 101.
—— of Balgowan, 120.
—— captain, of Braco, 133, 139, 140.
—— Mr., 311, 312.
—— David, writer, 310.
—— James, of Airth, 2 and *n*.
—— sir John, 371.
Grant, of lord John Drummond's regiment, 65 and *n*.
—— of Glenmoriston, 423.
—— Mrs., of Glenmoriston, 268.
Grants of Urquhart, 440.
Gravelines, 397, 500, 501, 505.
Gray, David, servant of Murray, 482.
Gray's mills, near Edinburgh, 193.

Guest, general, 218 and *n*, 235 *n*.
Guin, Mrs., 218 *n*.

Haddington, 198.
Haggiehaugh, 238 *n*.
Haliburton, John, 433.
Hamilton, Mr., Wrightshouses, 306.
—— bailie, of Edinburgh, 193.
—— governor of Carlisle, 245, 419.
—— Alex., of Pencaitland, 67 *n*.
—— Basil, of Baldoon, 2 and *n*, 17 *n*.
—— captain George, 199 *n*.
—— Hugh, of Rosehaugh, 5.
—— James, 5th duke of, xii, 5 and *n*, 13, 21-23.
—— James, 6th duke of, 118, 119, 120-122, 124, 134, 137 376.
—— sir James, of Rosehaugh, 21 and *n*, 376.
—— Mary, 67 *n*.
—— Rachael, 308, 309.
Hamilton's dragoons at Prestonpans, 203, 237.
Hardy, captain, 408.
Harper, rev. William, 10 and *n*, 27-29, 305, 306, 308, 365.
Hartrie, 299 and *n*.
Hawick, 237.
Hawley, general, 211 *n*, 335.
Hay, of Drumelzier, 18, 363, 365.
—— of Rannas, 225.
—— captain, 1, 2, 52, 53 *n*.
—— Mrs., 309.
—— John, of Restalrig, 214, 273, 266 *n*, 269, 270, 417, 424, 468, 477, 490.
—— Thomas, advocate, 417, 527.
Helvoetsluys, 163.
Henderson, Andrew, schoolmaster, 205 and *n*, 214.
Henry, Prince (duke of York), 41 *n*, 402, 403, 457, 509.
Henshaw, 298.
Hepburn, of Keith, 135.
—— major, 17 *n*.
Herschel, colonel, 212 *n*.
Hexham, 240.
Hickson, 430 and *n*.
Higgansneuck, 159, 221.
Highbridge, 172 *n*; skirmish at, 165 and *n*.
Highland clans, Murray's account of, 439.
Hodson, Mr., 431.
Honeyman, Mr., 79, 80, 83, 100.
Hope, Mr., 284.
Hope's park, near Edinburgh, 194.
Hornby castle, 436.
Hunter, of Polmood, 411, 527.

Inveresk, 236.
Invergarry, 172, 268.
Inverness, 173 *n*, 178, 179 *n*, 182, 183, 186, 190, 267, 324, 380, 425, 440, 476, 477, 516.

Jacobite clubs in Edinburgh, 54 *n*, 114.
James Francis Edward, Chevalier de St. George, 364 and *n*, 366; letters from, to prince Charles, 369, 371, 388, 390, 400; letter from, to Amelot, 493; letter from, to the king of France, 493, 508; letter from, to d'Argenson, 503; letters to, from prince Charles, 366, 367, 373-375, 385, 387, 389, 390, 392, 394-396, 398, 399, 404; letter to, from lord John Drummond, 398.
Jedburgh, 237.
Johnstone, sir James, of Westerhall, 134 *n*.
—— Margaret, wife of lord Ogilvy, 134 *n*.

Keith, bishop, 27 and *n*, 361, 365.
—— William, 13, 14.
Kellie, Alexander, earl of, 419, 420, 472.
Kelly, George, 98 and *n*, 99 *n*, 173, 214, 368, 369, 372 *n*, 375, 389, 393, 399, 427, 431, 433, 459, 489, 490.
Kelso, 237.
Kendal, 245.
Kenmure, 2, 281.
—— lord, 52, 53 and *n*, 54, 68, 219, 226 and *n*, 229, 362, 382, 432.
Kennedy, colonel James, 277.
—— major, 267, 272 and *n*, 274, 279, 286-291, 309, 412.
Keppoch, 162, 273.
Kerr, colonel, 237.
—— of Graden, 221 and *n*.
Kiggans. *See* Higgansneuck.
Killbucho, 299.
Killiecrankie, 183.
Kilmarnock, earl of, 192, 227.
Kinross, lord, 489.
Kippen, 140.
Kirkliston, 192.

Lancaster, 245.
Langtoun, 237.
Lassels, col., 204 *n*.
Lauder, 236.
—— Mr., surgeon in Edinburgh, 235 *n*.
Lee's regiment at Prestonpans, 203 and *n*.

Leeck, 248.
Lesley, Mr., 310.
—— Harry, 393.
Leslie, James, tutor to the marquis de Mezières, 130 and *n*.
Leven, earl of, 11.
Leyden, 1 and *n*, 84, 85 *n*.
Lichfield, earl of, 510.
—— races, 55, 422.
Liége, 459.
Ligonier, general sir John, 517, 520 *n*.
Linlithgow, 135, 136.
Linton, lord. *See* Traquair, earl of.
Littleton, sir Thomas, 391.
Livingston, near Edinburgh, 138.
Lochaber, 35, 140.
Loch Arkaig, 269, 270, 274, 276, 481.
Lochbroom, 413.
Loch Cruen, 282.
Loch Eil, 170.
Lochiel, Donald Cameron of. *See* Cameron.
Loch Lochy, 166.
Lochmorar, 274.
Lochnanuagh, 151.
Loch Rannoch, 293.
Loch Sheil, 152, 162, 276.
Loch Tron, 68.
Lochy, the, 165, 172, 284.
Lockhart, of Carnwath, 11-15 *n*, 323, 432.
—— —— younger, 19 and *n*, 273, 298.
Loudoun, earl of, 203, 293, 325.
Louis XV., 425; letters to, from the chevalier, 493, 508; letters to, from prince Charles, 501, 507, 513, 515.
Lovat, master of, examination of Murray, in relation to, 476, 478, 481, 482.
—— Simon Fraser, lord, 8, 9 *n*, 10 and *n*, 30, 38, 40 and *n*, 43 *n*, 50, 57 *n*, 60, 63, 65, 93, 133, 141, 143, 144, 146, 154, 174, 175 and *n*, 176 and *n*, 179 *n*, 186 *n*, 212, 216, 229, 245 *n*, 274-277, 380, 415, 421, 423, 429, 440, 443, 446, 449, 463, 464, 470, 487, 525; his evil reputation, 10, 16; sketch of his life, extracted from Lockhart of Carnwath's *Memoirs*, 11-15; relates an episode of the '15, 17 *n*; stipulates for a duke's patent, 40; examination of Murray in relation to, 467, 474; remarks upon the trial of, 321-344; his execution, 404.
Loyal society, the, 7 *n*, 9.
Lumley, Mr., 367.
Lumsden, Andrew, 303, 468, 477, 483.
MacBean, Benjamin, 463.
Macclesfield, 247, 248.
MacDonald, bishop, 288, 483.
—— of Barrisdale, 216 and *n*, 268, 273-275, 279-282, 284, 441, 446, 469, 481, 482.
—— of Boisdale, 151 *n*, 286 *n*, 442 (where he is called Borrisdale).
—— of Clanranald, 146, 423, 442.
—— —— younger, 144, 154-156, 231, 273, 274, 276, 281, 288, 481.
—— of Glencoe, 169, 171, 175, 423, 443.
—— of Glengarry, 144, 154, 161, 175, 423, 440, 441, 462.
—— younger of Glengarry, 107 and *n*, 108, 110, 113, 114, 116, 117 and *n*, 118, 131, 133 and *n*, 160, 578.
—— of Keppoch, 65 and *n*, 93, 141, 144, 154, 165, 166, 168, 175 and *n*, 231, 258, 443.
—— of Kinlochmoidart, 155, 156, 159, 162, 164, 216, 430.
—— of Largie, 33 and *n*.
—— of Lochgarry, 177, 231, 268 and *n*, 275, 277, 279-283, 285, 435, 440, 441, 446, 481.
—— of Scotus, 275, 429, 430, 482.
—— of Tiendrish, 165, 275.
—— Æneas, banker in Paris, 87 and *n*, 88, 98, 100, 101, 108 and *n*, 114, 125, 160, 273, 278, 279, 427-430, 455, 458, 461; letter from, to the duke of Newcastle, 447; examination of, 487.
—— sir Alex., of Sleat, 31 and *n*, 69 *n*, 118, 146, 154-156, 169, 170, 216. 423, 428, 429, 442, 443, 466.
—— Angus, 151 and *n*.
—— John, 144-146.
—— sir John, 430.
Macdonalds of Clanranald, 93, 163 and *n*, 168, 202 and *n*, 235.
—— of Glencoe, 235.
—— of Glengarry, 93, 202 and *n*, 235.
—— of Keppoch, 202 *n*, 235.
Macdougal of Lorn, 108, 113, 423.
—— Mr., 40, 66, 137, 139, 140, 292 *n*, 301, 304, 307, 311-313.
MacGregor, of Glencairnaig, 522.
—— of Glengyle, 230 and *n*, 233, 423, 444, 522.
—— James, 68.
—— —— More, 68, 160 and *n*, 167.
—— captain John, nephew of Balhaldy, 107, 110.
—— or Drummond, William, of Balhaldy, 8, 9 and *n*, 10, 18, 20, 30 and *n*, 31 and *n*, 32, 36-51, 54-127, 142,

143, 174 *n*, 322, 326, 329-331, 334, 340, 341, 345, 350, 354, 364, 365, 368-385, 391-397, 404-423, 426, 427, 434, 435, 448-471, 480, 487, 490, 493, 494, 502, 504; note on 522.
MacGregor, brother of MacGregor of Glencairnaig, 297, 298.
—— servant of Balhaldy, 39.
MacGregors, the, 235, 444.
M'Hemish, Allan More, 287.
MacIntosh of MacIntosh, 423, 443.
MacIntoshes, the, 176 *n*, 179 *n*, 229, 423.
Mackenzie of Apple Cross, 423.
—— of Fairburn, 423, 441.
—— a jesuit, 405.
—— John, tutor to lord Ogilvy, 134.
—— Kenneth, son of the earl of Seaforth, 228 *n*.
M'Kinnon of M'Kinnon, 223.
M'Kinnons, the, 235.
M'Lachlan, of castle Lachan, 244.
M'Lean, a chairman, 171 *n*.
—— sir Hector, 34 and *n*, 60 *n*, 126, 134-138, 141, 145, 156, 396, 397, 430, 518.
M'Leans, the, 279, 281.
Macleod, Alex., 226 *n*, 283 *n*, 267, 270, 274, 433, 466, 471.
—— Janet, 8 *n*.
—— John, of Nuick, 16 and *n*, 32, 115, 122, 126, 137.
—— black John, 169.
—— Norman, of Macleod, 108 and *n*, 109, 111, 112, 127, 131, 133, 136, 141, 143-145, 154-156, 169, 170, 212, 216, 229, 245 *n*, 267, 278, 285, 325, 335, 423, 428-430, 440, 466.
Macnab, captain, 275, 293-297.
MacNaughton, officer of Menzies of Culdairs, 292 *n*.
—— John, 125, 130, 132, 294 *n*.
—— —— watchmaker, executed for the murder of col. Gardiner, 204 and *n*.
Macpherson of Cluny, 10, 93, 146 and *n*, 184 *n*, 191, 226 and *n*, 235, 292, 293, 421, 423, 424, 440, 443 *n*, 445, 449, 465, 468, 478.
M'Phersons, the, 176 *n*, 226, 268, 335.
M'Quivar, master mariner of Leith, 291.
M'Vicar, an outlaw, 225.
—— rev. Mr., minister of the west church, Edinburgh, 210-211 and *n*.
Maddox, 247 *n*.
Maillebois, M., 425.
Malden, 510.
Manchester, 246.
March, earl of, 39, 311, 486.
Marischal, earl, 36 and *n*, 43 *n*, 45, 46, 50, 54, 55, 59, 62, 69, 71, 86 *n*, 96 and *n*, 98, 99 and *n*, 119, 123, 329, 368, 371, 378, 382, 385, 397, 424, 425, 448, 457, 501; letters from, to d'Argenson, 499, 513; *Memoire* by, 510.
Marlefield, near Yetholm, 103.
Maul, Rachael, 306, 308.
Maurepas, le comte de, *Memoire* by, 511.
Menzies, of Culdairs, 294 *n*.
—— sir Robert, of Weem, 443, 444.
Merchiston (Merkistown), near Edinburgh, 194.
Mezières, madame de, 392 and *n*, 405, 406, 408.
Military strength of Great Britain, 180.
Mirepoix, le marquis de, 496, 497.
Moffat, 237 *n*, 238 *n*.
Moir, of Lonmay, 231.
Monro, shot for robbery, 224.
—— of Culcairn, 285.
Montrose, 220, 231.
Mordington, 311.
Morer, island of, 483.
Morgan, counsellor, 246, 434.
Mortleg, 274.
Moy, 171, 172 and *n*.
Muir Laggan, 446.
Munro. *See* Monro.
Murray, sir David, of Stanhope, 12, 289, 290, 292, 294, 295, 527.
—— lord George, 63, 64, 188, 189 and *n*, 193 *n*, 201-203, 213, 221, 231, 232, 235, 236, 238 *n*, 240, 242 *n*, 245-247, 262, 268, 398, 400, 404, 434, 480, 489.
—— James, of Abercairny, 12, 15, 16, 120 and *n*, 121, 311, 376.
—— John, of Broughton, 173, 216-229, 245 *n*, 254, 261, 276-279, 286-291, 333-345, 354, 375-378, 385-387, 397, 398, 404-405, 472-473, 490, 502 and *n*, 504 and *n*, 516-525; at Rome, 1 and *n*; becomes a freemason at Rome, x-xi; becomes a member of the Canongate Kilwinning lodge No. 2, xii; in Edinburgh arranging for a rebellion, 2; Jacobite agent in Scotland, 3, 5; his disinterestedness, 6, 7 *n*; is reluctant to negotiate with lord Lovat, 10, 16; is taken into the confidence of Lovat, 17, 18; endeavours to remove the differences among the episcopal clergy, 26-28; meets Bohaldy at Paris, 41-42; his interview with cardinal Tencin, 43,

44; returns with Bohaldy to England, 46; at Edinburgh, 50; his attempts to obtain money for the projected rising, 18-23, 55-57, 103, 118-121; his letter to the earl Marischal retained and burnt by Traquair, 55-60; warned to leave Edinburgh, 65; intercepts letter of Bohaldy, 67; decides to visit France, 71; with Bohaldy at Rotterdam, 84; advised to return to Scotland, 85; reaches Paris, 87; receives confirmation of Bohaldy's duplicity, 88 and *n*; gives prince Charles an account of the state of affairs in Scotland, and of the treachery of Bohaldy and Semple, 90-91, 94; urges the prince not to attempt a landing in Scotland without foreign troops, 93-96; attempts to enlist officers of the Scots brigade, 100-102, 163 and *n*, 164; on the treachery of Bohaldy, 110-112; his interviews with Jacobite chiefs in Edinburgh, 112-113; writes an account of his proceedings, 116 and *n*; his scheme for the taking of Edinburgh castle, Fort Augustus, etc., 130-131; the prince informs him of his resolution to come to Scotland, 132; acquaints the duke of Perth, Lovat, etc., of the prince's intention, 133; provides for the safety of his papers, 134, 137, 140; schemes to intercept the government express, 138-139; visits Keppoch and Lochiel, 141-144; arranges for the prince's arrival, 140-147; warrant issued for his apprehension, 158 and *n*; sets out to join the prince, 159; negotiates for the surrender of Edinburgh, 193-194; and Carlisle, 241, 242 *n*; vindication of, 263-265, 310 and *n*, 311-314; receives tidings of the disaster at Culloden, 268; takes charge of the French subsidies, 273-274, 283 and *n*; his adventures after Culloden, 290-301; is taken prisoner, 301, 411; arrangements for his removal to London, 414-416; consents to give evidence, 418; his account of the highland clans, 439; sequestration of his estate, 485; letters from, 446, 447, 491, 492; letters from, to Lovat and Lochiel, 64, 70 *n*; letters from, to prince Charles, 376, 379; letters from, to Stone, 445, 455; letters from, to the duke of Newcastle, etc., 484-486; letters to, from Edgar, 361, 364, 366; examination of, 422; examination of, relating to sir John Douglas, 436, 437, 462, 464, 483; examination of, relating to the earl of Traquair, sir J. Douglas, and Dr. Barry, 448-455, 470; examination of, relating to the earl of Traquair, 464; examination of, relating to Dr. Barry, 469; his examination in connection with the buried money, 467; examination relating to lord Lovat, 467, 474.

Murray, lady, mother of Murray of Broughton, 306, 310, 491, 527.

—— Mrs., of Broughton, 198 *n*, 276, 284, 288, 304-310, 447, 527.

—— captain John, 12.

—— Sir Patrick, of Auchtertyre, 157, 158.

—— William, 121 and *n*.

Musselburgh, 200, 236.

Muthill, 157.

Myers, a volunteer at Prestonpans, 204.

NAIRN, the river, 267.

—— lord, 69 and *n*, 137, 203.

—— Robert, 284.

Neau, M., of Nantes, 489.

Newcastle, 231-233, 238 *n*, 240, 243, 247, 248.

—— duke of, 444, 452, 454, 455, 518, 520; letters from, to the lord justice clerk, 415, 462; letters to, from the lord justice clerk, 411, 416; letter to, from sir Everard Fawkener, 414; letter to, from Æneas MacDonald, 447; letters to, from the attorney-general, 473; letters to, from lord Traquair, 484, 491; letter to, from Murray of Broughton, 484.

Newport, 248.

Nisbet, of Dirleton, 67 and *n*, 103, 118, 120, 121, 124, 397.

Nithsdale, earl of, 104 and *n*, 227, 228 and *n*, 432.

Noailles, marischal de, 367.

Norvel, of Boghall, 46, 125.

Nottingham, earl of, 14.

O'BRIEN, COLONEL, 389, 396, 398, 399, 494, 503, 517, 518; letter from, 518; letter to, from prince Charles, 506; letter to, from d'Argenson, 520.

Ochterlony, bishop, 361, 365.

—— Mr., 488.

Ogilvy, captain, 123-125, 291.

—— lord, 124 and *n*, 133-134 and *n*, 188, 189, 220, 235, 444.

Oglethorpe, Eleanor, 392.

Oglethorpe, Mrs., 130 and *n*, 353.
O'Heguerty, letters from, to d'Argenson, 516, 521.
Oliphant, Janet, wife of Balhaldy, 522.
—— of Gask, 230.
Oliphants of Gask, join the prince at Perth, 188.
Oneglia, 371.
O'Neil, captain, 287, 412.
Ormond, duke of, 368, 511.
Orrery, earl of, 48, 49 and *n*, 55, 381, 435, 466, 471, 510.
Orrey, Mr., 375.
Orton, 245.
Ostend, 83.
Ostende, 513.
O'Sullivan, colonel, 172, 184, 185, 194, 197, 239, 389, 390, 400, 403, 412, 430, 490.
Ouler (Wooler), 232, 237.

PARIS, 41, 86, 87.
Paterson, sir Hugh, 192 and *n*.
Peebles, 71, 236.
Pelham, Henry, 452, 454.
Pennington, sir John, 242.
Penrith, 245.
Perth, 137, 165, 187, 188 and *n*, 230.
—— duke of, 8 and *n*, 34, 37, 38, 41, 49, 61, 63, 64, 69, 70 *n*, 72, 93, 105, 110, 115-126, 132, 133, 135, 136, 141, 159, 160, 182, 183, 198, 202, 203, 231, 235-242 *n*, 268, 273, 322, 326-329, 376, 378, 382, 387, 390, 393, 425, 427, 428, 434, 444, 449, 450, 457, 458, 460, 461, 465, 466, 470, 487, 522; treacherous attempt upon, by Campbell of Inverawe, 156-158; his appearance and character, 188 and *n*.
Peyton, 405.
Pinkey house, 209, 236.
Pitcairn, Mrs., 310.
Pitsligo, lord, 37 and *n*, 189 and *n*, 225 and *n*, 231, 235.
Pizieux, M. de, 518.
Polmood, 299, 301 and *n*.
Polston, Mr., 307.
Preston, 200, 201, 245, 246.
—— house, near Prestonpans, 207 *n*.
Prestonpans, battle of, 179 *n*, 181, 202-204, 207, 220, 335.
Proclamations, 170-171 and *n*, 210-214, 220, 221 and *n*, 222 and *n*, 433.
Pug, 325 and *n*.

QUEENSBERRY, DUKE OF, 11-15, 40.

RAE, DAVID, 28 *n*, 134.
Ramsay, surgeon in Edinburgh, 235 *n*, 306, 308.
Ramsden, Thomas, letters to, from John Sharpe, 472 and *n*, 473.
Rannoch, 292, 443.
Rattray, bishop, 29, 361, 365.
Reddings, 238.
Renton, of Mordington, 311.
Ribble, the, 246.
Robertson of Struan, 93, 443, 444.
Rockley, 238.
Rogers, captain, 189.
Rome, 1-2.
Roqueville, admiral de, 73-75, 383, 498.
Ross, Mr., 136, 307 and *n*.
Rotterdam, 81, 83, 102, 110, 427, 459, 466.
Roucoux, battle of, 520 and *n*.
Runsidemuir, 232.
Rutherford, Dr., 308.
—— of Drury, 135.
Ruthven, 177, 178, 184, 268.
Rutledge, Walter, of Dunkirk, 489.
Ryder, sir Dudley, attorney-general, letter from, to the duke of Newcastle, 473 and *n*.

ST. LEONARD'S HILLS, 195.
St. Mary's loch, 297 and *n*.
St. Omers, Flanders, 161.
St. Valéry, 512 and *n*.
Sanderson, Mr., 244 and *n*.
Sandieman, D., Dundee magistrate, 188 *n*.
Sandilands, Mr., son of lord Torphichen, 204.
Sandwich, lord, 518.
Saxe, marshal, 62, 382, 425, 499, 520 *n*; letter from, to Amelot, 498; letter to, from d'Argenson, 500.
Scot, captain, 166, 167, 277, 284.
—— David, of Houndhillshope, 137, 139; plants cabbages over Murray's papers, 140.
Scots brigade in Holland, 61, 97, 100-102, 163 and *n*.
Seafield, earl of, 13.
Seaforth, earl of, 324.
Semple or Sempill, Francis, 42 *n*.
—— —— lord, 42 and *n*, 50, 70-76, 81, 84, 85 *n*, 89-92 and *n*, 95, 97, 100, 103, 108, 116, 127, 339, 367-378, 380, 382, 384, 397, 400, 405, 407, 410, 423, 426-427, 435, 456, 458-460, 466, 480, 487, 490, 498, 499, 503, 522, 523; extract of letter from, to the king, 396.
Senlis, 101, 459.

Seton, Elizabeth, 22 *n.*
Shap, 245.
Sharpe, John, letters from, to Thomas Ramsden, 472 and *n*, 473.
Sheil, river, 288.
Sheridan, sir Thomas, 95, 96, 107, 210, 242 *n*, 270, 272, 273, 367-311 and *n*, 374-377, 386, 387, 389, 397, 427, 430-432, 434, 438, 452, 459-461, 464, 476, 480, 490, 505; letter from, 514.
Sinclair, general, 165.
Skye, 144, 145.
Slochmuich pass, 178, 179 *n.*
Smith, of Lascelles' regiment, tried and shot for robbery, 225.
—— Charles, of Boulogne, 6 *n*, 22 and *n*, 51, 54, 89 *n*, 99 *n*, 117, 125, 132, 137, 360 *n*, 365, 397, 430.
—— John, sergeant, 411.
Stair, earl of, 11.
Stapleton, general, 287.
Stewart, bailie, of Edinburgh, 489.
—— Charles, assistant secretary to Prince Charles, 289, 290, 292, 483.
—— Charles, of Ardsheal, 112 *n*, 144, 154, 171, 269 and *n*, 289-292, 442, 445.
—— of Glenbucky, 297.
—— captain, of Phisgill, killed at Prestonpans, 204.
—— Archibald, provost of Edinburgh, 218, 428, 432, 489.
—— Donald, ensign in Ardsheal's regiment, 204 and *n.*
—— sir James of Goodtrees, 6 *n*, 113, 116 and *n*, 117, 119, 138, 366, 376, 382, 397, 431, 489.
—— colonel John Roy, 134, 186 *n*, 199 *n*, 225, 235, 275, 446.
—— of Appin, 108, 112 and *n*, 423, 442, 460.
Stewarts of Appin, 169, 172, 175, 202 *n*, 203, 443.
Stirling, 69, 190-192, 437.
—— sir Harie, 365.
Stobo, 299.
Stockport, 247.
Stone, 248.
—— Andrew, 438 and *n*, 472, 474; letter to, from Murray, 455.
Strathallan, William, viscount of, 69 and *n*, 188, 230, 472.
—— master of, 359.
Strathdon, 444.
Strickland, colonel, 430.
Strontian, 288.
Stuart, John, brother of the earl of Traquair, xi, 9, 38, 362, 423, 464.
Stuart, royal family of. *See* James Charles, Henry.
——. *See also* Stewart.
Sunderland, 2.
Switenam, captain, 168 *n.*

Taylor, Mr., joins the prince in Northumberland, 244 and *n.*
Tencin, cardinal, 43 and *n*, 52 *n*, 390, 425, 494, 503.
Threipland, sir Steuart, of Fingask, 125, 267 and *n*, 279, 291, 292.
—— Dr., 432.
Todshall, 193.
Touch, 191.
Tournay, 83.
Townley, colonel, 246, 247 *n.*
Tranent, 200, 201.
Traquair, countess of, 66.
—— Charles, earl of, 7-9, 19, 22, 32, 35, 38, 40, 43, 49-52, 54-60, 61, 63-75, 78, 81, 83, 85 *n*, 90, 92 *n*, 97, 99 and *n*, 104-108, 113, 115 and *n*-117, 120, 123-129, 133, 141, 142, 322, 325, 326, 331, 336, 340, 345, 351, 352, 364 and *n*, 378-386, 397, 405, 424, 425-428, 435, 445, 449, 455-460, 465, 467, 469-471, 490, 503, 504; two letters on, 317-356; examination of, 420, 450-451; Murray's examination relative to, 449-451, 470; letters from, to the duke of Newcastle, 484, 491; note on, 524.
Trinity college, Edinburgh, 196 and *n.*
Tullibardine, 188 *n.*
—— marquis of. *See* Athole, William, duke of.
Tweeddale, marquis of, secretary for Scotland, 63 and *n.*

Udney, Mr., 488.
Uist (Wuist), island of, 144, 151 *n*, 272, 285.
Urquhart, colonel, Jacobite agent in Scotland, xii, 2-6, 9, 24, 362.

Vaughan, Mr., 246.
Vauhoy, M. de, 518.
Velitre, 373.
Vere, captain, 225 *n.*
Villeneuve, M. de, 522; letters from, to Amelot, 495, 497.

Wade, general, 230-235, 240 and *n*, 243-248.

Wallace, lady, 306, 309.
Walsh, Mr., 162.
Warren, colonel, 268.
Warrington, 247.
Wemyss, earl of, 117 *n*, 123 *n*.
Weir, or Vere, Mr., a government spy, 248.
Wells, general, 246.
Whitingham, Northumberland, 232, 237.
Wigan, 246.
Wilson, bailie, 235 *n*.
Wogan, Mr., 411.
Wynne, sir Watkin Williams, 49 and *n*, 55, 174 *n*, 350, 381, 405, 424, 426, 434, 437, 445, 451, 456, 465, 470, 510.

YORK, 41, 49, 457.
—— duke of. *See* Henry, Prince.

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